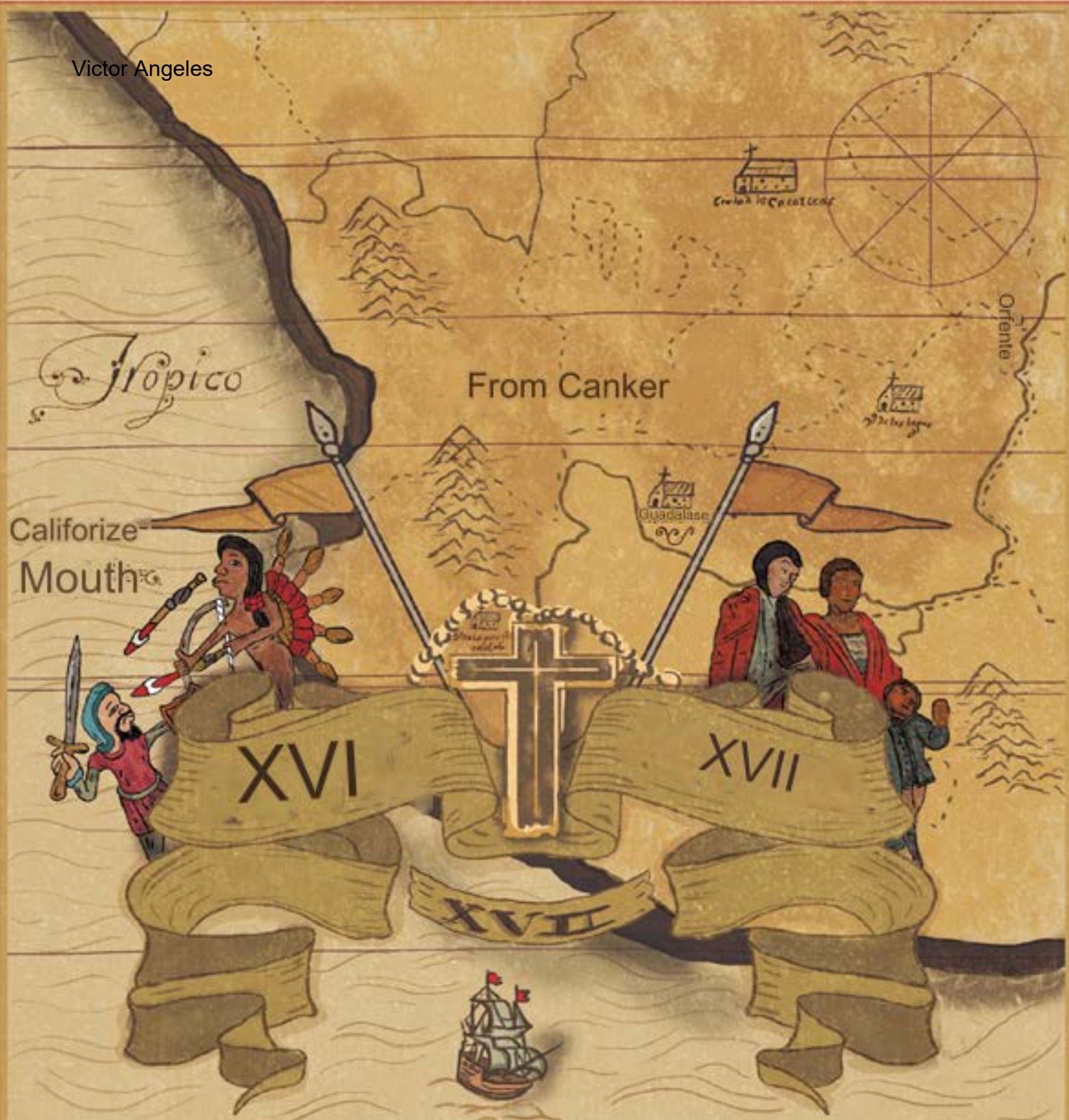


Victor Angeles



HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF NEW GALICIA

THOMAS CALVO / ARISTARCO REGALADO PINEDO
COORDINATORS

UNIVERSITY OF GUADALAJARA



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University Center of
Social Sciences and Humanities



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FOREWORD

In the territorial configuration of New Spain, without a doubt New Galicia had a fundamental significance, due to its large expanses of fertile land and the valuable deposits of gold and silver that it contained within. With the installation of the bishopric and the Audiencia, Guadalajara would become the capital of the Novogalaic kingdom and, due to its location, a strategic commercial and transit center to the north.

With all these advantages, which gave it a certain autonomy, it was also necessary to have an institution that offered higher education. Thus, thanks to the efforts made by Brother Antonio Alcalde, the creation of the Royal University of Guadalajara was authorized in 1791, inaugurated on November 3, 1792 in the former college of Santo Tomás.

The now bicentennial and worthy University of Guadalajara, through the University Center of Social Sciences and Humanities, publishes this History of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia from a renewed perspective, with the purpose of contributing to the study and dissemination of the events, characters and various elements of historical importance that politically, socially and culturally configured a vast territory that would later fragment into several states and that today we know as western Mexico.

This work, divided into six parts, contains 23 chapters written by 18 historians from the University of Guadalajara, the College of Michoacán, the College of Jalisco, the Autonomous University of Zacatecas and the University of Valparaíso, Chile; who offer the reader a panorama of New Galicia based on its geographical space, the original inhabitants and their ways of subsistence, organization and culture.

They also address the way in which the conquest expedition was planned; which included bloody wars, the extermination of peoples and evangelization, as well as the gradual implementation of a new way of life under the dominion Spanish, with its entire legal and religious system.

The authors analyze the different production areas in which they ventured the neo-Galicians, which allowed economic consolidation, growth

population and political and religious control in the new settlements. The crises that Nueva Galicia experienced, both economic and demographic, caused by droughts and epidemics that decimated the population, are not left aside, of course.

Another part of this work is dedicated to the study of Guadalajara, capital of the kingdom, which in the 17th century experienced a notable urban consolidation, with the creation of hospitals and convents and institutional reinforcement. The social composition of the main settlements is also analyzed here, in which the predominance of miscegenation and the presence of mulattoes stands out.

Another aspect that is addressed is the influence of the Enlightenment on the thinking, work and reforms of prominent mayors, jurists and bishops of Guadalajara, including Brother Antonio Alcalde himself.

The final chapters of the book deal with the collapse of New Galicia both politically and territorially, when the Intendence Ordinances that divided the kingdom were put into practice, and to which the insurgent revolts and the independence struggle also contributed.

Without a doubt, this volume adds to the extensive historiography on New Galicia that has been written since the 17th century, and will contribute to the understanding of historical phenomena that gave identity and reason for being to this area of the country.

I express my recognition to the team of researchers gathered in this work, under the coordination of doctors Thomas Calvo and Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, and to the Editorial Coordination of CUCSH for the edition of this title, which will be an indispensable reference document for academics, students and readers, interested in the history of this region.

Itzcoatl Tonatiuh Bravo Padilla

General Rector of the University of Guadalajara

PRESENTATION

When they still wore all the attire that the religious and military Europe of the 15th century wore during the Middle Ages, it happened that a group of daring and adventurous sailors found places that for them formed a new world, where there were also people who in everything were theirs. strange.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, in the so-called West Indies, encounters between individuals different in physiognomy and speech; The same as in the way they covered the body with clothing, the weapons they used, their diet, in addition to all the imaginaries that sprang from their minds, gave rise to profound transformations in both worlds; the European who received the riches, mainly in metals such as gold and silver, and the newly discovered one who was annihilated or subdued. Due to this especially violent cultural shock, events took place that may have a place among the most fascinating and at the same time unknown folds of all the works and adventures carried out by humanity in those times. What was experienced that was written or narrated, transcribed and subsequently studied, means that the present can go to the past, see it up close and feel the crevices where hidden stories are found.

For many reasons it is pleasant to host a work whose inspiration helps to understand a region that was called New Galicia, and what type of societies gave it identity to preserve and grow as an overseas kingdom for centuries, until the days of the decline of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

This work contains, in addition to the solid and extensive corpus of research that forms it, a special meaning for the general reading public and especially for those students of the living past that is our history.

The route starts from the first explorations towards the west of the limits of the territory conquered from the Mexica power (with the fall of Tenochtitlán in 1521) carried out by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, who had been appointed by Charles V president of the first Council administrative or Audience that took place in Mexico, on December 13, 1527.

From then until the years in which independence was fought - approximately three centuries - important activity took place in the Indian mestizo kingdom that on this continent named the crown Kingdom of New Galicia.

It is necessary to emphasize the political and military difficulties that arose among the conquerors from the beginning of their new life on the remains of the conquered peoples. They used the labor force of the survivors, whom they turned into slaves or allies to undertake new conquests in the vast area that was about to be discovered to European eyes. This is the case of the dispute between Hernán Cortés, who then held the title of marquis of the valley of Oaxaca; and Nuño himself, with broad powers and autonomy of action to govern New Spain. This process was carried out without delay, including the subjugation of the towns that had not yet had contact with the Spanish, in such a way that together with their people, the conquerors devastated every settlement they found on the way to the west, until reach the coast of the Pacific Ocean in search of the mythical place of Cibola, full of gold according to the imagination of those men, in addition to the tenacious desire to finally find the land of the Amazons.

The golden dream was then the main incentive for any undertaking, so possessing the metal justified any effort or sacrifice. For this reason, so many men bet everything, as happened to Cortés, who carried out the construction of ships with which he embarked on the coast of Oaxaca, sailing along the Pacific towards the north, until finding the lands that they named the name of the Californias. This is the gulf that currently bears that name and is also known cartographically as the Sea of Cortez. It was thus, between searches for gold deposits and exploitation through the encomienda and confrontations with certain tribes that had reacted to the arrival of these strangers, how the years of the newly founded kingdom passed until the days of the great uprising of the tribes in the Mixtón (1540-42), in the current state of Zacatecas. From there arises the figure of Tenamaxtli, the warrior who was a leader in the defense of the locals who avoided being dispossessed and captured, fighting until death. An unknown number of anonymous individuals succumbed along with their families defending their world from totally strange, powerful and cruel enemies. What idea would they have that somewhere in the unknown land, and beyond the sea, an expanding empire was booming because a certain Charles V was enlarging and enriching his crown.

The Western indigenous fury of defense turned the town and then city of Guadalajara into a itinerant population that, after three attempted foundations - two of them attacked by warriors in distant places

(Nochsitlán, Tonalá and Tlacotán), was finally established in Atemajac in 1542, although the coat of arms had been conferred by the king since 1539. Around 1560, the episcopal chair that was in Compostela was moved to Guadalajara, making this population became the new capital of the kingdom.

History is history until it is reborn; from the manuscripts of Brother Antonio Tello to those of Pérez Verdía, along with the chroniclers and historians of all times; Until the years of José Luis Martínez or Fernando Benítez, Edmundo O'Gorman, among many scholars of the pre-Hispanic and colonial past, it was possible to preserve and analyze writings that gave an account of events that in their own way have woven together ways of seeing and narrating the reality in its different stages.

The local history that makes up the identity of this western region of Mexico is, as a distinctive clerical and urban history of the Ibero-American populations, a tapestry of mestizo images endowed with a special sense of identity. The origins and roots of these veins of humanity go back in time to the most remote eras, perhaps in millennia lost for now, in the case of the cultures of the original settlers of the continent and of which we actually know little.

The kingdom of New Galicia lasted three centuries of overwhelming Spanish rule over what began to be recognized as indigenous at least four hundred years later. The lands were distributed among peninsular families along with their Creole descendants, with the original inhabitants remaining isolated in the most rugged areas, such as the top of the mountains. Those who did not manage to escape were prisoners of the colonizers who subjected them to mining or encomienda work, and eventually the haciendas arose. Slavery was combined with reinforcements drawn from Africa, so the black population increased and mixed. Was life peaceful in Nueva Galicia? Evidently not so much at first, given that the Franciscan Antonio de Segovia brought an image of the virgin, made of reeds and orchid bulbs by artisans from an area near Pátzcuaro, with the idea of receiving help from heaven to calm the rebellion of the inhabitants of those northwestern lands. Since then the name of the Peacemaker was given to the image, and three centuries later, when the last battles were fought prior to the consummation of independence, the virgin received the honors of the rank of general. Today she is worshiped as the Virgin of Zapopan and is transferred to different temples, although the original image remains kept in an artificial conservation environment. Other original dedications of the time are the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos and the Virgin of Talpa.

During the Mixtón War there were outbreaks of rebellion on the part of the invaded groups; However, the region maintained a favorable climate for expansion

of the villages that Europeans founded with the help of subjugated indigenous labor, only that the settlers always faced other types of vicissitudes such as plagues, floods and earthquakes during that colonial stage. Here the figure of Brother Antonio Alcalde appears as a benefactor who arrived in Nueva Galicia in 1771, encountering great difficulties among the humble population of indigenous or mestizo ancestry who suffered from diseases and hunger. It had trembled in the region, there were floods that lost crops, in addition to the plague or cholera leaving an enormous aftermath of mortality among the residents of the New Galician capital. With great diligence and courageous spirit, the Dominican organized the construction of works to alleviate the situation, with which he built a hospital, promoted the construction of a few hundred modest homes, helped to complete several convents and temples, and was in charge of the management to open the chairs of a university in Guadalajara. Men like the clergyman Alcalde drew attention to this kingdom of New Spain at that time. Nueva Galicia and its capital were so important to the country that the priest Miguel Hidalgo directed his followers there when he began his rebellion a few years after these events.

New Galicia was not the part of New Spain from which the changes that gave rise to the configuration of the republic were promoted decades later, but rather it remained far from the great conflicts in which the contenders who fought for control of territory and national identity; the nascent state. However, its ports and routes prevailed as essential strategic sites for the economic support of the entire viceregal system. The same can be said of the mineral and livestock production with which a rich area attractive to European and North American migrants, mainly, has since been created. The economic boom also led to the arrival of workers from China or other remote places. The presence of Asians has been documented since the beginning of the 17th century. In the middle of that century, a Japanese man was already one of the richest and most influential men in Guadalajara.

It was precisely the ships from China and Manila that supplied this part of the continent with goods from the east, after docking in the ports of Mazatlán, San Blas and Acapulco. The great trade of Asia passed through New Galicia. Since the 16th century, informally, these ships anchored in Chacala, Bahía de Banderas and Puerto de la Navidad, resulting in strong smuggling of Asian products in the capital of the kingdom. This was already mentioned by Alonso de la Mota y Escobar in 1605.

Three hundred years is a long time and perhaps we missed countless events and individuals who lived without leaving records, and who would have been

interesting and important to know. Time erases traces, which is why so many people went unnoticed and their presence and actions contributed to creating other types of societies. The unique features that identify the inhabitants of these regions of the country contain an element of origin whose influences we can identify in traditional imagery and tastes, in the cultural spirit that motivates the practices of each community, in religious, architectural or artistic matters. pictorial, in work and life in the countryside, in the multiple forms of commerce, etc. With some attention it is easy to notice those roots.

The fascinating history of the kingdom amalgamated in this work will help us understand each other more today, and also understand this very prolix land that has a lot to tell us. We, who want to know, are very grateful to the authors who tell us in this book.

Carlos Antonio Villa Guzmán

José Trinidad Padilla López

INTRODUCTION

When the future Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, were married in 1469, two circles of crowns were joined together, which over time multiplied and enlarged. The circle of Aragon extended from each side of the Mediterranean, integrating what had been independent kingdoms (Sicily, Naples...) and other lordships (Milan); that of Castile was more continental at first. With the accession of Charles I to the throne in 1516, later V of Germany (1519), the circle of the grand duchy of Burgundy was added, with the Netherlands. Finally, between 1580 and 1640, a fourth circle was associated, that of the Crown of Portugal, a true thalassocracy. All of this made up the Hispanic or Catholic monarchy, with variations, but over three centuries.

The one that interests us most is the circle of Castile, which from 1492 onwards integrated distant territories, the Caribbean islands and the mainland first, and especially from 1519-1521, with the conquest of the Mexican highlands, progressively most of the American continent. This formed the Indies of Castile, of which the kingdom of New Galicia turned out to be a part, attached to the mosaic from 1530 onwards.

This gigantic conglomerate formed "a composite monarchy," in the words of John Elliott. That is to say, each element or kingdom preserved its identity or a certain awareness of its own reality, part of its autonomy: there was, for example, a Council of Castile, another of Italy, of the Indies... But everything was crowned by two key pieces, which they linked the whole: the king, sovereign of all in his different kingdoms, and religion, owner of all souls. Furthermore, to standardize a machine built over several centuries, since at least the 13th century, a series of common institutions were formed: kingdoms, viceroyalties, audiences. The kingdoms came first, as most existed before the creation of the Hispanic monarchy. As the king could not be physically present everywhere, as soon as the circles began to function in the second half of the 15th century, at least, the figure of the viceroy was created, present in them representing the sovereign, his alter ego or his shadow. The hearings, higher courts of justice, designed jurisdictions

in many cases attached to the kingdoms, that is, territories over which they administered justice, government and administration: at least in the circles of Aragon and Castile.

It is this quite simple framework, between Aragonese and Castilian, that passed to America: in his own way Columbus was a viceroy, although quite unsuccessful. The Caribbean islands were too fragmented, they were territories of experimentation, which could hardly aspire to the already regulated status of a kingdom, with history and identity. The conquest of Anáhuac, with a disputed but real sovereign, who the Spanish immediately assimilated to an emperor, offered the possibility of creating a first Indian kingdom, that of New Spain: by royal decree of October 22, 1523, this was associated to that of Castile. It corresponded to the conquests of Cortés and his main lieutenants at that time, including Oaxaca and Michoacán. The establishment of an audience in Mexico in December 1527, of which Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán was the president, as well as the nomination of a viceroy in April 1535, completed the imperial scheme.

The conquest starting in 1530 of the territories north of Michoacán, unknown but supposedly full of promises (gold and Amazons), by the rival of Cortés and the Second Court of Mexico, forced the Crown to create a second kingdom. Indiano, that of Nueva Galicia, in January 1531. At first it turns out to be a largely empty shell, with few people, fewer institutions, but located beyond the Lerma and Chapala, that is, a territory clearly different from that of New Spain. Although the limits remained uncertain for a long time, fought on both sides: the towns of Ávalos, but also Zacatula, Colima, Navidad, and to the east, later, Sierra de Pinos. Progressively the shell would be filled, with an audience in Compostela in 1548, and a bishopric the following year, with the progressive arrival of settlers, among them many Gambusinos waiting to find the veins of precious metals. The kingdom would gain strength, multiplying its facets, moving away from the tragic times of the conquest. Explaining this process is precisely the purpose of the book.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM

As we have just written, at least since the 16th century a kingdom must have a history, and therefore a story of it. Since the 15th century, Hispania has had its fanciful chronicles, and especially in 1601 the General History of Spain by Father Juan de Mariana. New Spain was practically ahead of its progenitor, with the General History of the Indies, by Francisco López de Gómara, published in Zaragoza in 1552, the second part of which is dedicated to New Spain.

New Galicia, a territory devastated by the conquest of Nuño de Guzmán and the indigenous rebellions, could not claim such haste; although, as for the other conquests of the Indies, we have a series of letters, reports and interrogations, primitive forms of chronicles. They are unsurpassable, although unilateral, sources of the cataclysm that those iron years represented, written from the conquering angle, with very few exceptions. Some of these documents were published since the 19th century by Joaquín García Icazbalceta; The set was taken over by José Luis Razo Zaragoza.¹

In reality, we must wait more than a century, until 1653, for this first history to be written, and much longer for it to be published, in 1891. Its starting point is a religious chronicle, the *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Franciscan Province of Xalisco* by Brother Antonio Tello. Books II, which contains the history itself, III, which deals with "other illustrious men and servants of God", IV, which refers to "the foundations of the convents of the holy province of Xalisco", are dedicated to the kingdom of Nueva Galicia. It is more than an ecclesiastical history: if the goal of the Franciscan is the edification of his brothers in religion, he knows how to perfectly frame his purpose within the multiple reality that Nueva Galicia has known throughout the period. If we expected a chronicler, we have in front of us a true historian, who knows how to use the sources, gives them their importance by transcribing them, which allows them to survive to us. The friar died in 1653 in Guadalajara, and if he has plenty of baroque style, he lacks a lot of critical spirit to reach the level of a Leopoldo von Ranke, but who can blame him?

Even though it was unpublished, Tello's chronicle was circulating, entire sections were copied by other pens, which also remained unpublished, such as that of Brother Mariano Torres, but in this way it was more or less rescued. One of his main followers will be, around 1742, Don Matías de la Mota Padilla, lawyer, Crown official and proto-historian of the kingdom, with his *History of the conquest of the Kingdom of New Galicia in Northern America*. It met the same fate as the *Miscellaneous Chronicle*: we had to wait until the 19th century for it to be published (1870). In 1653 Guadalajara and Nueva Galicia were almost a hamlet and a large unpopulated space. In 1742 the populations grew significantly, the cities were decorated with bell towers, especially the capital where the looms began to make their rhythmic noise heard in the courtyards, extensive livestock activity lost its importance with the advance of grain-producing agriculture. After two centuries there is already a community built on common memories, shared cults, a collective personality; but also

¹ *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia* (Guadalajara: INAH, 1963).

We must take into account collective claims against the Crown, which closes any possibility of opening on that coast where the thousand wonders of China pass with the Manila galleon. Perhaps the supreme recrimination is against "the belly" that Mexico represents, a voracious, selfish organism that does not allow this kingdom to have the development it deserves. Nueva Galicia, jewel of the Crown, is the object of double exploitation, by Madrid and Mexico. Thus regionalism is expressed in barely more veiled terms, let us accept the term for 1742, by Mota Padilla.

With Independence the dislocation of the kingdom begins. In reality, cohesion always left something to be desired between Guadalajara, the political capital, and Zacatecas, the economic or at least mining head. The mayoralty reform of 1786, recognizing the double reality, gave it official support. From 1822-1823, with the mayoralties ceasing, the provinces were formed, then the free and sovereign states of Jalisco and Zacatecas, hostile to each other, and even more so to the federation. Colima, for a time attached to the mayor of Guadalajara, took advantage of the upheavals to segregate itself as a territory of the federation (June 1823). In 1857 the state of Aguascalientes was made official, after hard fights against Zacatecas, from the stands and by arms. We had to wait until 1917 for Nayarit to finally be born, having experienced a whole series of events throughout the 19th century under the rule of Guadalajara.

As always, the Church is the most conservative organization: until 1863 the bishopric of Guadalajara corresponded to what was New Galicia. It was dismembered from that date, with the creation of the archbishopric of the same name and the separation of the bishoprics of Zacatecas (1863), Tepic (1891), and Aguascalientes (1899). But, everything well analyzed, today the archbishop is the only heir of the kingdom, since his archbishopric reconstitutes the pieces of the mosaic that took shape in 1531.

With all this, and the 19th century being the century of nationalisms, or at least under these latitudes of regionalism, it cannot be expected that historiography has continued to consolidate a being in the process of disappearing, and therefore it took on the task of strengthening the disaggregated pieces of what was the kingdom. The frustration of Zacatecas was great throughout the colonial centuries, and we should not be surprised that it was the first state to reclaim its history: this is due to the pen of Elías Amador, *Historical Sketch of Zacatecas*, two strong volumes published in 1892. Jalisco could not be far behind, and in 1910 the three thick volumes of the *Private History of the State of Jalisco*, by Luis Pérez Verdía, came out of the press. They are two self-taught people, who can rely on the countless documents that have been published throughout the 19th century, especially in Spain, and on the regional documentary collections,

more or less preserved by the carelessness of time. His stories of course begin with New Galicia, and even before: Amador boldly dedicates his first chapter to the years between 544 and 1170. But this is not his main purpose: he himself gives equal length to the years 1810- 1857 as well as the viceregal period. As for the teaching that filters through its pages, we can concentrate it in the end of Amador's "Preliminaries" and in the dedication to his children that Pérez Verdía writes. The first writes: «A people without traditions or without remembrances is similar to a withered flower without aroma»; and the second: "God, Country and Freedom: there is the synthesis of History." Between tradition and freedom, this is how history was thought and written then.

General histories did not end with the 19th century. At the end of the 20th century, in 1980, a joint effort by several academics, under the direction of José María Murià, brought to light the History of Jalisco, in four volumes, scientifically up-to-date, with the perspectives and historical fashions of the moment: a very commendable effort. But of course Jalisco and its capital Guadalajara were still in the center. Some of those who now write this History of the kingdom of New Galicia were then the students of both José María Murià and Carmen Castañeda. Today they have taken up the torch again, they are the successors, but with renewed ideas and a perspective that looks towards the expanded horizons of what the kingdom was: in short, it lasted much longer than any of the states mentioned here.

THE KINGDOM OF NEW GALICIA: ANOTHER WESTERN MEXICO?

The question that every reader can ask, with suspicion or enthusiasm, when opening this work is whether it is precisely a regionalist product. It can be answered at several levels. The book came out of empathy with a somewhat strange historical object that was the Hispanic monarchy in its confines, precisely the kingdom of Nueva Galicia where the king never set foot on earth: how could one, from Guadalajara or Zacatecas, belong and recognize belonging? to an organism that extended from Sicily to the Philippines? But at the same time, this precise point of application, between the South Sea and the plateau, has its attractions for those who, among the authors, come from the other side of the North Sea, and of course for those who were born between the shelter of its mountains and plains. History is a strange discipline: there is sympathy for something that in the vast majority of cases is inaccessible, lost in the darkness of time. Is this a regionalist influence? It is a scientific concern that cannot be developed without attachment and without a precise geographical and temporal framework.

At another level, the regional reality of said object of study is raised. We do not return to the concept of region, discussed, praised, vilified... In short, and for us, as observers who want to be external or at least as neutral as possible, it is a territory with relative homogeneity, built by the confluence of flows, interests, powers that work in relative harmony; In the best of cases or models it has an attractive and accessible center in a short time. Seen from the inside by the actors themselves, it is a bundle of presences and brakes, of sensations, of memories, of visions, which are framed within lived times: a political, social and perhaps above all cultural bundle. All this reveals itself to be fluid over time, changing. Can one be in the same way the son of "a homeland" like Guadalajara in 1650, with less than 5,000 inhabitants, as of the megalopolis of 2015, also being requested today, not with force but with conviction, by all the other songs of the sirens, national and international?

If being part of a territoriality is to share a feeling of belonging, it would probably be easier in other times, when precisely this was a central point of legitimation: when the parade of the banner was celebrated, in Guadalajara, it was not only exalted to the absent king, but also to the city, and therefore to the union between the almost universal Catholic monarchy and this distant territory. So, we mean, in the 16th and 17th centuries there was no other homeland than the girl. But this feeling could hardly be expanded beyond the surroundings, at least in the first centuries of the existence of New Galicia. It is in the 18th century, when the spirits broadened, that it was possible to perceive in a single glance, from Guadalajara, to the coast of the South Sea - the region best known from the beginning -, to Lagos, Aguascalientes and possibly the outskirts of Zacatecas. This was the case in 1747, in the main square of the capital, when the allegories of all the cities and towns of the kingdom were observed, on the occasion of the swearing-in of the new king, Fernando VI.² With the exception of contemplating the Bufo of Zacatecas. It was always something unusual for a man from Guadalajara at the time. It is only when, at the end of the 18th century, students from Zacatecas begin to arrive at the University of Guadalajara that we can glimpse the formation of a regional entity over the entire kingdom. But the municipalities have already been created; the independence dislocation is at the door. The regional flowering of the kingdom was late and brief.

Has that community of horizons survived throughout Western Mexico that all the tourist brochures want to sell us today? Geography is no longer

² See Thomas Calvo, "The oath of Fernando VI in Guadalajara (1747): from the royal religion to the festivity", *Takwá* 8 (2005).

the same: Morelia claims its part next to the pearl of Guadalajara; Colima seems to want to return to the fold to which it belonged for brief periods and in diverse ways; Zacatecas is divided between several poles of attraction, Guadalajara, it is true, but also San Luis Potosí, the north, not to mention the border and "the other side." The West can be a region for tours, for business projects, with a view to becoming autonomous from Mexico, but without common political will, without an audience, nor a president-governor as in the times of the kingdom, therefore without soul or collective destinies. And even less with a feeling of territoriality, which today undoubtedly falls within the strictly state limits of the four or five states of western Mexico.

To summarize the issue, at least since Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, with his *Description* of 1621, there has been the construction of an ideal of man, anticipating the pioneering spirit of the 19th century, framed in the changing but delimited spaces of New Galicia. Even with the rivalry between the two capitals, political and mining, something similar to a unique region crystallized at the end of the 18th century, in its cultural level, to disappear as such at the dawn of the 19th century. Something persists or is recreated afterwards, «the region of Guadalajara, protean, which overflows in an imperceptible and poorly delimited way over the state of Jalisco, a product more of financial flows than of historical memories. And with the modernity of the end of the century (xx), between the pressure exerted by Mexico and the North American border, something else was born, without true continuity, "the west of Mexico."

THE RUN OF TIME

The present work, *History of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia*, is divided into six parts and 23 chapters, written by 18 historians assigned to five different institutions: the University of Guadalajara, El Colegio de Michoacán, El Colegio de Jalisco, the Autonomous University of Zacatecas and the University of Valparaíso, listed here in order of importance according to the number of academics who participated in the work. The first part is dedicated to "The first actors", considering geographical space as an actor as important as humans and not only as a decorative element in the great theater of History. In such a way that geography appears as an element that often influences the decisions of the men who inhabit it, both in the political and economic spheres. That is why it is important to know the space well through paintings, first, visibly indigenous, then maps with Western characteristics: we witness, in this first opening chapter, the approach to a space lived by the neo-Galician people from the 16th century to the 19th century.

XVIII. Likewise, the chapter on the indigenous people of Nueva Galicia covers a broad temporal period. The archaeologist Joseph Mountjoy decided to expose the indigenous world without limiting himself to the pre-Hispanic element only, because with the Spanish conquest the original inhabitants of America did not completely disappear but continued to live and coexist alongside the new conquerors and settlers who came from remote places. This chapter is organized thematically; Its author gives us an overview of agriculture, hunting, fishing, the domestication of animals, food, clothing, housing, transportation, play, sociopolitical organization, war, religion, and indigenous death, contrasting the ethnohistoric information with the archaeological data available in the extensive territory of what was New Galicia.

The second part, "Conquest and settlement of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia (1524-1570)", consists of four chapters. The first, the responsibility of Aristarco Regalado, deals with the five years prior to the conquering expedition led by Nuño de Guzmán. The political intrigues in Mexico and Spain related to the New World are told, Guzmán's motivations for undertaking the expedition to the north of New Spain are exposed, the preparations for the conquest and the state of the lands that would be victims are explained. of his expedition. The subsequent chapter narrates that conquest and explains its extremely crude nature: a war of blood and fire. The demographic consequences, the founding of Spanish towns and the slave activity of the first Spanish settlers are mentioned. The conquest, the establishment of the colonizers, the establishment of the kingdom of New Galicia was followed by a first regionalization based on an economic activity at the expense of indigenous exploitation: the *encomienda*. The starting point of this first regionalization was the conquest and the distribution that Guzmán made of the loot among his captains. Subsequently, after the disappearance of the captain general from the neo-Galician scene, and based on new discoveries and new waves of expansion, the regionalization of New Galicia acquired different forms and extensions, until it came to be formed into three large territorial groups that were already very late in the 16th century: one on the coast, another in Zacatecas territory and another in the Guadalajara area. Finally, to close this second part, Salvador Álvarez makes an analysis of the so-called "Chichimeca war." Indeed, in this text the author delves into the historiographical genesis of this "war." It is about returning with new perspectives to the construction that Philip Powell carried out at the time and the way in which he gave life to the historical event. And so, later, explain that in reality there were several "Chichimec wars" that were the extension of the Mixtón conflict, in the territory of the Caxcanes.

The chapter closes with the study of the end of this war, that is, in the author's words, of a peace that did not exist. In this way, the second part of this work concludes with a chapter still dedicated to violence in the 16th century, which would give way to the gradual institutionalization of New Galicia.

In fact, in the third part, "A slow construction of the kingdom (1570-1598)", it is explained that during the 16th century not everything was destructive war and violence, although they were always very present: it was also construction, creation, miscegenation and consolidation of a new way of living with strong overtones of Westernization. Firstly, we talk about institutionalization, that is, the founding of Spanish towns, the entry into force of the Spanish justice system based on the mayor's offices, the townships and the Court; Celina G. Becerra delves into the first presidents of the Audiencia, its oidores, but also exposes the creation of the bishopric and its difficulties. The religious aspect with its practices and the advance of evangelization at the hands of the Franciscan foundations in the district of Xalisco is captured in the chapter written by Refugio de la Torre Curiel and Laura Fuentes Jaime, which culminates with the exhibition of the expansion of the order of the saint of Assisi throughout Zacatecan lands, and with the specific enunciation of the secular curates in the bishopric of Guadalajara towards the end of the 16th century. During this same century, the expansion movement continued towards the north, justifies the chapter written by Chantal Cramaussel, giving rise to new Spanish enclaves of the importance of Nombre de Dios, Mazapil, Saltillo and Parras that came to strengthen one more than already existed: Culiacán. This expansion movement caused the creation of the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya in 1562, which however remained under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guadalajara: but despite everything Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya maintained distant relations. In the religious sphere, northern society also grew relatively outside of Guadalajara, since in 1621 the bishopric of Durango was founded. The author of this chapter titled "The Far North or the New Frontier" closes her presentation by delving into the relationships that Nueva Galicia had with that far north. Thomas Hillerkuss offers us a rich chapter on Neo-Galician high society during the second half of the 16th century, their ties and activities, but he also traces their history and the way in which they became wealthy and influential figures. It takes us from the South Sea coast to the Spanish cities of Purificación, Compostela and Culiacán where the first conquistadors reigned; It stops at the inhabitants of the region of the Altos and the canyons, land of encomenderos and landowners; He advances to Zacatecas and San Martín, where certain miners had become rich, and even goes so far as to analyze the almost free, if not at least autonomous, men of the extreme north.

We find, therefore, a very varied rural society in Nueva Galicia "in the process of formation" at the end of the 16th century. The chapter that closes the third part completes the picture because it presents us with a society with less vigor and pride, a turn-of-the-century society full of human dramas, in the process of accommodation, rearrangement or, frankly, mere construction from ashes that He has left the conquest with blood and fire. Here, heartbreaking human trajectories of utter failure appear. This was also the Nueva Galicia of those times, concludes Thomas Calvo, "the toughest that the region as a whole has ever experienced."

The neo-Galician 17th century, what is called here "the great 17th century", was the period during which the kingdom achieved its economic, political, demographic and, in a certain way, religious consolidation. It is true that we must accept that this consolidation process extended well into the 18th century. In the economic sphere, we must highlight the rural sector that included agriculture, an activity dedicated especially to satisfying internal demand, that is, the livelihood of the inhabitants of Nueva Galicia; but above all livestock farming, promoted as an export product due to the great demand for livestock in Mexico and in the mines. Livestock farming was the activity that returned some men to wealth, and the one in which the practices were most innovative to achieve greater benefits, as demonstrated in the chapters titled "Lands, mines and demographic growth" and "Fields, towns and villages. In this last chapter, in fact, we appreciate more clearly the way in which the large latifundios and mayorazgos were, above all, producers and exporters of livestock. The other important sector was mining. With the chapter written by Jaime Lacueva, "Zacatecas: imperial north", we can delve into the world of mining, its techniques and difficulties, but also into the evolution of these techniques emanating from a long learning process. In fact, this last aspect was very important in the consolidation of mining in Zacatecas: "The experience accumulated in the use of the amalgamation technique", to which we must add the end of the Chichimeca war and the financing of quicksilver. We must also highlight the crises that Nueva Galicia experienced during the 17th century: one in the second third of the century and another at the end. Crises that caused the ruin of several miners, both in Zacatecas and Guadalajara, and that were generalized because they also reached the field of agriculture and livestock; Of course we can even classify them as demographic crises, since accompanied by droughts and epidemics, they caused desolation in a world that barely showed signs of stability. The merchants played a very important role in the economic recovery of Nueva Galicia, since with their credits they managed to

once again boost the most important activities of the kingdom. Upon emerging from the crisis, already in the second half of the 17th century, there was an unprecedented demographic recovery that can be seen in the chapters by Becerra Jiménez and Regalado Pinedo, and that of Águeda Jiménez Pelayo.

In the same way, in this fourth part of the work, "The consolidation of the kingdom: the great 17th century", the political consolidation of New Galicia is exposed, which passes above all through "The consolidation of a capital: Guadalajara ». This is seen in the chapter titled that way. A political consolidation that also involves the strengthening of its governor, like that of Santiago de Vera, the urban consolidation of the city, its demographic strengthening, its institutional reinforcement, both religious and judicial, its economic and Even intellectual authors venture. The chapter "Pathways of light and shadow" completes the reflection: what does it mean to be court and capital in a kingdom far from Madrid as far as it could be in North America? And we see several human trajectories parade in filigree that gradually provide elements of response to such a question, such as that of President Otálora, that of the Japanese Juan de Páez, that of the merchant Gamboa or those of the Jewish converts who settled in the New Galician capital. The city reached its consolidation in the 17th century "between lights and shadows", that is the suggestive conclusion of Thomas Calvo. In the religious field, Guadalajara appeared radiant with its six convents and two hospitals, to which were added the Discalced Carmelites, the Philippians, and already at the end of the 17th century, definitively, the Tridentine Conciliar Seminary of San José. , according to the authors of the chapter "Foundations and religious practices (17th and 18th centuries)". This section also takes us on a journey through the religiosity that spread in New Galicia, driven largely by the Church itself, and whose main cult was that of the Mother of God.

The fifth part of the work, "Times of Enlightenment", consists of three chapters that give an account of the situation in New Galicia, especially from the second half of the 18th century, when we witnessed important changes in many areas. In her chapter "The evolution of the population in the 18th century", Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez explains precisely that from 1760 to 1821, Nueva Galicia experienced a demographic increase of 321%, that is, in a period of 60 years The population tripled, something unprecedented until that historical moment. Furthermore, the social composition that reigned in the most important urban centers, evidently in Guadalajara, was predominantly mixed: in the capital more than 40% of the population was mulatto and mestizo. In Autlán, to give another example, the percentage of the population with mixed blood reached 60 percent. It is true that there were still majority towns

indigenous like Tonalá (88%) and Tlajomulco (79%). Oliver Sánchez also explains that New Galicia lived with a strong and diversified economy, with strong migrations of the population to urban centers, so the capital had experienced a very noticeable urban expansion. It was also a period of crisis. The author recounted the epidemics throughout the 18th century in Nueva Galicia in the chapter "Demographic crises and epidemics." He listed six health crises: between 1737-1738 the scourge of Matlazahuatl was suffered, between 1762-1763 that of typhus and smallpox, in 1780 smallpox devastated the region, between 1785-1786 the food shortage caused a high mortality rate, between 12% and 22%, between 1797 and 1798 smallpox from Central America once again wreaked havoc and in 1814 a fever epidemic tripled mortality in Guadalajara, but in Analco and Mexicaltzingo it quadrupled and quintupled it respectively. The response of the "enlightened" authorities was immediate and in the capital of New Galicia a hospice for the poor, a provisional hospital and a new construction for the one in Belén were built, which during the hunger crisis served as a hospital, hospice and prison for the poor and the sick.

These were also times of Enlightenment, those of the late 18th century. With the Bourbon reforms, of a political-administrative type, we witnessed the erection of the Consulate of merchants, the promotion of trade through the port of San Blas and the San Juan de los Lagos fair, the creation of the tobacco tobaccoist and a unprecedented impetus to the development of the proto-industry. Pilar Gutiérrez Lorenzo and Rebeca Vanesa García Corzo, in their chapter «Enlightened influences: reforms and transformations», argue that the enlightened impulse provoked scientific expeditions through New Galicia, notably along the Pacific coast, the beautification of the capital, the exploration of northern territories with the establishment of the Arizpe mayor's office as a laboratory for a new form of government and administration. Likewise, the enlightenment impulse led to the creation of the university, the establishment of the printing press, which between 1793 and 1823 printed around 792 documents, among which *The American Alarm Clock* stands out. In short, there was perhaps no better product for posterity, emanating from this enlightened period, than the *History of the conquest of the kingdom of New Galicia in northern America* written by Matías de la Mota Padilla, where he expresses the taking of awareness of a regional identity articulated around a city, his city, Guadalajara.

<<Towards the end of New Galicia» is the title of the sixth part that closes this work. In effect, the kingdom established by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán no longer exists in political terms, and its slow collapse began with the so-called Bourbon reforms that divided the kingdom of Nueva Galicia into several intentions.

dences, and later, with the revolutions, revolts or insurgencies that dealt the mortal blow that would leave the said neo-Galician kingdom dying and then definitively buried. David Carbajal López exposes the first stage of this political collapse, when the instruction came to divide Nueva Galicia into two municipalities: Guadalajara and Zacatecas. It should be noted that the territory of Colima was first part of the municipality of Valladolid, but five years later it was transferred to that of Guadalajara. Carbajal López also explains that already in the midst of the armed convulsions, when the Constitution of Cádiz was applied, the provincial deputation of Guadalajara was erected, with the mayors of said city and Zacatecas, from 1812-1813. However, this provision would not have a tomorrow because the insurgency would have acquired an irreversible tone, as Martín Escobedo explains for Zacatecas. Indeed, with a rather popular character, but championed by some priests, intellectuals and landowners from Zacatecas and its region, the insurgency caught on thanks to the push of the leaders such as Daniel Camarena, the priest Juan Pablo Calvillo, Antonio Haro, Joaquín Cárdenas, Musiño and Rafael Reza. However, the counterinsurgency that came later to almost completely extinguish this formless movement was followed by the independence proposal, to which the Zacatecans adhered thanks to the political skill of Celestino Negrete. This same character was also very important in achieving independence in Tlaquepaque, where he proclaimed it on June 13, 1821 just before triumphantly entering Guadalajara, as explained by Jaime Olveda in his chapter "The insurgency in Guadalajara and the end." of the kingdom. He also explains in his text the characteristic of the insurgent movement in this area: one that brought together the will of the Creoles and another that brought together the people in general. For a long time, throughout the years of instability, Guadalajara and its region were convulsed by the presence and dominance first of the insurgents, then of the royalists and later with the independentistas. But during that period, violence and insecurity reigned along with guerrilla warfare, cattle theft, hunger and the difficulty of establishing safe communications between the most important towns of the old kingdom of Nueva Galicia. Olveda tells of the main battles: that of the Calderón bridge, that of Mezcala, that of the Sombrero fort, and their implications in the convulsed history of those difficult times. Finally, when everything seemed to be going in order, the will of the most important men of Guadalajara and its region were inclined to support the Plan of Iguala, by Agustín de Iturbide, and adhere to the Independence of Mexico: among them, the activity of Bishop Cabañas, a friend of Iturbide, was very important for the cause. With this action the history of New Galicia was definitively closed.

<<<Tough times», «convulsed history of those difficult times». Without a doubt it was like that, and we think first of the paths of blood and tragedy along which the hosts of Nuño de Guzmán entered. "Death in this garden" if we think about that nature, that vegetation, those lagoons and volcanoes. Landscapes to which the conquerors and their heirs seem to have devoted little attention. They came from other worlds, the Tropics welcomed them: and with them the excesses, such as floods and mosquitoes. That is to say, they lived in other times than ours, and their outlook was different.

Afterwards there were times of "yes and no", as Edmundo O'Gorman once commented. A long 17th century that contains all the virtualities, offers all the terms of the alternative: miscegenation, urbanization, haciendas, mines, workshops and autonomy. Or if you prefer, times of science and the Inquisition. It was not a rest, a nap as some have stigmatized that moment. And even less in Nueva Galicia, where transfers take place from west to east, where Zacatecas and with it Mexican silver - is preparing to take over from Peruvian Potosí.

In the 18th century, the forge became clear: the paths had already been chosen, towards a mestizo population, a diversified economy, a culture that exalted the Creole homeland. But from spark to spark, the great fire is being prepared, covertly, in which Nueva Galicia, perhaps without wanting it as much as other regions, Michoacán in particular, is also a participant. Some of the torches that burned the entity came from outside. It is for this reason, and because the belly of Mexico remained insatiable, and because the Bourbon reforms had begun to dismantle the work of the Audiencia, with the mayoralties, that the territory of Nueva Galicia did not become independent from the Center. Maybe he also thought that his greenness, his vitality were capable of subverting everything, and that one day this would be the paragon of Mexicanness?

Thomas Calvo

Aristarco Regalado Pinedo

FIRST PART

THE FIRST ACTORS

AN ESSENTIAL ACTOR: BETWEEN MOUNTAINS AND BASINS

Thomas Calvo, The School of Michoacán

Paulina Machuca, The School of Michoacán

We think we know this universe well because we often travel through it as tourists or otherwise, because we are familiar with its road maps, because the images that the regional media pour into us at all times are part of our daily lives. Well, we have to forget a good part of this, and not only because Nueva Galicia no longer exists, at least since 1821. It is true, today we talk about "western Mexico", but in reality it is a conglomerate of several states of the Republic, more or less indefinite, without tangible administrative consistency, nor perhaps human, probably economic... New Galicia was an organism inherited from several universes, a human geography that perhaps is not largely recognized today: the fragile Chichimeca layer, which the wind of conquest and its henchmen carried away in a whirlwind, the alluvium coming from the center of the country (Mexicans, Tlaxcalans, Tarascans), the hard rocks originating from Spain that they left, in all the terrains (political, social, cultural), indelible imprints.

But in the span of three centuries, dating back almost half a millennium, the space of the New Kingdom of Galicia also changed, having its own dynamics or guided by the action of man. Therefore, we must restore it as it was, in its magnitude, sometimes desperate, when one goes from mountain range to deserted area, with lack of water, signs of humanity, day after day, among innumerable dangers. We must give it its tones: tabula rasa at the time of the conquest - this is what was partly bequeathed by a war of blood and fire that was prolonged -, border zone in some of its parts, progressive anchoring of Hispanicity,

termination towards the north of New Spain. We must integrate the New Galicia in our incipient story with its immutable structures and its varieties -we are already writing them down: urban networks that interweave some cities

Dynamic <<<courtesans>>> (Guadalajara, Zacatecas) with a changing number and unequal spatial distribution of towns, mines, ports, towns;

a hotbed of work, ranches, ranches, haciendas, they live scattered, in symbiosis with forts, prisons, missions, mines and other places for travelers. In the center and in the west of space the stains of "humanization" - the term civilization has not yet been given, we have to wait for the end of the 18th century - seem at first more present; but then they extend further east, towards Zacatecas, los Altos, Aguascalientes.

Men are responsible for all this, without a doubt, but how can we not recognize also mark the imprint of green or dusty, humid or dry spaces, rough or flat, open or closed? Without forgetting the soil or subsoil, with its veins, its organic or mineral richness, its vegetal cover. We must also record abundant or scarce waters: currents, rivers, fountains, springs, stagnant - lagoons, dams, wild, prone to flooding - or domesticated - working in mills, mills, fulling mills, clearings, brackish. And all

these realities and phenomena constitute something more than a great stage: the physical space is an actor in the drama that is represented, it is a receptacle and dynamic force, moldable wax and creative impulse, in which man is not superimposed, but immersed. These games of interactions are all the more subtle and perhaps disconcerting for us who are faced with a world that we have irremediably lost. Just as we do not bathe twice in the same river, we no longer have the same landscapes under our eyes, especially if they are urban, the same road networks, nor the same climates, nor the same reliefs, sometimes coastal in particular. Above all, the corporal and psychological relations towards space are no longer the same: because it is no longer the same actor, we repeat; because then people traveled on foot, on the back of a mule, not on the wing of an airplane; because then behind each hill, in the proximity of each lagoon, the unknown began, perhaps death awaited. It is therefore essential not only to approach this universe, already ignored by us, but to reveal its virtues and defects since we are going to visit it, to the extent possible, through the eyes of its contemporaries, those men of past centuries, who traveled through it, transformed it, suffered from it or were happy in it and, therefore, also judged it.

OF THE PAINTINGS OF A SPACE TO THE MAPS OF A TERRITORY

<Knowing the land> was a primary requirement for Indians and Spaniards. The conqueror Nuño de Guzmán realized this when, being in the swampy region north of the current Nayarit (province of Aztatlán), a true flood occurred that was on the verge of annihilating his host, in September 1530. Already in July, felt demoralized: "The earth is too hot."

sa, and there are many scorpions. The waters are incoming and they come hard.¹ Here it was temporary, and above all what Nuño regrets in his heart is the absence of gold and Amazons. This knowledge of the natural conditions was even more vital for "the naked ones", as they were called, that is, the Chichimeca Indians, nomads who lived in the interior of the lands of hunting, collecting various fruits, especially tunas, and hunting. His knowledge was ancestral; It allowed them to travel through large areas, gather sea salt from the coast and peyote from the highlands, use the virtues of certain herbs to kill the enemy, and make the fish drunk (with mullein).²

Ignorant of the environment, at first the Spaniards felt inferior, even fearful. Trying to found the town of Purificación in November 1532, they preferred to wait another season, "until the land and its quality were known. Of course, with his dominating desire, with the experience acquired in the territories already conquered, from the Canary Islands and the Antilles to the Anáhuac, with all his technology, at the beginning of the 17th century we see the priest Lázaro de Arregui exploring space with his astrolabe in hand, the Spanish took over everything, built a large territory, the kingdom of New Galicia.

Today its breadth can still be impressive, corresponding to several federative entities: Zacatecas, Nayarit and Aguascalientes in their entirety, Jalisco for the most part except for what was then called the provinces subordinate to the justice of Guadalajara of Zapotlán, Sayula, Autlán and Amula. to the west of the Chapala lagoon and the northwest of San Luis Potosí. In total about 250,000 square kilometers, half the surface of the Iberian Peninsula. If we have to wait until the beginning of the 17th century to have descriptions in good shape (Mota y Escobar around 1605, Lázaro de Arregui in 1621), the needs of understanding and apprehension of this unknown universe forced efficient instruments to be forged very soon, at least from 1550-1551, due to the traces preserved by the General Archive of the Indies (AGI).⁵ This is a sketch,

¹ Adrián Blázquez and Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and the new world. Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán: profile of a conqueror* (Guadalajara, Spain: Provincial Institution of Culture Marqués de Santillana, 1992), p. 203.

² Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, ed. and study by François Chevalier (Seville: CSIC, 1946), p. 52.

³ Aristarco Regalado, *The foundation of the town of Purificación* (Purificación: Ayuntamiento de Villa Purificación, 2008), p. 62.

⁴ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1940); Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*.

⁵ AGI, Maps and Plans, Mexico 8, «Design or note on part of New Spain,

with very synthetic views, clarifying even for the mind that conceived it, and of a painting, that is to say something more far-fetched, between a watercolor drawing and a geographical map (maps 1 and 2).

The first testimony (map 1) comes from someone, probably an officer close to the new viceroy Velasco, who is located at the crossroads of New Spain, that is, Mexico, and who summarily materializes with a circle (the lagoon) and its roads, where they meet the roads from Veracruz, Acapulco and Guadalajara-Culiacán. But only the Mexico-Guadalajara-Culiacán route has been drawn: a sign of its interest - or paradoxically, of its ignorance: it must be made clear. Errors, approximations and absences are essential points here. In 1550 what the future path of Tierra Adentro will be is not yet taken into account; It is simply a branch between the kingdoms of New Spain and New Galicia: only the royal one of Zacatecas has already been founded, the others "have to be populated [...] in the way that others come after others here, directed so that "People don't die or get lost." In those times still of exploration, with knowledge and interests that will later be modified, it is in mind to use that branch to cross the Sierra Madre Oriental, suggested here, and go to Florida. El Bajío is potentially on the path to integration. The main road connects Mexico, Michoacán, Compostela and "port of Culiacán [sic]" directly.

That is to say, the author of the sketch projects himself into a relatively near future; It proposes actions within the context of the moment, but with a universe little explored, still poorly known, and with solutions partially to be reconsidered. The "port of Culiacán" will never be the end of the Tierra Adentro path, the absence of the Sierra Madre Occidental in the map mortgages many of the solutions proposed in Nueva Galicia and further north. Of course, the "line" (or boundaries) between the two realms does not appear. It is barely being laid out on the ground, at that time, twenty years after the conquest: there are so many emergencies, so many doubts...

Although very different, the painting of New Galicia in 1550 (map 2) has points consistent with the simple note: there are no jurisdictional limits, only a semblance of a natural border with New Spain: «The province of Michoacán is part of this painting outside these mountains. The other horizons close on mountains (north), overwhelming scenes of massacres (east), or open on the infinity of the South Sea (west). On the other hand, the promoter of such document, the oidor Hernán Martínez de la Marcha (with three other maps now lost), is like the predecessor an officer; Furthermore, a

from Mexico to New Galicia»; AGI, Maps and plans, Mexico 560, "Map of New Galicia."

MAP 1. NOTE OF THE ROAD FROM MEXICO TO CULIACAN



Mediterranean, especially sensitive to the orientation following the course of the sun, to continental spaces, to the network of roads and settlements. His drawing of the coast is summary; The attempt to imitate a compass rose, as on any maritime map, is a failure. What is most striking in that part is the importance, already in 1550, of the term depopulated. If the edge of the ocean is already almost deserted, the north and west are a veritable hotbed of "naked people", with their bows, their clubs, their cannibalistic habits. Large, small, fighting or dead, they have an even more impressive appearance given by the only spots of color: dark brown for the skin and, above all, the four blood spots that accompany them. There is like a staging of the fear inspired by its peñoles (from El Teúl, from Mixtón), its plains of the Chichimecas (the Altiplano), its humanity as a whole.

Of course, one should not expect any geographical precision, and one must take care of some precise details. It is known that if the city of Compostela,

MAP 2. NEW GALICIA IN 1550



then head of Nueva Galicia, it seems like a simple hamlet with thatched roofs and at the ends of the earth, if Guadalajara has the profile of a well-planted western city, "in the middle of all the native towns and the silver mines." »¹, is that Martínez de la Marcha wants to persuade the Crown to change its capital. Furthermore, one could comment infinitely on location errors, especially in relation to longitude, dilated when latitude is compressed: practically, as expected, no alignment is correct.

But it is better to insist on the achievements: twenty years after the arrival of the Spanish army, New Galicia is already expanding with some regularity, forming an axis that corresponds to the road from Mexico, which passes east of Chapala, connecting Guadalajara and Compostela; no others are yet visible. In 1550 the essential part of the population, Indian and Spanish, was concentrated.

¹ "Opinion of the ecclesiastical chapter on February 9, 1550", in Collection of unpublished or very rare historical documents referring to the archbishopric of Guadalajara, by Francisco Orozco y Jiménez (Guadalajara: Agencia Eclesiástica Mexicana, 1922), volume 1, no. 1 p. 47.

MAP 3. ORTELIUS: NEW SPAIN AND NEW GALICIA (1579)



tra in the succession of valleys along that road, west of the Rio Grande, from the Chapala lagoon to Xalisco and Tepic. The Sierra Madre, still poorly defined in this painting, is another element of containment, to the west of the valleys. Their journey, at the height of Ahuacatlán, suggests what Lázaro de Arregui would write half a century later: «So narrow a place that only a loaded mule can pass, leaving on the left hand that falls at midday a ravine many states deep, and to the right a tip of a high and intractable hill. The east is "no man's land", or rather of the Indians of war: "The rich mines of the Zacatecas" are a simple reference in the painting, a camp in reality.¹

But geographical science is already progressing, and this affects the image of Nueva Galicia itself. Firstly, we are offered the splendid map of New Spain by Abraham Ortelius (1579), where the most striking part is precisely what corresponds to New Galicia, due to the abundance and quality of the information provided (map 3). Most likely he used, among other sources, the paintings of Martínez de la Marcha: his information

¹ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 78.

It dates back to those dates, since Compostela continues to be capital in its accompanying text. The naked characters disappeared, but in the place of the anthropophagy scene (Chiametla River) it was written "anthropophagi sunt qui bis montibus habitant" and, for the Tepehuanos, "gens fera et sine legibus." Even the fears were transmitted.

Such progress was not only taking place in the workshops of the Netherlands; Something was happening to Nueva Galicia, at least thanks to Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, who we know had instruments and geography books. He accompanied his description of 1621 with a map without the decorations of others, but with some precision in terms of "contour and posture." It is a work (map 4) therefore largely genuine, which most likely did not take advantage of what was already established by Ortelius. Thus, he did not take into account the meridians that appear in the 1579 work; They reach close calculations by different means when they try to establish the longitude of the Xalisco valley: 107 degrees of the Madrid meridian for Lázaro de Arregui, 10 108.5 of the Toledo meridian for Ortelius. In both cases there are about seven or eight degrees of excess; Lázaro de Arregui the amateur improving the professional's calculation a little. Thanks to his astrolabe his measurements of latitude are more accurate - he is rarely wrong by more than half a degree and numerous: there are more than twenty marked places. From Culiacán, Mazapil and Ojos de Santa Lucia (Monterrey) in the extreme north to Purificación in the extreme south there are about six degrees of difference in latitude, the whole almost exclusively south of the Tropic of Cancer.

In reality, this beautiful map, with all its artisanal appearance, is a valuable geographical testimony: with its lack of artifice it highlights the central axes of this universe. On the one hand, the orography, here essentially the Sierra Madre, a wide green band, which runs along the coast and therefore separates rivers and basins from the high plateau (Medina river that flows into the Parras lagoon, in Nueva Vizcaya) of oceanic influences, makes relations between east and west difficult. Secondly, the rivers receive much of the artist's attention: wide, colorfully marked. It is that like water, in

8 Thomas Hillerkuss and Elizabeth del Carmen Flores Olague, «The map of New Galicia (1579) by Abraham Ortelius», in *Maps of the middle of the world. Cartography and territorial construction of American spaces, 16th to 19th centuries*, by Francisco Roque de Oliveira and Héctor Mendoza Vargas (Lisbon: University of Lisbon-Center for Geographic Studies/UNAM-Institute of Geography, 2010), p. 46.

9 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 2. The map has been reproduced by the Colegio de Jalisco (Angélica Peregrina), 1999. The original is found in: General University Library of Salamanca, manuscript 25 66.

10 Ibid., p. 17.

MAP 4. NEW GALICIA BY DOMINGO LÁZARO DE ARREGUI (1621)



The dry plateaus are arteries of life, they emerge and die in green areas, full of grains and livestock, even fish. But this blessing in the central Plateau becomes an impediment in the hot and humid regions of the coast, where water is abundant, floods threatening: in the eighteen square leagues of the Xalisco valley there are "more than 50 water springs or sources." "But analysis of the map reveals another difficulty: those rivers that come down from the mountains to the ocean, impetuous streams most of the time, are not navigable, only crossable, in a universe largely without bridges, throughout the entire colonial era. We must wait for the 18th century for the culture of public works to spread in this world: in 1578 the king approves the determination of the Court of Guadalajara not to build a bridge over the Rio Grande, in view of the Indians being busy in the construction of the cathedral. The passage of Tololotlán, "in some very large canoes made every

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 92.

one from a thick trunk of some tall pine tree, still has a lot of future.¹² The first bridge built, undoubtedly simple beams placed across the San Juan stream east of Guadalajara, dates from around 1610.¹³

From all this Lázaro de Arregui draws a simple and strong conclusion, which we must always keep in mind: the Río Grande and the Sierra Madre, with its two spurs of Nayarit and Bolaños, divide Nueva Galicia into two parts: a cold land, place of cattle, silver and prisons to the east, a hot land, land of cocoa, fruits and flies, widely unpopulated, sometimes impenetrable by its undergrowth and its swamps to the west.¹⁴

With what spaces are Guadalajara and the central region, temperate, intermediate step articulated? In the time of the Compostela native Lázaro de Arregui, without a doubt the relationship, as in the 1550 sketch, is more with the coast, with a west where it has no rival. Over time, with the new reorientations of human geography and the progressive colonization of the Altos (Aguascalientes, Tepatlán, Lagos), Guadalajara will fully assume its role as capital, extending its network towards the east more firmly. Furthermore, the perception, fair or erroneous, of these distributions, the rearrangements that are offered, the creation of a central articulation demonstrate that with the passage of time, through painting and maps, the unknown space, *tabula rasa* for Western knowledge, a receptacle of myths and dreams, becomes a territory, calibrated in its possibilities, exploited, delimited (with its sufficient flexibility): around 1600-1620, in the time of Lázaro de Arregui, precisely, the line between the two kingdoms, Licenses to export livestock from New Galicia to New Spain are a reality that makes the lives of many traffickers bitter. Many things are revealed with the affirmation of "real assets."

THE WEIGHT OF GEOGRAPHY

This territory, the same one wrapped in the extensive bishopric of Guadalajara, without limits to the north, at least until 1621 and the creation of that of Durango, forms an apparently compact mass, about 500 kilometers from east to west-almost 150 leagues, writes Lázaro de Arregui, bordered on one side by the Pacific; on the other, through the foothills of the Sierra Madre Oriental of Saltillo and San Luis Potosí to the Bajío. And there are more than 600 from north to south: a little north

¹² AGI, Guadalajara 230, L. 2, fol. 45v-46v, Royal decree of Escorial, 07-05-1578; Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 113.

¹³ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 63-64.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. eleven.

town, still in the 18th century, a kind of continental ocean, with jurisdictions that intertwine: Nombre de Dios (New Spain) is placed between Guadiana (Vizcaya) and Sombrerete (Galicia). The lack of definition means that for decades the mayor of San Luis Potosí, and behind the viceroy, have fought with the Court of Guadalajara over the territory of Sierra de Pinos and its mines.

The much more populated south, better known and trodden by the different conquerors, is even more coveted, and New Spain manages to allocate a large territory to the southwest of Guadalajara when it is not yet the capital: less than ten leagues from the city it begins, the province of Ávalos with the granaries that make up the Ameca haciendas. That New Spain bend reaches Autlán de la Grana, 150 kilometers from the Tonalá valley, a distance that is more appreciated on the map of Lázaro de Arregui. Colima, as New Spain's *finis terrae* near Nueva Galicia, will always feel a contradictory attraction: in 1593 its Cabildo requests what it had previously rejected, to be subordinated, like the other nearby provinces, to the justice of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, instead of that of the Court of Mexico:

Regarding the said city of Mexico being one hundred leagues from this said town, and the said Court of Guadalajara being only twenty-five or thirty leagues away and the temples of the said city of Mexico and this said town being so contrary, so that those who go to ask the city of Mexico for justice, they get sick and die and the expenses are excessive because it is so far away that the residents of this said town do not dare to ask for their justice and they lose it by not going to the said city of Mexico with the risk of life and excessive spending and the said city of Guadalajara being so close to this said town and the spending being little and where any neighbor comes to ask for justice with this and many inconveniences that have been seen and understood later here and that the poor perish their justice, and so that His Majesty orders the said royal certificate to be given in duplicate and orders that said town be kept and fulfilled in this town as in the other subalterns. ¹⁵

If we return to the partially orographic map of Lázaro de Arregui, the heart of the territory is articulated around that central axis, like a gutter, which represents the Lerma-Río Grande, draining a good part of the rivers of Nueva Galicia that are called the Lagos River (in the time of Lázaro de Arregui) or the Green River (today): there is in a certain way a physical logic that reinforces politics, since the river of Ameca escapes the pull of the Río Grande basin, it has its own destiny. Furthermore, this central area is a part of the Neovolcanic Axis that extends

¹⁵ AGI, México 1684, letter from the Colima council of July 28, 1593.

towards the east, to Xalapa. It is a succession of basins (Guadalajara at 1,550 meters, Tequila 1,200, Tepic 950), which recent volcanism partially remodeled, making communications difficult, multiplying lagoons, first of all that of Chapala. In this disorder the vegetation is varied, dominating the grasslands, especially around Chapala, a breeding area. As for Guadalajara: "The ejidos and fields of the city are very flat and with stiff land, without stones, bushes or trees for more than a league, but covered with small grass."¹⁶ Of course, groves are never far away: for Guadalajara, "they are pines, oaks, oaks and other types of shrubs and chaparral."¹⁷

This part of the south is connected to the north by a series of mountain ranges and ravines (from Colotlán, from Juchipila). In the north the structuring element is the Sierra Madre Occidental, an old fractured but imposing massif that dominates with its 2000, 3000 meters the coastal, marshy plains, a hotbed of a whole fauna and flora that are aggressive to the traveler. On its eastern slope, the same mountain range sinks under a layer of lava, losing itself towards the synclines filled with alluvium of the Altiplano (Durango, San Luis Potosí).

The plateau impresses with its nakedness, it is the realm of uncertainty; The paths barely drawn through the dust go from waterhole to waterhole, in the middle of the saltpeter. From time to time a hill emerges on the horizon, like the one described in 1561 by Captain Pedro de Ahumada, chasing a group of Guachichiles: "Follow them along a trail for three days around a mountain range and a pine forest"; One cannot be more synthetic and evocative describing the future scenario of the Sierra de Pinos estate. It is an immense plain, around 2,200-2,350 meters, dominated by a spur that culminates at more than 2,900 meters, then crowned with pine trees: these disappear throughout the colonial era, and there is no longer a trace in the mid-19th century. ¹⁸

Culiacán deserves a separate mention: Nuño de Guzmán's army arrived there, in search of gold and Amazons; The province is separated from the rest of Nueva Galicia - 46 leagues north of Acaponeta - by the conquest of Nueva Vizcaya (1554-1564). It extends between the Piastra and Mayo rivers,

¹⁶ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 63.

¹⁷ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 51.

¹⁸ These descriptions are supported by the prologue by Thomas Calvo, *By the roads of Nueva Galicia: transports and transporters in the 17th century* (Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara / Cemca, 1997), and Thomas Calvo, «The second foundation of Sierra de Pinos», in *Sierra de Pinos on its horizons. History, space and society (16th-20th centuries)*, coord. by Thomas Calvo and Martín Escobedo (Mexico: Municipal Institute of Culture of Pinos / Instituto Zacatecano de Cultura Ramón López Velarde / Taberna Librería, 2011), p. 63.

along 37 leagues of coast, 19 without real anchorage points, marshy, where rivers from meander to meander learn the art of arabesque. Culiacán, besieged between water and mountains, 60 kilometers from the sea, has no other communication options than the Topia gorge, through the Tepehuana mountain range, getting lost between clouds and pine forests at more than 2000 meters above sea level or the hard road of the coast. A generous nature: «The fruits are all from the hot land, wonderful melons, watermelons, cucumbers, pineapples, bananas, guavas, avocados, sapotes, guamúchiles and many other berries from the earth and all kinds of agriculture, oranges, lemons, citron, but no fruit is grown from Castile. However, it suffers from serious isolation, which has repercussions in multiple ways, and which in some way, with nuances, can be that of a good part of this Nueva Galicia, depending on places and times: «You can compare the people of this town to the first family that Adam and his children had, because they do not think or understand that there are other people in the world and that is how it is in the suit and first dress that Nuño de Guzmán and his people put there; They do not care about news or whether there is war or peace in the world, or if a fleet is coming or going; "No one wastes paper in the town, but only the notary." Among other consequences, incommunicability leads to autarky, and this forces the adoption of products from the land: this is how the Spaniards of Culiacán eat almost exclusively corn tortillas.²⁰ It is a circumstance that in Guadalajara, much more open to the outside, in times of Mota and Escobar, it would almost be the subject of scandal, even among mendicant religious.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF A PAST

It is a form of miscegenation, among many others that reach this geography located on the South Sea slope of the viceroyalty very early. The mixing of the landscape, based on flora and fauna, is one of the most effective and rapid. Less than a century after the emergence of the Spanish ecological system on the American continent, ²¹ already Bishop Mota y Escobar, "a native of the land" but who knows Spain well, its horizons, its fields and its productions, is not capable of distinguish with certainty what is American and what comes from other parts (Europe, Asia, Africa). He proposes a reasoning that is fallacious: the indigenous are from a hot climate, "plantain, anona, aates, ilamas, xico-zapotes, avocados, guamúchiles, guavas, dates, coconuts, pilón-zapotes, pitahayas, citron, grapefruit,

¹⁹ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 102-103.

²⁰ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 101-103.

²¹ Alfred W. Crosby, *The Transoceanic Exchange. Biological consequences and cultural from 1492* (Mexico: UNAM, 1991).

orange, lemon of many kinds and other tree and palm berries. Of course, the essence of the palms, bananas and citrus trees are recent additions, but already fully integrated into the landscape "of the land." For ecological reasons, the bishop has better luck with cold tempered fruits, widely identified as coming from the Old World: "Peach, quince, apple, fig, pomegranate, grape."²² This integration can be even more complex, when the imported plant has already developed a whole related activity among the Indians. This is the case for 1600 of those from Ahuacatlán: their main farming is vinegar and wine "which they make from pomegranates that they sell," they also harvest "many sugar cane."²³ Who will tell them that such products Do they come from the ends of Europe and Asia, even from New Guinea?

In a few decades it has been possible to shape the agricultural calendar to the demands of the grains and the climate. Writing in 1621, the priest Lázaro de Arregui notes: "From mid-May to the end of October it does not stop raining every day from noon onwards and often all day." Of course, in hot lands wheat cannot be grown. But even in temperate regions (like Guadalajara) in times of rain, all crops are ruined, whether grains or legumes, either due to the excess of weeds or due to the excess of insects (beetles). Furthermore, because of the humidity and heat, the grains (wheat and corn) cannot be preserved for more than a few months: "And this inconvenience of not being able to save the seeds results in the care of the second harvest and not going through it." In other words, just as the American technique of double sowing corn is used in hot lands, an identical mestizo procedure has been adopted for wheat in cold lands.²⁴ It is likely that the Indians of Nueva Galicia, when they sowed wheat for their account, they gave their sowing the treatment that their neighbors in Michoacán gave it, like corn: "They don't sow wheat like we do, but by hand, in their ridges, like garden beds and, for this reason, everything is born," without missing anything, and multiplies infinitely. ²⁵ Some accommodate the new realities, coming from Spain, in their own way; the others try to recreate their familiar universe in this New World. Barely had the Spaniards settled in the south of the Xalisco valley, the young Compostela dreams, in 1533: «And now that we are populated and inherited as in our natural

²² De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75-

²⁴ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, pp. 17-19.

²⁵ Montes de Oca, "Relation of Tiripitio", in *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Michoacán*, ed. by René Acuña (Mexico: UNAM, 1987), p. 362.

MAP 5. PAINTING OF SAN MIGUEL AND SAN FELIPE DE LOS CHICHIMECAS (CA. 1580)



earth, dying to appease it, to plant trees, vineyards, sow wheat, make mills, discovering mines of gold and silver. 26

In the same way we take advantage of the painting of San Miguel and San Felipe (map 5), which borders the space then more than the eastern territory of Nueva Galicia to stage what must have been the mestizo landscape of a good part of this area. northern, and not only in the 1580s. Tunales, agaves, deer, rabbits and chichimecas rub shoulders with horses and other large wild or domesticated livestock, rancherías, plows and soldiers. Some shoot cows with arrows from above; the others, from the plains, watch over the naked. Note the almost total absence of trees, except around what appears to be a lagoon: are they willows? Little will change throughout the period, except for the progressive disappearance of the "barbarians" and the multiplication of Spanish settlements, farms, ranches and other estates, and above all the extension of the mining estates and towns, which by 1580 were barely incipient.

It is easy at first to draw up a diagram of this urban network. The Spanish, preferably, settle in a valley with open horizons

²⁶ AGI, Guadalajara 30, N. 2, letter from the council of Compostela to the King, 10-20-1533.

(Guadalajara) to better be able to plan its extension, but also, in the 16th century, for strategic reasons, to be able to give flight to its cavalry. There is also a need to be near rivers of clear water (Purification). Often it is about uniting the two demands, like Culiacán, "in a flat and peaceful place, on the banks of a mighty river." However, the surrounding conditions mean that the town is cut off for four months each year, surrounded by swamps, "arcabuco and thickets."²⁷ In the case of mine real estate, it is a tributary of the veins, of the demands of mining, refractory to underground water. Zacatecas "could not have any shape or beauty in this town, because it was founded, as stated above, in a long and narrow ravine."²⁸ The Indian towns have a less precise location; As far as possible, they occupy intermediate (defensive) positions, such as Etzatlán, Ahuacatlán, which are on the slopes of volcanoes. Some occupy even more rugged positions, such as the six towns of the Cuaneles, in "a rugged mountain range with many wild groves."²⁹

But in detail this simplicity fades: there are Indian towns that very quickly congregate, adopting the Hispanic location and urban planning. This is the case of Ameca, which in 1579 is said to have been "populated as a formed, permanent town, and have been so for fifty years now." The editor of his report adds: «Founded on low, flat land, with a layout of streets, the king's houses, a church and an inn; with two crossroads, everywhere east, west, north and south. 30 American urban landscapes are often thought of on the uniform model of the grid, except in the case of mine real estate. You have to qualify. At first, at least a good part of the 16th century and beyond, this was not always the case, although today the towns and cities appear to be in almost perfect order. It is notable for Lagos, around 1600, that town has its origins in a fort at the crossroads of the roads from Guadalajara and Mexico to Zacatecas. So it has not yet lost its defensive character: «This town has the houses not in good order or layout, but each one in the style of a tower and a prison, very distant from each other. They are all made of adobe; There will be fifteen to twenty neighbors, most of them rich people."³¹ It was later, especially in the

— 27 De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, pp. 98-103.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

30 Antonio de Leyva, "Geographical relationship of Ameca", in *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia*, ed. by René Acuña (Mexico: UNAM, 1988), pp. 31-33.

We do not forget that it belongs to New Spain then.

31 De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 122.

During the course of the 18th century, which was remodeled, it adopted a sophisticated reticular plan, with the parish in the position of an acropolis.

These changes, mixtures and, finally, attacks on the environment have significant consequences on certain landscapes: the coal mines, the needs of the mines, of urban construction progressively destroy the forests, especially in the most ecologically fragile regions, because they are drier, from the Altiplano. Already in 1600 the situation was irremediable in Zacatecas: «When it was discovered there were a lot of trees and mountains in these ravines, which have all been finished and cut down with the foundries, so that if they are not some wild palmillas, nothing else has been left.». 32 The hooves of cattle, their forms of grazing can destroy grasslands, endangering even their own reproduction, as reported by both Mota y Escobar and Lázaro de Arregui in 1600-1620. In hot lands, paradoxically, an opposite but equally negative result is reached: the herds multiply the impenetrable forest spaces. One case among many, which Alonso de la Mota y Escobar describes to us, is regarding a port in the region of Culiacán, Guayabal, with a large guava forest nearby: «These valleys and banks of this port of Guayabal are very fertile, where there were very thick ranches of cows and since they fed the guavas, they excreted all this, which made such a thick forest of guava trees, that all of it is now useless for the needs of the cattle and thus they and the people are depopulated.». 33 Something similar seems to happen near the Purification: "The cattle are raised by the much forest that has been raised here for a few years." 34

With all this it is being understood that the changes are such that Nueva Galicia has little to do, in terms of geographical reality, with what preceded it, but also with what we have under our eyes today. Let's take the landscapes; Even the reliefs in some cases have been modified: let's not talk about the urban frameworks, nor the communication routes, but let's think that in recent decades entire hills and volcanoes have been razed to the ground to take advantage of their materials for construction, not to mention the forests, divided, cut down, burned..., the coasts, with natural evolution, with human action - let's think of the large tourist complex of Puerto Vallarta - would be largely unrecognizable to an inhabitant of the 17th or 18th century. As for the rivers! They have been buried under the urban asphalt, they have become polluting streams.

32 Ibid., p. 140.

33 Ibid., pp. 106-107.

34 Lázaro de Arregui, Description of New Galicia, p. 89.

ned with the excesses of agricultural exploitation, but also with climate changes.

Indeed, let us not be implacable judges: not everything in these changes in landscapes is due to the hand of man. Most likely, the inhabitants of Nueva Galicia lived under a cooler and more humid climate than us, in relation to the climatic characteristics of that time, especially in the 17th century, "the little ice age", which began in the 14th century and lasted until beginning of the 19th century. We find many indications of this in contemporary texts and maps: the presence of frost is then common in temperate areas, such as Guadalajara, in March-April and October. Water is abundant, increasingly perennial, for irrigation, in lagoons, with mighty rivers. The fate of the Coyotlán lagoon (Tlajomulco jurisdiction) seems to indicate this tendency towards greater humidity: «They say that this lagoon usually dries up but it has not done so for ten years now, and before that it seems impossible due to the "It has a lot of water and some streams that enter it all year round." On the map of Nueva Galicia from 1550 - which repeats that of Ortelius in 1579 - the importance of the Magdalena lagoon, with its two islands, is surprising. Today it has disappeared; Only two fragments of the great extension of the 16th century remain. The good condition of the water ponds is confirmed by the abundance, variety, and quality of the fish: thus the lagoon of the town of San Pedro (Chimaltitán), two leagues in circuit, has very good white fish of extreme taste. ». These good climatic conditions are also beneficial for hunting, of course in water (cranes and ducks abound) and on land; Even hares venture through the streets of young Guadalajara. 35 Reading these descriptions and observing those maps, imagining these landscapes, we can get the impression that the inhabitants of Nueva Galicia lived in a golden age, why not in earthly paradise? Be careful: don't let our enthusiasm take us too far. There are counterparts to all this: the multiplication of pests, such as flies, scorpions and other locusts, frosts, of course, which prevent some wheat crops, and floods, perhaps even more terrible than today. Let us remember the misfortune that occurred to the army of Nuño de Guzmán in September 1530, upon which a true flood fell, in the province of Aztatlán. 36 Until the 19th century, rainy seasons were an essential obstacle to communications: trains and travelers could wait weeks to cross the rivers. Finally, there is no doubt that if the humidity was beneficial to the grasslands and the livestock, 35 De

la Mota y Escobar, *Geographic Description*, p. 52; Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, pp. 69-70 and 81.

* Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 232.

It was less profitable for grains: the fruit crisis of 1692 had its origin in the excessive rains of the previous year, and is one of the watersheds in the history of New Spain and New Galicia, before the "year of famine of 1786."

A TIME AND SPACE LIVED

It is not our intention, in this chapter, to return to the population itself, its evolution, but we want to frame its relationships precisely with the geography of its space, its reactions, and even its conceptions. If there is an essential change in this relationship with space, it is undoubtedly the broadening of horizons, or seen in a less neutral way, a strong growth in instability. Let us return to Ameca in 1579, where the natives complained: «Many of them died in the comings and goings they made, with loads of the rigging that they took to the Puerto de la Navidad, where the ships for China were made. And it is also understood that because of the many leagues they now walk; because, in the time of their gentility, they did not leave the limits of their town, and the greatest exit from the road was a league away. ³⁷ Now the perspectives have expanded to Asia! It is true that not all are sedentary Indians; The Chichimecas have nomadism as a way of life; many others are semi-itinerant, in the mountains. They are all equally dangerous, the maps already show us, the texts tell us: we even have to suspect "the Christian Indians", like those of Guaxucar (near Jerez), "whom it is understood are the spies to carry out the damages and skip due to the communication that it has with the barbarians." ³⁸ In 1573 the forgotten Culiacán complains that the war Indians prowl about six or eight leagues from the town and threaten the king to depopulate it if measures are not taken against them. ³⁹ It is true, over time this insecurity and agitation linked to the indigenous element declines - throughout the 17th century -, but then banditry will take over, especially from the end of the 17th century, another characteristic plague of these regions that were once borders.

Of course, in a space almost emptied of its indigenous population; by conquest, by epidemics, by colonial exploitation, progressively replaced by external contingents, not only Spanish, but also Mexicans, Tlaxcalans, Tarascans, the weak link was precisely the man. To this there is

³⁷ De Leyva, "Geographical relationship of Ameca", p.

³⁸ 31. AGI, General indifferent 1092, N. 283, letter from the beneficiary of the Fres-mines nillo Martín de Espés al Rey, circa 1589.

³⁹ AGI, Guadalajara 46, N. 23, official information and parts of the town of Culiacán, 1-7-1573.

We must add the tough times that were those of the appropriation of a widely unknown nature and space, slowly domesticated, with a logical succession of failures and successes: nomadism extended to the cities, "portable" in some way. Practically none escaped such an adventure, not Compostela, nor especially Guadalajara, which in the first ten years of its existence knew four different locations. Not even the same hierarchies were respected: the heads of Nueva Galicia (Audiencia, cathedral) moved from Compostela to Guadalajara in 1560. The decline of the old capital was such that around 1650 it was dismissed for the second time: its mayor settled in which was the Indian town of Tepic.

In the interior of the lands, in the highlands, where nomadism was even more accentuated, where the emptiness and the unknown were most impressive, where the mining economy was by nature uncertain, the phenomenon had greater scope still. To a degree that probably the sources and therefore our knowledge do not restore with all its reality and drama. Let's rescue some of these moments. In 1554 the viceroy Luis de Velasco reported that in Nueva Galicia, "a very rough land of brave Indians", "a few days ago Some Spaniards have entered to look for mines and have found metals that were rum for rich. There was news of them in this New Spain and in the New Galicia, and people gathered together to enter and take mines. The Chichimecas perpetrated a massacre of men and horses. A punitive expedition was sent from Compostela, with about two hundred Spaniards on horseback, were able to occupy the said mines. And the viceroy concludes: «Believe according to what those who are in them that they will abandon them because they have not found metal in just the discovery golden, and in small quantities. And because of which most of the people have gone that were gathered there, worn out and lost. 40 In 1589, the Charcas mines were already had depopulated twice, besieged by the Chichimecas, and were trying to new rebirth, "ruin [as] all the houses that had been built, so much so that Only the church has God allowed that [the Chichimecas] have not reached it for having enclosed the most holy sacrament there," writes the man who was his benefactor. The case of the Bolaños mines in the 18th century is better known: Discovered in 1705, but located in a difficult environment, they know their first bonanza from 1748, and in 1755 they had about 12,000 inhabitants. But Starting in 1761, a whole series of "bads and bonanzas" followed, affecting

⁴⁰ AGI, México 19, N. 13, fol. 13r.

⁴¹ AGI, Indifferent general 1092, N. 283, letter from Martín de Espés.

of course the population, even more so than the epidemics: in 1820 there were less than six hundred parishioners left.⁴²

Instability of the settlements, extensive tribulations of the Spanish, from one extreme to the other: the lack of arms and heads must be made up for. We know that the Mexican Mota y Escobar, after traveling to Spain, spent a few years visiting his bishopric of Guadalajara; We have interviewed the clergyman Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, perhaps originally from the Peninsula, measuring the heights of the sun from Purificación to Culiacán, to Zacatecas, and to Mazapil. And we are not talking about merchants and other muleteers, which is the profession of going from place to place to inn. There is no profession that escapes this need for multiple ubiquity. In 1597 the priest Martín de Buliaga recounts his adventures: "He has been vicar, priest and beneficiary in the city of Compostela, vicar of Santa Bárbara, Sombrerete and San Martín and currently in Durango." He adds a detail that is of interest: <<He was attacked by the said Indians on the road that goes from Aguascalientes to Cuchillo de Nicolás Herrera, and he left on foot wounded by three arrow wounds in the company of Don Martín Espés who is currently dean of the cathedral [...] where a loud call was made for the passage of the clergy>. ⁴³ That is to say that progressively even in the landscape (the fort), in the toponymy (the passage of the clerics), these dramas, these raids become sedimented, they build a certain perception of the space integrated into the collective memory, another form of appropriation. At least until the itch of change decides otherwise, and Autlán de la Grana becomes Autlán de Navarro, or Ciudad Guzmán covers up Zapotlán el Grande. For the rest, if we are talking about toponymy, we must not forget that it was through it that American geography became an imitation of the Spanish one. In his megalomania, and thinking of his rival Cortés, Nuño de Guzmán wanted his conquest to be called "Major Spain." It was nonsense, and the Crown imposed the name of New Galicia, this being to the northwest of New Spain, the same as Galicia in reference to the rest of Spain. In this same spirit of imitation, in 1532 a royal decree gave the name of Compostela to its capital. The tracing was perfected over time: the New Vizcaya, the New Kingdom of León found a suitable location in the new geography that the Spanish were building. A little upset, it is true: Francisco de Ibarra's Basque origin prevented a perfect copy.

⁴² On Bolaños, see David Carbajal López, *The population in Bolaños, 1740-1848. Demographic dynamics, family and miscegenation* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán, 2008), p. 34-50.

⁴³ AGI, Guadalajara 48, N. 20, Information on the merits of Martín de Buliaga.

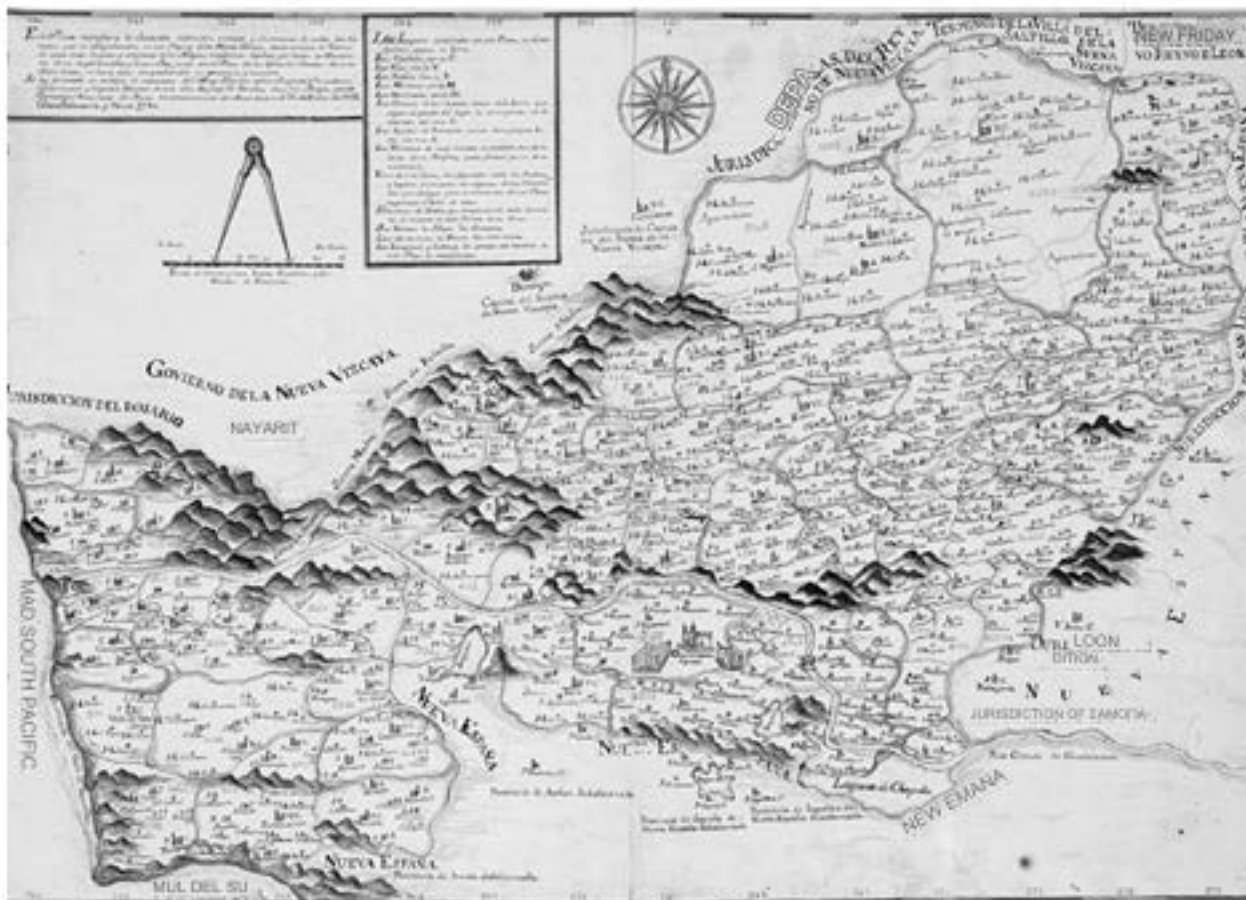
In these new spaces, therefore, a series of emotional charges accumulate that give certain meanings to a medium width. This throughout the centuries, but especially in the early times, when it is necessary to build both identities and territories. What are these meanings? Reading Mota y Escobar and Lázaro de Arregui, at the same time witnesses, actors and men of the Church - in a certain way - intellectuals, concerned about the geography they cover - can help us. We must first take into account the overall vision, sometimes prior to direct knowledge: this is the case of Viceroy Velasco, in the letter already cited, where we can highlight the terms "very rough land", "of brave Indians"; and as if that were not enough he adds "so fragile land." It is the same vocabulary that we find under the synthetic pen of a newcomer, Bishop Mota y Escobar, who in a few words offers a condensed vision: «The flat and fertile land that this kingdom has is many and dotted in different places and valleys, but the rugged and rough and sterile one is much more, because it enjoys the mountain ranges of San Pedro de Analco and Guainamota and the Coras that are extremely bent, hot and sterile. But he is also their shepherd; He traveled there for two or three years, and when it comes to getting closer he finds a certain enthusiasm, as in the description of the vast environment, about thirty leagues, around Guadalajara, where his supplies come from. He is even enthusiastic about the already decadent Compostela: "It has ranches and farms where a lot of wheat and corn are harvested, and there are many large and small livestock of sheep, mule and sow breeding"; again, a country of *cucaña*. Sometimes his elegant prose finds the precise, dazzling metaphor: this is how he describes the Zacatecas mountain range, "we could compare it to an eminent navel on a flat belly."⁴⁵ Is there empathy with

Difficult question: the perception that the men of Nueva Galicia (naturals of the land of both races) may have of their native universe is partly a mystery, especially in the first centuries. The Indians live by necessity in symbiosis with their universe, they measure the hours with the movement of the sun, they know how to use even the most poisonous plants... A complete adaptation has been required of the Spaniards, "a miscegenation" we have said, a meticulous observation, from the geology to the climate of what would later be the "Creole homeland" or "small homeland" of a Mota Padilla. It is undoubtedly this ability to accommodate his countrymen that makes Lázaro de Arregui most proud in 1621: "The fact that there are only very few officers of all trades in the entire [kingdom] means that everyone knows everything." But this should not put

⁴⁴ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69 and 139.

MAP 6. MAP OF THE PRIESTS OF THE KINGDOM OF NEW GALICIA (1780)



his origin is in doubt: "It will be enough to say that the Spaniards here are like those there, and of the same value and virtue, as of the same blood." 46 That

is why the first two descriptions of the kingdom, at the beginning of the 17th century, come from orders from the authority, that we have to wait for the 18th to see the maps multiply, particularly for Guadalajara. This lack of care can hardly be attributed to the absence of technicians and good draftsmen: the anonymous author of the 1550 map reveals qualities; Lázaro de Arregui is undoubtedly an improvised cartographer, but with some knowledge; The author of the fictitious map of Sierra de Pinos in 1603 has vision and a good hand, even though he is a forgotten rancher between Teocaltiche and Lagos.⁴⁷ Finally, all these maps, including the first preserved one of Guadalajara in 1731, always lack something: application, dedication, knowledge... In other words: it is absent as an offering to the motherland.

46 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 39.

47 See Thomas Calvo, "The second foundation of Sierra de Pinos."

The map of the kingdom's curacies, from 1780, is of another carat.⁴⁸ It brings together the essential qualities that we have sought for more than two centuries, including the meridians: we are here between 260 and 273 degrees, counted from east to west (map 6). It is true that there are wide margins of error: the coasts are very schematized; the northern latitude is wrong; If we take into account the Madrid meridian as the most probable reference, the longitude error is close to 8 degrees, as in the times of Lázaro de Arregui. Geographic science did not progress much in this corner of the world in two centuries. But the execution is careful, it offers spatial and human information of primary importance, about the parishes, about the distribution of the population. In particular, attention has been taken to draw, with some precision, the domes of the cathedral towers; The Cabildo building has a certain resemblance to the one that will be built much later, like a premonition?, and the royal palace already has its current façade, but preserves in its corners vestiges of a past that is about to disappear. Undoubtedly it was an already firm man from Guadalajara who carried out the work, and with this an important step was taken.

But it doesn't all end here. The Hispanic Catholic monarchy was built, among other foundations, on a strong concept of providentialism. The hand of God, protector of the Spanish Crown, is behind the expansion of the empire, and therefore there is a predestination that extends over the conquered territories. The 17th century, a time of decline, constitutes the peak moment of this perception, which is translated by Mota y Escobar, Lázaro de Arregui or, much later, José Arlegui in his chronicle of the Franciscan province of Zacatecas. Indeed, it is the great wealth of Nueva Galicia, hidden under mineral mantles, that allows us to argue. We already know that for Martín de Espés it was the Blessed Sacrament who saved the church of Charcas from the attacks of the Indians. Mota y Escobar is more explicit on at least two occasions: north of Culiacán is the valley of Carantapa, Jesuit doctrine, with many hopes of rich mines, "with whose greed those valleys will be populated with Spaniards, and The barbarian Indians will come to the conversion and recognition of the evangelical law, because it already seems that the times that God had determined for the vocation of these poor people are coming. Regarding the salt flats of Peñol Blanco: "It was a great providence of God that, having created so much metal in these regions, He created these and other salt flats so that the silver could be extracted." Indeed, divinity was a great provider, burying silver so that the conversion could progress, and sowing salt

⁴⁸ AGI, Maps and Plans, Mexico 360.

to facilitate its extraction. 49 Lázaro de Arregui says the same thing, for the same places: "Our Lord created between Sierra de Pinos and Los Ramos a large lagoon that they call Peñol Blanco", 50.

Let us therefore accept the hand of God on that fascinating, changing universe that was Nueva Galicia: no wonder. Perhaps that is why during those three centuries that interest us, men always felt as if they were in the middle of infinite immensities, limiting themselves to extracting and taking advantage of the riches that divinity had reserved for them: silver in the first place, cattle in the second place. . Later, other times would come, but not so many changes: the generosity of nature continued to be exploited without much consideration.

49 De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, pp. 111 and 158. 50 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 124.

NATIVE CULTURE (1300-1750)

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To begin with, the historical-political area of Nueva Galicia does not have any complete reality of geography, ecology, nor pre-Hispanic culture. Politically, today this area includes the entire state of Aguascalientes, but only parts of the current states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Querétaro, Zacatecas and Sinaloa. Geographically, the area includes parts of the Pacific coast, the adjacent piedmont, the Sierra Madre Oriental, the Sierra Madre del Sur, the Neovolcanic Axis, including the Lerma-Grande de Santiago river basin, and the highland desert in Zacatecas.²

Ecologically, the area includes varieties of tropical and temperate vegetation, from tropical forest to pine-oak forest to desert.³ Ethnically, native groups include Caxcans, Coras, Huichols, Tepecanos and Zacatecos, among others (see map 3 in chapter former)."

Thus, it is impossible to describe a single native culture at the time of European contact/description within the area called Nueva Galicia in historical times. So: what can I do? I choose to present a vision, more of the diversity than the uniformity, of the native culture found in this area by the Europeans, also focusing on the material culture because this approach allows me to use not only the ethnohistorical documents but also the information available archaeological data from the late postclassic phase (1300-1600).

On this point, I have to mention that if the Spanish had arrived in the area of Nueva Galicia around the year 1100, during the postclassic period,

² Carlos Alonso A. Toscano, Ma. Estela Guevara A., Juan Sánchez G. and Juan Gil F., *Historical Geography of Jalisco*, Historical series 34 (Guadalajara: IJAH, 2008). José María Murià, *History of Jalisco: volume 1, From prehistoric times 2 until the end of the 17th century* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1980).

³ Ibid. See also the first chapter of this work, "An unavoidable actor: between mountains and basins."

⁴ Ralph L. Beals, *The comparative ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750* (New York: Cooper Square, 1973).

prano (900-1300), they would have found a very different situation than the one they found three hundred years later. At that time they would have found a uniform culture, called by archaeologists Aztatlán, distributed along the Pacific coastal plain from Sinaloa north to Colima in the south; and to the east, to the highlands of Durango, Zacatecas and Michoacán.⁵

This archaeological culture that we call Aztatlán is characterized by a uniformity of form and decoration of ceramic vessels, figurines, metal objects, prismatic obsidian blades, and iconography that included many of the motifs found in the codices of the Mixtec/Puebla area, even representations of some of the gods of the pantheon of the central highlands of Mexico, such as Xhiucoatl (or Yahui) and Mictlantecutli (see illustrations below). This cultural uniformity was focused on the control and exploitation of certain areas rich in certain natural resources, the communication routes between them, and even the official religion practiced in the ceremonial centers. This implies a high degree of sociopolitical-economic control, although it is still not understood exactly what type of organization Aztatlán society had.

By the years 1200 to 1300, possibly due to a period of 19 years of drought (1149-1167), this Aztatlán hegemony began to disintegrate, leaving the network that previously united the Aztatlán centers disjointed. As a consequence, this fragmentation encouraged the formation of numerous towns that were much more self-sufficient than before, reaching a situation characterized by main towns that sometimes dominated a single valley, controlling there the production of foodstuffs and basic utensils for internal consumption, as well as some products destined for an external market. This was the cultural situation found

by the Spanish in much of the area that came to be called New Galicia. Another important consideration for this discourse is the fact that, due to various reasons, archaeologists working in the region under consideration have devoted relatively little time and effort to the investigation of archaeological remains belonging to the last phase of pre-Hispanic development, the Late Postclassic, with the exception of the author who has done so sometimes out of interest and sometimes just because he has found late postclassic remains in the course of his research.

⁵ Joseph B. Mountjoy, «Prehispanic cultural developments along the Southern Coast of Western Mexico», en *Greater Mesoamerica*, ed. por M. S. Foster y S. Gorenstein (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000).

⁶ "The drought could have caused the disappearance of Mesoamerican cultures," RT in Spanish (web), February 11, 2011.

⁷ Mountjoy, «Prehispanic cultural developments».

Historically there have been two main approaches to archaeological research in most of the territory of Nueva Galicia: 1) the mortuary tradition called shaft and vault tomb that had its beginning in the Middle Preclassic (ca. 1200 BC) and had its peak in the late preclassic period (300 BC-300 AD); and 2) the Aztatlán phenomenon and its expansion to almost all parts of Nueva Galicia, as well as beyond the borders of Nueva Galicia during the early postclassic (ca. 900-1300).

If we include the southern part of Zacatecas in this discussion, we can add a third archaeological approach: 3) the investigation of the archaeological culture called Chalchihuites that developed in the southwest of Zacatecas mainly during the classical period (200-850), and where archaeological data indicate a general abandonment of the population after the year 900. This has obviously severely limited the possibility of finding archaeological sites inhabited during the late postclassic period (1300-1600), with some notable exceptions such as the site of El Teúl, which is associated with the Caxcanes at the time of first Spanish contact.

For the ethnohistoric information used for this work, my starting point has been the study by Ralph L. Beals, originally published in 1932.⁸ The date of 1750, used by Beals, seems to me to be an appropriate chronological limit because it includes the first 34 years that follow the Spanish conquest of the Huichols and the Coras in the Sierra del Nayar.

Beals's study covers twenty aspects of indigenous culture, from agriculture and use of wild plants and animals, to aspects of daily life, warfare, and religion of the natives. I will begin each section of my presentation with data collected by Beals for only the towns within the Nueva Galicia area, adding additional data from sources used by Beals or from contact sources accessible to me but not used by Beals.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

According to Beals, corn cultivation was universal throughout the area except the Zacatecas desert. Also common was the cultivation of beans, pumpkin and chili. Sweet potato cultivation is documented for Jalisco; agave and guava, for Jalisco and Sinaloa; and the nopal and cocoa, for Jalisco. Cotton was grown in the hot lands of Sinaloa, Nayarit and Jalisco, the same areas where cotton fabric

⁸ Beals, *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

cotton was produced on looms. The use of irrigation is documented for Sinaloa, Nayarit and Jalisco. Implements used for cultivation include wooden blades in Sinaloa and copper blades in Jalisco. At least in Sinaloa women helped in the fields.

The 1531 visitation upon the entry of Francisco Cortés in 1524-1525 mentions the cultivation of cocoa and fruit trees, and some irrigated corn plantations for the southern coast of Nayarit. In addition, there is mention that in 1530 in the region of Etzatlán, Jalisco, the natives celebrated the arrival of Nuño de Guzmán with dances and gifts of cocoa and fish from the lagoon of Juchitepec (Magdalena).¹⁰

By then (1530) Friar Francisco de Lorenzo visited the Banderas Valley and found the natives working "busily in the Spanish peanut fields," fields of cocoa trees that must have existed in the Valle de Banderas. Flags before the arrival of the Spanish there in 1524.

A little north of Chiametla, in southern Sinaloa, the Spaniards of Nuño de Guzmán (1530) found a town that had so many beans that they named this town De los Frisoles.¹²

The cultivation of tomatoes is mentioned in the Geographical Relations but has a rather limited distribution. It is recorded in Tenamaxtlán, Jalisco, in 1579, where they consumed two types of tomatoes: "miltomates", which were milpa tomatoes - probably the small, green "shell" tomato of today -; and "tomatoes", which were large, red, yellow and white tomatoes.¹³ Of course, the town of Tomatlán on the central coast of Jalisco according to its name had many tomatoes, red and yellow, according to the "Relation of the Villa de La Purificación" (1585).¹⁴

⁹ Mariano Cuevas, «Visitation that took place during the Conquest, where it was by Captain Francisco Cortés», in «Nuño de Guzmán against Hernán Cortés, on the discoveries and conquests of Jalisco and Tepic, 1531», *Bulletin of the General Archive of the Nation* 8, no. 4, 1937, pp. 556-572.

¹⁰ Alberto Santoscoy, *Complete Works* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1984), volume 1, p. 397.

¹¹ Francisco Mariano de Torres, *Chronicle of the holy province of Xalisco* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1965), p. 57.

¹² José Parres Arias and José Luis Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest, Historia 4 series* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1963), p. 301.

¹³ René Acuña, ed., *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia* (Mexico: UNAM, 1988), p. 288.

¹⁴ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 231.

In some cases, the natives planted fruit trees around their houses, such as, for example, capulines and guava trees in the case of Xocotlán, Jalisco. fifteen

Salt production was very important on the coast of Jalisco, as well as in many places in the interior of Jalisco, and salt was given as tribute in a standard form called a "pan",¹⁶ but such information must be used with caution because salt on the coast soon became very important after the conquest for its use in mining by the Spanish, as was apparently the case, for example, in Piloto, Jalisco.¹⁷

However, the importance of salt extraction for the natives living on the southern coast of Nayarit was recorded in the visitation of 1531,¹⁸ and in the province of Piaztla, Sinaloa, in 1530 the forces of Nuño de Guzmán found they brought a river from La Sal and, according to Cristóbal Flores, also a town called La Sal due to the large amount of salt they found in the town.¹⁹ According to the "Second anonymous report" (1530) in this town the Spanish found < a very large pile of salt. twenty

The frequent association of salt extraction and fish in early documents suggests its use to preserve fish for export, and this is explicitly mentioned in one instance in the Chiametla region, Sinaloa. twenty-one

The "Relation of Compostela" (1584) mentions two small native towns that at that time were on the Pacific coast and that were both called Iztapan. One of these towns was located in the Banderas Valley (possibly Ixtapa in Jalisco) where they made salt in estuaries and sent part of this product to Compostela. 22

In 1587 Alonso Ponce visited the Sayula basin in the south central part of Jalisco, where he saw and described in great detail the process of salt extraction by the natives in the towns of Sayula, Amacueca and Atoyac. These natives had a large business derived from this activity by selling salt to the Spanish, who transported it to Mexico; This was highly appreciated for being from

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 322.

¹⁶ Acuña, Geographic relations.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 215.

¹⁸ Cuevas, "Visitation that took place during the Conquest."

¹⁹ Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 202.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 319.

²¹ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1940), p. 88.

²² Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 93.

very good quality and very clean. Ponce described the product as white salt bread, just like the descriptions in the Geographical Relations, although Ponce also mentions the manufacture in Atoyac of different salt figures by the natives, among them figures in the shape of men and their heads, by means of of clay molds.²³

According to the Sum of Visits, a document that mainly records the tribute given by the native communities to the Spanish encomenderos in the period 1569 to 1582, the cultivation of cotton, corn, beans and chili was very common in New Galicia, as well as than irrigated lands, which were quite common. In the coastal area there was a lot of cocoa cultivation, but by then all the cocoa-growing lands had been monopolized by the Spanish encomenderos and the natives were left with the obligation to "provide forced service" in those fields. There are two mentions in the Sum of visits of tomato cultivation, and there is also mention of loads of mascal (mezcal) from a place called Amatlán, which was four leagues from Guadalajara, as well as a tribute of mezcal honey, that is, a fermented agave.

According to the "Geographical Relation of Ameca", Jalisco (1579), in that place the natives "drank a lot of pulque, which is maguey wine,"²⁵ and ate many wild fruits. In addition, they ate tamales, tortillas and atoles, and cured themselves with herbs, roots and other parts of wild plants.

The "Relation of Amula", Jalisco (1579), mentions that in the town of Xoquilha they used indigo grass to dye cloth.²⁶ In Xocotlán, Jalisco, there was also indigo, as well as other dyes: a thorny plant called ahuatl for the yellow color, and a clay called palli that they extracted from the mud.²⁷ The same natives made paper from the root of a tree called amaquauitl.²⁸

As for industries, the Sum of visits mentions extensive production of cotton blankets, as well as some henequen or grass fiber blankets. The manta clothing items mentioned include huipils, shirts, naguas, tapatíos, pañizuelos and cotton sarapes, as well as different types of footwear. There is also mention of mantillas and shirts made of henequen fiber. All this despite the fact that there are several reports of natives who were naked,

²³ Ernesto Ramos Meza, *Travels of Fray Alonso Ponce to Western Mexico* (Guadalajara: IAH / Government of Jalisco, 2007), pp. 124-125.

²⁴ Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de la Nueva España: sum of visits to towns in alphabetical order* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1905), volume 1.

²⁵ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

for example in the town of Ayaguato, half a league from Culiacán: "They walk with their shame from outside," 29

Certain towns specialized in pottery, as was the case of the town of Atiztaque in the Tonalá valley, and Atlemaxaque [Atemajac?] a league from Guadalajara, including pots, comales and jugs. Other products made by the natives and mentioned in the Sum of visits include hammocks, mats and beds.

It is important to note that in Xocotitlan-Tecpoyotlán, Jalisco, near Ocotlán, the "Relation of Poncitlan and Cuitzeo del Río" (1584) reports the existence of a group of merchants of the type of the Pochtecas, famous among the Aztecs of the high plateau, central Mexico. According to the report, they "bought in other places for gold and silver and emeralds and blankets, which they do not know because they were, as they were at that time, enemies of each other; that no more than the aforementioned merchants had a license to enter and leave wherever they wanted. 30 These merchants gave tribute to the idol of the people in gold, silver, blankets, slaves, and prisoners of war for sacrifice.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, the cultivation of corn in the late postclassic period is reflected by the abundance and wide distribution of metates in the form of a legless trough and generally made of granite stone, which are commonly known by the name güilance. The use of chile is probably reflected in the use of ceramic molcajetes, and in this Postclassic phase these molcajetes have interior incisions that are especially deep and extend almost to the edge of the interior of the cajetes. The cultivation of cotton, or at least its use for spinning, is evidenced by abundant winches, especially in the coastal valleys, generally made of ceramic and those with a small central hole.³¹ And, curiously, the almost complete absence of winches at sites in the southern half of the Banderas Valley during the late postclassic³² possibly due to the use of the Banderas Valley for intensive cocoa cultivation in prehistoric times. panics, something recorded by Francisco de Lorenzo in 1530.³³

29 Del Paso and Troncoso, *Papers of New Spain*, p. 157.

30 Acuña, *Geographic relations*, pp. 183-184.

³¹ Mountjoy, «Prehispanic cultural developments».

³² Joseph B. Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta* (Greensboro: University of North Carolina, 2003).

³³ De Torres, *Chronicle of the holy province of Xalisco*, p. 57.

FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



Left: Fragments of late postclassic ceramic vessels, from the Santa Cruz area, Nayarit, probably manufactured in Santa Cruz. Right: Metal objects found on the floors of late postclassic houses. Municipality of Tomatlán, Jalisco.

There are archaeological mounds in the shape of a tear drop that were built for the salt extraction process on the coast of Nayarit and Jalisco, but it is very difficult to establish whether they are pre-Hispanic or colonial works.³⁴ However, in relation to the Zapotillo salt mine, just north of San Blas, Nayarit, there is mention that the Spanish gave the natives permission to also extract salt for their own use, using their traditional extraction method,³⁵ possibly indicating that the Spanish had removed these salt flats of the natives.

Investigations that I did of this area of Zapotillo in 1968 revealed more than 150 mounds that remain as evidence of the salt extraction process. I registered a habitation site within the extraction area, where I collected 39 chronologically diagnosed ceramic fragments, and all of them were from the last local pre-Hispanic phase (Santa Cruz), that is, the late postclassic, including five fragments of a type of thin-walled pot (Santiago Blanco sobre Rojo), which I have suggested as a possible vessel to contain salt.³⁶ In the interior of Jalisco there was a pre-Hispanic tradition of extracting salt in the salty lands on the shore of the Sayula lagoon since the preclassic

³⁴ M. Othón de Mendizabal, *Complete Works*, vol. 2 (Mexico: Graphic Workshops of the Nation, 1946).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269.

³⁶ Joseph B. Mountjoy, "Prehispanic culture History and cultural contact on the Southern Coast of Nayarit, Mexico" (doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1970), pp. 253-254; Mountjoy, "Prehispanic cultural contacts on the South-central Coast of Nayarit, Mexico," in *Mesoamerican communication routes and cultural contacts*, ed. by Thomas A. Lee Jr. and Carlos Navarrete (Provo, United States: Brigham Young University, 1978).

late to the late postclassic, and this extraction by the natives continued until the 16th century, when it was described in great detail by Ciudad Real, secretary of the Franciscan commissioner Alonso Ponce in 1587.³⁷ He described the product as white salt bread, just as they are described in the Geographical Relations.

In addition, there are abundant archaeological remains from the salt extraction process in places such as Cerritos Colorados, located on the northwest shore of the Sayula basin. These remains include mounds of earth, scorched earth, ashes and fragments of large ceramic containers of specialized shapes for the extraction of salt through evaporation by heating salt water in these ceramic vessels by subjecting them to fire.³⁸

In some parts of the coast of Nayarit and Jalisco the distribution of certain types of shape or decoration of ceramic vessels indicates a specialization of certain communities, such as in the area of Santa Cruz-Pontoque?, Nayarit³⁹ (figure 1), and Nahuapa (Tetitlán), Jalisco, in the production of pottery to supply a mainly local market.

There are Late Postclassic copper/bronze implements in Jalisco, and it is certainly possible that some of them were used to cultivate the land, although most are ornaments or woodcarving/carving tools. In the Tomatlán basin, Jalisco, there was a cottage industry for the production of rings, chains and tongs, as well as copper or bronze tools produced by alloying copper with arsenic (figure 2), although bronze bells manufactured by the method were imported, lost wax, possibly from the Tarascan region.⁴²

³⁷ Catherine Liot, "Specialized ceramics for salt production," in *Archeology of the Sayula Basin*, ed. by Francisco Valdez, Otto Schöndube and Jean Pierre Emphoux (Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara/IRD, 2005); Ramos Meza, *Viajes de fray Alonso Ponce*, pp. 121-125.

³⁸ Liot, «Specialized ceramics for salt production».

³⁹ Mountjoy, «Prehispanic culture History»; Mountjoy, «Prehispanic cultural developments».

⁴⁰ Joseph B. Mountjoy, B. S. Aburto, L. Barba and S. Gutiérrez, «Late postclassic commerce in the Tomatlan River Valley, Jalisco: clay mining and analysis of fine paste pottery», en *Mining and mining techniques in ancient Mesoamerica*, ed. por P. C. Weigand y G. Gwynne, colección Anthropology 6, núms. 1-2 (Stony Brook: State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1983).

⁴¹ Joseph B. Mountjoy y Luis Torres M., «The production and use of prehispanic metal artifacts in the central coastal area of Jalisco, Mexico», en *The archaeology of west and northwest Mesoamerica*, ed. por M. S. Foster y P. C. Weigand (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985).

⁴² *Ibid.*

COLLECTION OF WILD PLANTS, ANIMAL HUNTING AND FISHING

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

According to Beals, the natives used to collect guamúchiles, prickly pears, pitahayas, sapotes and plums in Sinaloa; and in Jalisco, mesquite, sapotes, plums and palm canes. In Sinaloa there were possibly community hunts for deer. ⁴³

Fishing is widely documented for Sinaloa, Nayarit and Jalisco. In Nayarit there is a report from 1524 of angling, and in the vicinity of Culiacán, in 1530, Pedro de Guzmán recorded that the natives used an ingenious wattle to catch fish, mainly mullet. Four. Five

On the coast of Jalisco, as well as in Nayarit, around San Blas, the collection of honey was important for the indigenous people in 1530. ⁴⁶

According to Gonzalo López (1530), in the area of Culiacán, Sinaloa, the natives ate a lot of fruit, including plums, guavas, guamúchiles, and black sapotes, and, according to chronicles of the conquest, in this region the natives sometimes used the maguey to make preserves or pulque, and from the plums they sometimes made wine (fermented drink). ⁴⁸

In the Sum of Visits it is mentioned that the natives made extensive use of wild fruits and one of the products in which tribute was frequently paid was honey. The Sum of Visits records 33 places in Nueva Galicia where honey tribute was delivered to encomenderos, which was made in clay vessels of various types: pots, jugs, jugs and pitchers. In at least one of these reports the jugs were large, with a capacity of half an arroba (11,502 kilograms), that is, one of these jugs could contain approximately 7.67 liters.

⁴³ Beals, *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

⁴⁴ Cuevas, "Visitation that took place during the Conquest."

⁴⁵ Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 282.

⁴⁶ Del Paso and Troncoso, *Papers of New Spain*, p. 92; José López-Portillo y Weber, *The conquest of New Galicia* (Mexico: Talleres Graphicos de la Nación, 1935); José Luis Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia: first part*, IJAH I Library (Guadalajara, IJAH, 1960), p. 3. 4.

⁴⁷ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 92.

⁴⁸ Carl O. Sauer, *Aztatlán: pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican frontier on the coast of the Pacific* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1998), p. 75.

⁴⁹ Del Paso and Troncoso, *Papers of New Spain*.

The importance of fishing is also mentioned in the Sum of Visits, especially on the coast but also for freshwater fish inland. In addition, the custom of drying fish to preserve them is mentioned.

In some parts of the coast oysters were important, for example in Martonchel (Matanchén), Nayarit, where Nuño de Guzmán found a lot of fish and oysters in 1530.⁵⁰ Additionally, there is an allusion to pearl collecting on the Pacific coast in the province of La Purificación, and in 1525 Francisco Cortés was presented with a pearl necklace by the natives of the port of Chamela on the central coast of Jalisco.⁵¹

The part of Nueva Galicia where there were non-sedentary natives was in the southwest of Zacatecas. There, groups such as the Zacatecos and the Guachichiles lived by hunting and gathering. There is a good synthesis of this way of life in the "Relation of the Fresnillo mines" (1585) in which it is reported that there were

many mountain ranges and very rough lands, in which there have always been and are many native people, who are called "guachichiles", bestial and untamed people, who have never wanted friendship with Spaniards; She is very bellicose and brave, and very hard-working. Their weapons are the bow and arrows. They have almost no town or known place, they always walk through the mountains and hills hunting animals, with which they sustain themselves, and with grass roots, and with fruit from the trees they call "tunas" and "mesquite" that earth produces of its own. Because they never plant anything or raise anything.⁵²

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, the available information seems to indicate a decreasing dependence on animal hunting throughout pre-Hispanic times, from the pre-classical to the post-classical. However, along the coast of Jalisco, Nayarit and Sinaloa there are archaeological deposits of domestic waste indicating for the Postclassic period a strong exploitation of sea mollusks, especially oysters. In many cases it is an exploitation in the early postclassic, as in the National Marshes on the border between Nayarit and Sinaloa;⁵³ in others, it is clearly from the late postclassic, for example in several habitation sites.

⁵⁰ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 3, 4.

⁵¹ Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Holy Province of Xalisco: Book 2* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1968), vol. 1 p. 73.

⁵² Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 106.

⁵³ Joseph B. Mountjoy, "Some important resources for prehispanic cultures on the coast of West Mexico," in *The Gran Chichimeca: essays on the archeology and ethnohistory of Northern Mesoamerica*, ed. by Jonathan E. Reyman (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995).

FIGURE 3



Ceramic jar with a distribution along the coast of Jalisco and possibly used to transport honey. Municipality of Tomatlán, Jalisco; It measures 16 cm high and 16.5 cm in diameter.

such as Aticama and Santa Cruz, located along the shore of Matanchén Bay just south of San Blas, Nayarit. ⁵⁴

The use of certain types of ceramic vessels to transport and store honey has been suggested for certain foreign-made jugs and pots found in late postclassic sites in the Tomatlán River basin⁵⁵ (figure 3).

Regarding hunting, there are petroglyphs in the western mountains of Jalisco that indicate that the natives, during the period under consideration here, carried out the ritual of sacred deer hunting, practiced by the Huichols in historical times (figure 4). Also, there is a large rock painting in the Tomatlán Valley with symbols representing corn, beans, pumpkins and deer, all foods that were important in the livelihood of the indigenous people. ⁵⁶

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

According to Beals' study,⁵⁷ there were domesticated turkeys in Sinaloa, Nayarit and Jalisco, as well as ducks in Nayarit. It was also common to keep other birds in captivity to harvest their feathers, including eagles and probably

⁵⁴ Mountjoy, *Prehispanic culture History*; Mountjoy, «Some important resources».

⁵⁵ Mountjoy *et al.*, «Late postclassic commerce».

⁵⁶ Joseph B. Mountjoy, «Rite of renewal in the petroglyphs of Jalisco», *Mexican Archeology* 47 (2001); Mountjoy, *Rock art in Jalisco* (Guadalajara: Acento, 2012).

⁵⁷ *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

FIGURE 4



Petroglyphs that serve as a record of a rite of the "sacred deer hunt" type, carried out in the Ocotillo Canyon (MA-1), municipality of Mascota, Jalisco.

parrots and macaws (figure 5), judging by the frequent mention in contact sources about natives who were found carrying a lot of plumage.

There is mention of this in the "First anonymous relationship" (1530) about the entry of Nuño de Guzmán; that in the town of Pochotla on the southern bank of the Piaxtla River in southern Sinaloa "some chickens and many parrots and some falcons were found in cages."⁵⁸ The "Relation of the mines of Xocotlán", Jalisco (1584), mentions that the natives kept birds in cages and fed them with chia seeds.⁵⁹

The accounts of the conquest of New Galicia, led by Nuño de Guzmán (1530-1531), frequently refer to the presence of "hens" and some "roosters." For example, according to Gonzalo López, in Omitlán, apparently in Nayarit, near Tepic, "there was a lot of corn, beans and chickens."⁶⁰ In the Nayarit region of Centiquipaque (Sentispac), Nayarit, Gonzalo López relates: «A very large copy of supplies and chickens are found here in so many quantities.

⁵⁸ Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 302.

⁵⁹ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 323.

⁶⁰ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 64.

FIGURE 5



Petroglyph of a macaw on the side of a rock on the top of which there are many solar symbols engraved. El Reparito IV (PV-62), municipality of Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco.

dad, which was something extreme. 61 And Cristóbal Flores (1530) saw many "chickens" in Chiametla, Sinaloa. 62

It is possible that at least in some cases these are turkeys and not chickens, since the Spanish mentioned that in 1530 they ate one of these chickens in a town in the province of Culiacán, which they described as "as big and as hard as a bastard." 63

Carl Sauer concludes from his analysis of 16th century documents about indigenous culture on the coast of Sinaloa and Nayarit that the Spanish used the term *gallina* in a generic sense for many different types of birds, including ducks, although most of them were probably turkeys. However, Sauer suggests the possibility 65 that in some parts of the coast the indigenous people also raised chachalacas (*Ortalis poliocephala*). Wild chachalacas are still found in abundance in many parts of the coast of Jalisco and Nayarit, and in some parts people keep domesticated chachalacas in their homes for eggs and meat, and even report using the males in cockfights.

Gonzalo López (1530) reported that in the town of Hustatlan, Nayarit, they found many dogs apparently used for food, 66 and there is mention

61 Ibid., p. 69.

62 Ibid., p. 198.

63 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 308.

64 Sauer, *Aztatlán*, pp. 73-74.

65 Ibid., p. 74.

— 66 Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 66.

of domesticated dogs in several other documents of the conquest led by Nuño de Guzmán.

There is a very curious description in the "Second Anonymous Report" (1530) about the custom in southern Sinaloa of having snakes, apparently boas, as pets, specifically because, according to them, their god had that shape:

In many houses in this land they have many tame snakes and they keep them in the darkest part of the house in a corner, and they are mixed together in a pile, there was a very large pile of them; and since they were rolled into a ball [...] it was a very frightening thing, because they were as thick as your arm, and they opened their mouths; which do no harm, but rather the Indians take them in their hands and eat them. They said that they had the image of the demon that they worshiped and they did them a lot of honor, and they gave them food. 67

Fernández de Oviedo's informants found, between 1535 and 1549, domesticated bees in the area of Chiametla, Sinaloa, used not only for honey but also for wax:

Bees are small and no bigger than flies, and they are many, and they do not sting or do harm, because they are unarmed. To get the honey, which they use to eat and put in their delicacies, they have one or two dedicated hives to use them ordinarily (because the rest are full for the treatment and rescue of honey and wax, which is merchandise that many take advantage of it, and do other things for it, which these Indians cannot achieve) [...] and as there are many beehives, so the wax is in great quantity and very good. 68

PREPARATION OF GROCERIES

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

Beals⁶⁹ concludes that in their accounts of the conquest the Spanish paid little attention to the daily food of the natives. There is a report of the use of wooden mortars in Sinaloa, as well as the preparation of mixed pinole.

67 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 320.

68 Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *General and natural history of the Indies, Islands and Firm Land of the Ocean Sea*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Royal Academy of History, 1855), p. 271.

69 *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

remove, the same as about the preparation of fermented drinks from maguey, mesquite, prickly pears and plums.

In Nayarit and Jalisco the indigenous people prepared fermented drinks (pulque) from maguey and other plants. And the "First anonymous report" in Nuño de Guzmán's entry mentions (1530) that in the town of Pochotla in southern Sinaloa they found a lot of "mezcal pulque" and "plum wine."⁷⁰ There is a specific mention of Pedro de Guzmán (1530) on the use of abundant plums that were in the region of Culiacán, Sinaloa, to make wine from them. "

The "Relation of Ameca" (1579), Jalisco, records that the natives in this place. They ate tamales, "poleados" [poleadas?] of corn and roasted corn, pumpkins, beans, chili and chives from the land. It also mentions that they hunted many animals and cooked meat in pits with many pebbles.⁷² In their houses the natives had few utensils for daily life, only pots, bowls and grinding stones. ⁷³

The "Relation of Amula" (1579), Jalisco, mentions that "there is in this province a tree called "mexcatl" which the Spanish call "maguey", from which they make wine, vinegar, honey, ropes, clothing, wood, for houses, needles, nails, thread, highly approved balm for wounds."⁷⁴ In Copsppapit, Jalisco, the natives cultivated herbs such as purslane, pigweed, earthworms, and sorrel. ⁷⁵

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

As already mentioned, late postclassic archeology includes many tools for preparing and consuming food. These utensils include gūilance-type manos and metates, ceramic and stone molcajetes, cooking pots, as well as bowls or plates used to serve food.

There is an archaeological site in the municipality of Puerto Vallarta, PV-32 (La Mesa del Temascal), located on the south side of the Queletán stream, ⁷⁶ where 99 percent of the decorated ceramics (268 fragments) found on the surface are assignable to the late postclassic. The settlement consists of a small ceremonial mound and the remains of at least eight houses.

⁷⁰ Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 302.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 282.

⁷² Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 40.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 47.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 192.

⁷⁶ Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

On the surface of this habitation site that covers six hectares we recorded 48 metates, 40 metate hands and 21 comales fragments." I have suggested that this site may be the remnant of the town of Quilitán, which was recorded by the Spanish on the map from the "Relationa geographical de Compostela" compiled in 1584.⁷⁸ It is tempting to think that the economic specialization of this site, indicated by the large number of grinding utensils, had something to do with the tribute system imposed on the natives by the Spanish, who They became owners of large lands, as well as entire indigenous villages. In this case the data suggests a tribute of tortillas to an encomendero.

The same situation may be in evidence at the Oxtoticpac mesa, a large mainly Late Postclassic site in the municipality of San Sebastián del Oeste, Jalisco. An inspection by the author in 1997 of approximately the southern 20 percent of the mesa—the only part dismantled at the time—resulted in the recording of 276 metates associated with ruins of foundations of several houses and some mounds. . An inspection of the rest of the mesa in 2012 revealed remains of habitation along the entire three kilometers of the mesa's shore, including remains of house foundations, 11 mounds, ceramic sherds, and 77 metates on one portion of the shore. north recently dismantled.

There was a trade along the Jalisco coast of some products transported in jugs and pots. For some large pots, as well as certain small jugs, a good possibility is honey, a substance coveted among the indigenous people and commonly paid to the Spanish, according to the Sum of Visits.⁷⁹ Another possibility for some of the pots or jugs is a fermented drink, like pulque, or maybe salt.⁸⁰

Although animal hunting does not seem to have been very important as a common source of food in the Late Postclassic, there are some atlatl and sometimes arrow points, witnesses of occasional animal hunting, as well as obsidian knives and other obsidian tools that They were allegedly used times to butcher hunted animals. ⁸¹

In some archaeological sites in the mountains there are abundant stone mallets, called cachiporras by country people. These tools

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Acuña, Geographic relations, p. 94, in the front.

⁷⁹ Del Paso and Troncoso, Papers of New Spain; Mountjoy et al., "Late post-classical commerce."

⁸⁰ Mountjoy et al., "Late postclassic commerce".

⁸¹ Joseph B. Mountjoy and María Eugenia Módena, The Tomatlán Archaeological Salvage Project: ethnohistorical and archaeological background, development of the project, surface studies, Archeology collection 122 (Mexico: INAH, 1982).

FIGURE 6



Mortar on a rock, probably used to pulverize the seed of the capomo tree. La Piedra Barrenada (PV-47), municipality of Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco.

while they are often found associated with large mortars up to almost a meter in diameter formed in rocks (figure 6), commonly in areas of abundant capomo (mojote or ramón) trees.⁸² The capomo seed has a high protein content, but it can only be used by pulverizing it. This use of the capomo seems to be quite old in pre-Hispanic times in this region, perhaps beginning in the late preclassic, but apparently its use persists until the late postclassic.

It is worth mentioning that these truncheons were possibly also used from time to time in wars, because Juan de Sámano (1530) described a confrontation with the natives near Tepic, Nayarit, and apart from bows and arrows, the warriors used clubs (truncheons).) boys to fight.⁸³

DRESS

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

The use of cotton fibers for weaving, according to Beals,⁸⁴ did not extend further north than Culiacán, Sinaloa, but was also found in Nayarit and Jalisco. The use of maguey fibers for weaving is registered in Sinaloa and Jalisco. Clothing made of skins was found among indigenous people upon contact in Sinaloa and Zacatecas, and in Jalisco the natives wore sandals made of deer skin or maguey fiber.

⁸² Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

— ⁸³ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 120.

⁸⁴ *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

According to Beals, in Sinaloa the indigenous people, both men and women, tattooed themselves, and there is also reference to piercing their ears. Both sexes used to wear long hair and there is mention of face painting. The Spanish found silver ornaments in Sinaloa (including earrings), in Nayarit, as well as silver bands worn on the arms and forehead, in four places in Nayarit and another four in Jalisco. There are reports of gold ornaments in Sinaloa (including earrings), as well as in Nayarit and Jalisco. The nobility of Culiacán, in Sinaloa, wore stone ornaments that the Spanish called turquoise. Cristóbal Flores, one of the chroniclers of the conquest of Nuño de Guzmán, in 1530 observed that in the province of land of the Ocean Sea no other lands have been seen more beautiful and so well arranged. Her dress is a pair of shirts down to the feet as a surplice, and some pampas underneath. The men cover themselves with their blankets; They do not cover their shame. 85 According to Gonzalo López, another chronicler of the conquest of Nueva Galicia by Nuño de Guzmán (1530-1531), in a town in the south of Sinaloa «these women wear very large shirts that reach to the ground, without any other clothing; and some of them bring bells; The men bring blankets, and some of them scapulars. 86 In the town of Petatoni on the Sinaloa coast near Culiacán, Pedro de Carranza (1530) reported that the women there "brought leather naguas and deerskin coverings." 87

For Nayarit there is mention of probably cotton textiles decorated with shells and precious stones, 88 and in the territory of the Caxcanes in Zacatecas in 1530 there is a report of the use by the natives of "sartals of precious stones called sapphires." 89 When the Spanish first entered the Banderas Valley (Nayarit and Jalisco) they found the natives using shell trumpets, as well as necklaces and bracelets apparently made of shell. 90

The sum of visits records many cotton blankets, as well as henequen and grass blankets, and articles of blanket clothing, including huipils, tapatíos, sarapes, shirts and naguas, as well as different types of footwear that were delivered tribute to the Spanish encomenderos, and it is possible that some natives

85 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, pp. 209-210.

86 Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 76.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

88 Alberto Santoscoy, *Complete works*, volume 2 (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1986), p. 918.

89 Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 1, p. 495.

90 Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, p. 58.

91 Del Paso and Troncoso, *Papers of New Spain*.

FIGURE 7



Serpentine stones (in the bottom two lines) that are the product of the jewelry making process. Ixtapa (PV-1), municipality of Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco.

They will also use these items to dress themselves. However, in several places the same document mentions that the natives "went naked." The "Relation of Ameca" (1579), among several others, relates that the women walked naked above the waist, and below the waist they wore grass skirts up to the knee.⁹² It is worth mentioning that in 1754 Ortega reported the use of deer or wild boar skin pants among the natives of the Sierra del Nayar.⁹³

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, jewelry made of serpentine and other types of stone, including bezotes, pendants (including one made of turquoise), beads and tubes presumably for hair, have been found in the context of the late postclassic period at the site of Ixtapa in the Banderas Valley. (figure 7), including evidence of the specialization of some families in the manufacture of serpentine jewelry in the late postclassic.⁹⁵

Shell jewelry, especially bracelets, has also sometimes been found at Late Postclassic sites in some parts of coastal Jalisco,⁹⁶ as well as copper or bronze jewelry, including earrings, necklaces, bells, and other ornaments (figures 2 and 8).⁹⁷

⁹² Acuña, *Geographical Relations*, p. 39.

⁹³ José Ortega, «Wonderful reduction and conquest of the Province of S. Joseph of the Gran Nayar», in *Apostolic concerns of the Society of Jesus (London and Mexico: Layac, 1944)*, p. 13.

⁹⁴ Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Mountjoy, «Some important resources».

⁹⁷ Mountjoy y Torre, «The production and use of prehispanic metal artifacts».

FIGURE 8



Bells, hoops and a possible alligator figure, all made of bronze. Municipality of La Villa de La Purificación, Jalisco.

HOUSES

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

Beals reports houses built of wooden sticks and clay mud in Sinaloa and Jalisco and a case of adobe houses in the mountains southeast of Culiacán, in Sinaloa. Adobe houses were found by the Spanish in four different places in Jalisco, probably indicating that they were more common in Jalisco than in other parts of the territory of Nueva Galicia. There is a report of stone houses in Jalisco and another of houses covered with mats in Nayarit.

Round-plan houses were found in Zacatecas and Jalisco; and community houses in Sinaloa. Flat roofs were reported in Sinaloa and arched roofs in Zacatecas and Sinaloa. The use of bleachers was reported in a location in Jalisco. In Zacatecas the Spanish found people living in caves. The use of a palenque to protect the town was reported in Sinaloa.

In the south of Jalisco Cristóbal Flores (1530) found "good large houses with large branches in front where the women weave their clothes, and the fences of the houses are made of very large mats, out of respect for the great heat,"⁹⁸

In the south of Sinaloa the Spanish under the command of Nuño de Guzmán (1530) entered a town that they called a city and named Petatoni, due to the fact that the town was "covered with petates."⁹⁹ In another town of Sinaloa on the La Sal River, the "Second anonymous report" (1530)

⁹⁸ Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 210.

⁹⁹ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 154.

It describes houses of the chiefs that had a high palenque around it and a patio inside. 100

Also in the "Second anonymous report" (1530) some very long, well-made houses covered with straw that this man observed in the Culiacán valley, in Sinaloa, are described. Such a description is extremely curious due to the erotic art that the Spaniard saw painted on the highest part of the ceiling, apparently on a certain type of cresting: «They had their invitations on top of the roof ridges like here in Castile, made of highly painted clay. , especially they had men and women who gathered together with each other, and men with men, because in this land men are very dirty in this sin, and so they almost have it by faith. 101

The "Relation of Ameca" (1579), Jalisco, reports some houses with construction of square adobe bricks approximately 1.27 meters long, with stone foundations, the upper structure of oak and oak wood, and a roof of gable made of reeds and straw. Such houses measured from six to nine meters long. 102 These houses were in the main town, well planned in a pattern like a chess board, but outside that town the people who lived in ranches inhabiting small, round, low houses, with round foundations made of stones, covered the entrance with a backpack Four or five married men lived in these ranches with their wives. 103

Also, the reports from Amula, Jalisco (1579), and Compostela, Nayarit (1584), mention some native houses that were made of adobes in Tuxcacuesco, Jalisco, 104 Cusalapa, Jalisco, 105 and in the region of Compostela, Nayarit , 106 as well as in Tlaltenango, Zacatecas (1574). 107

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Square platforms that served as bases for houses are very common in large towns on the coast of Nayarit and Jalisco during the late postclassic. 108 However, the rancherías or villages in the mountains commonly had a pattern of one or more (up to at least seven) one-room houses and

100 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 319.

101 Ibid., pp. 320-321.

102 Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 31.

103 Ibid., pp. 39 U 47-

104 Ibid., p. 75.

105 Ibid., p. 81.

106 Ibid., p. 93.

107 Ibid., p. 148.

108 Mountjoy, «Prehispanic cultural developments».

FIGURE 9



Foundation of a round house,
El Ciruelo (Tom-24),
municipality of Tomatlán, Jalisco.

round plan (figure 9), built on the edge of or around a round plaza.¹⁰⁹ The normal size range of the interior area of these houses goes from 16.02 to 40.54 m².¹¹⁰ It appears that this pattern of houses and settlements was quite common, extending from the foothills of Jalisco to the southwest of Zacatecas, and presents a change from the square house plans that were so common in the preclassic and classical periods.

On his tour of the Sinaloa coast in 1929, Carl Sauer found a large habitation site in the Culiacán valley between Aguaruto and San Pedro, the largest town he found in his explorations in Sinaloa. Archaeologically, this site consisted of mounds formed by the deterioration of adobe houses, something that seemed quite common at other sites in this region, in association with many ceramic fragments apparently from the Late Postclassic. These remains are possibly from the native population found by the Spanish here in 1531.

A platform was found at site PV-2, located within the current town of Ixtapa in the municipality of Puerto Vallarta, and this platform was built with adobes 30 cm long by 45 cm wide and 10 cm thick, sor, placed with a reddish clay mortar 3 to 5 cm thick. The associated artifacts date from both phases (early and late) of the Postclassic.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Mountjoy and Módena, *The Tomatlán Archaeological Salvage Project*, not *Ibid.*, p. 228.

¹¹⁰ Sauer, *Aztatlán*, pp. 44-45, plate ze.

¹¹² Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*, site 2.

In some late postclassic settlements located in the Banderas Valley, wells two meters in diameter and more than one meter deep are found, lined with stones at the bottom and sometimes on the sides. These wells seem to have been used to store food in a relatively cool environment, which maintained a constant temperature, like pre-Hispanic refrigerators. 113

TRANSPORTATION

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

In Sinaloa and Nayarit, according to the contact sources consulted by Beals, the indigenous people carried loads in two nets balanced on the ends of a pole held over the shoulder. The report by Cristóbal Flores (1530) is more detailed, he says: «The custom of carrying their loads and maintenance is on a thick bow: just as there are some for arrows, there are others for carrying loads on the men [shoulders?], in a screw [sic] they tie a net and in the other, and inside this net they put what they want to carry, and thus they walk done", 114

In the region of Culiacán, Sinaloa, the natives used something like a litter to transport the lords or governors, because Gonzalo López reported that the majority of the lords of the towns: "They came in hammocks." 115

In Jalisco there is a report of the use of rafts made of reeds, and canoes for transportation on water. One of these reports comes from the entry in 1525 of the Spanish to the Banderas Valley, north side, when they attacked the natives, who were probably taking refuge on the Marietas Islands, using rafts made of thin reeds. 116

On the southern coast of Nayarit, in 1525, there were canoes made of reeds, 117 and Francisco de Arceo, author of a report on the entry of Nuño de Guzmán's forces (1530), reported having seen a lagoon with many canoes near Tepic, Nayarit, 118 possibly the lagoon that today is called Santa María del Oro.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Pares Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 210.

¹¹⁵ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 92.

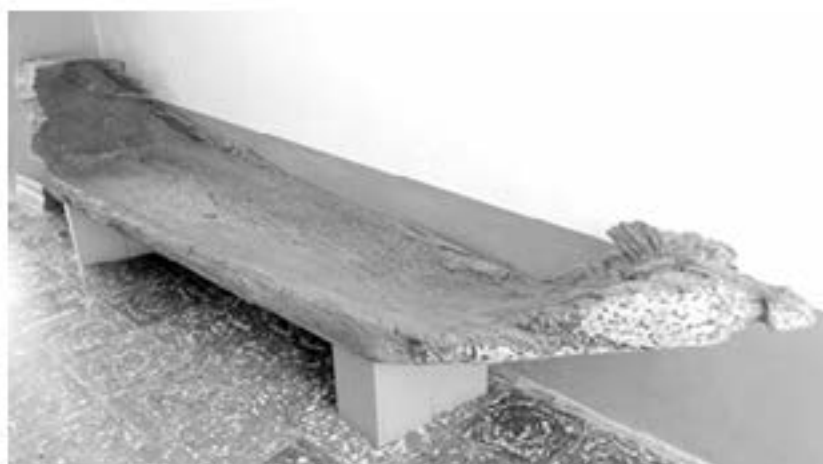
¹¹⁶ Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, *Summary relation of the things of New Spain* (Mexico: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1902), pp. 171-172.

¹¹⁷ Cuevas, "Visitation that took place during the Conquest."

¹¹⁸ Pares Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 254.

FIGURE 10

Canoe extracted from the Juanacatlán lagoon, Mascota, Jalisco; It measures 560 cm long and 67 cm wide.



The "Relation of the mines of to cross the Acaponeta River on the north coast of Nayarit, they were made of many large gourds placed between two wattles made of reeds and on this occasion they transported two people at a time with the help of ten or twelve natives swimming around the raft. 120

Alonso Ponce himself reported in 1587 the use, by fishermen, of canoes made of hay in a lagoon near the Ozomatlán ranch, south of the Aztatlán settlement in northern Nayarit. 121 Furthermore, in 1586 Ponce saw canoes made of reeds in use on Lake Chapala, noting that they carried one or two natives. 122

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, there are some canoes presumably of pre-Hispanic type made from tree trunks, extracted from lagoons or rivers. An example is a canoe made from a single tree trunk, made by burning and cutting the interior. This canoe has an eagle-shaped bow and is painted white, and was extracted from the Juanacatlán lagoon, municipality of Mascota, Jalisco (figure 10). According to a radiocarbon test, the canoe dates back to the 17th century, approximately the year 1620. 123

119 Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 318.

120 Ramos Meza, *Viajes de fray Alonso Ponce*, p. 77.

121 Ibid., pp. 81-82.

122 Ibid., p. 41.

123 María de Guadalupe Zepeda Martínez, «The monoxyl canoes of Juanacatlán

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

According to Beals, there is a report of the use of the musical bow in Jalisco, and of drums in Sinaloa and Nayarit; plus a case in Sinaloa about the use of a hollow tree trunk allegedly as a drum, perhaps a *teponastle*.

Early documents mention the use of shell trumpets in several places, for example in the Banderas Valley in 1525;¹²⁴ in the region of Culiacán, Sinaloa, in 1530;¹²⁵ and in the town of Tecpoyotlán, Jalisco. According to the "Relation of Poncitlán and Cuitzeo del Río" (1584) there was a man who had "in his hand, a tortoise shell and a hollow reed flute, with which he played along the road."¹²⁶ The same document in which Juan de Sámano mentions shell trumpets in the region of Culiacán, Sinaloa, also records the use of drums by the same group of native warriors when they attacked the Spanish.¹²⁷

Ciudad Real in 1587 found natives using trumpets, flutes and sometimes shawms in various parts of Jalisco, including the towns of Cocula, Autlán, Tuxcacuesco and near Teuhtlán.¹²⁸

Ortega (1754) describes a musical instrument used by the natives of the Sierra del Nayar in the corn harvest ceremony in September. Such an instrument was a bow whose string was tied to a deep punt, and the music was produced by striking the string with a stick.¹²⁹

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, there are many ceramic flutes and whistles in the preclassical late, but curiously they are not found in the late postclassic despite the fact that many drums, trumpets, flutes and shawms are mentioned in documents from the 16th century. However, in the Postclassic for the first time the natives at least had copper/bronze bells (figure 8).¹³⁰

in Mascota, Jalisco, from the 17th century» (report to the City Council of Mascota, Jalisco, 2012).

¹²⁴ Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, p. 58.

¹²⁵ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 128.

¹²⁶ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 184.

¹²⁷ Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom*, p. 128.

¹²⁸ Ramos Meza, *Viajes de Fray Alonso Ponce*, pp. 93 and 102-105.

¹²⁹ Ortega, "Marvelous reduction and conquest", p. 24.

¹³⁰ Mountjoy y Torres, «The production and use of prehispanic metal artifacts».

GAMES

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

According to Beals, data from European contact with the natives indicate that a variety of the ball game existed in Sinaloa and Jalisco, at least sometimes using a rubber ball. Other games in which they used a stick or played by kicking a ball were reported for Sinaloa. Beals also reports the patole-type "board" game among the natives of Sinaloa and Jalisco.

The "Relation of the town of Teucaltiche" (1584), a town located in the Altos de Jalisco, almost on the border with Aguascalientes, mentions that in this town they played the two games mentioned by Beals: patole and ulama: "And they did not have any vices, but it was a game they call "patole" [...] which is with four reeds, on the ground, on some lines. And in this game, and another that is with a rubber ball that they call "ulama", which means "buttocks game", they played blankets, bows, arrows, bucklers, feathers, batons, and everything they had, until they lost it. all".¹³¹ These two ball and patole games were also found among the Coras before 1737 by Arlegui.¹³² Arlegui says that the ball game called hule was played by two opposing groups using oak sticks and that they used to bet everything they had on the outcome of the game.

Arlegui also reports¹³³ that the Coras played patole with six dice in the shape of sticks cut and marked alike that they threw into the air, and as they fell they hit their chests hard in an apparent attempt to influence the count for the spaces moved according to how the sticks fell.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Evidence of the ball game, archaeologically, is found in the west of Michoacán in the middle preclassic,¹³⁴ and the use of a court for ball games was quite common in the late preclassic in central Jalisco in relation to the "Teuchitlán Tradition",¹³⁵ as well as in the postclassic on the coast

¹³¹ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 306.

¹³² José Arlegui, *Chronicle of the provincial of N. S. P. S. Francisco de Zacatecas* (Mexico: reprinted by Cumplido, 1851), pp. 148-149.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ J. Arturo Oliveros, *Grave makers in El Opeño, Jacona, Michoacán* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Ayuntamiento de Jacona, 2004), pp. 54-60.

¹³⁵ Phil C. Weigand, «The pre-Hispanic ball game in Jalisco and Nayarit: the tradition of Teuchitlán», in *Evolution of a pre-Hispanic civilization: archeology of Jalisco, Nayarit and Zacatecas* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán, 1993).

FIGURE 11



Petroglyph from the game of "patole". El Refugio (MA-27), municipality of Mascota, Jalisco.

of Nayarit and Jalisco, sometimes, it seems, during the late postclassic phase, for example at the site of Ixtapa in the Banderas Valley. 136

Flat rocks engraved with various patterns of patole-type games are frequently found in the western mountains, at the foot of the mountain, and on the coast of Jalisco. Apparently, the vast majority of these engravings date from the late postclassic period. The patterns in lines of squares or little wells included the following shapes: square and cross (figure 11); circle and cross; propeller; and oval. 137

136 Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

137 Mountjoy and Módena, *The Tomatlán Archaeological Salvage Project*; Mountjoy, "Rock art", in *Anthropology in Jalisco*, no. 10 (Guadalajara: Ministry of Culture, 1998); Mountjoy, "Some abbreviated patollis found among the petroglyphs of Jalisco", in *The petroglyphs of northern Mexico: memory of the First Seminar of Petrogravures of northern Mexico*, coord. by Joel Santos Ramírez and Ramón Viñas Valverde (Mexico: INAH / Directorate of Research and Promotion of Regional Culture, 2006); Mountjoy, «Archeology of the coastal zone of Jalisco and the municipality of Villa Purificación», in *Historical miscellany of Villa Purificación: testimonies of the 475th anniversary of its foundation*, coord. by Aristarco Regalado Pinedo and Juan Sánchez Vázquez (Villa Purificación: Villa Purificación City Council, 2008); Mountjoy and J. P. Smith, "An archaeological

There is also archaeological evidence on the central coast of Jalisco indicating that indigenous people used tokens almost identical in shape and size to a "chocolate kiss"; and ceramic disc dice that have a little hole on one side and an X on the other, for playing patole. 138

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

Beals reports the institution of cacique-type leaders in Sinaloa, Zacatecas and Jalisco, but in all cases the position was not hereditary but based on the value of the person. However, there is mention of the presence of a "king" or "captain" for the Coras in a place in the Sierra de Nayarit. 139 The "Relation of Ameca" (1579) mentions that that town was governed by a "lord" and another person who had characteristics of a shaman: he spoke with "the devil" and divined not only the success or failure of war campaigns but also whether the times were to be rainy or dry. 140 According to the story, these two "bossy ones" were obeyed by all the people.

In Sinaloa¹¹ there were towns with 500 to 600 houses, and it was reported that the chief in a town in Nayarit had had 400 people in his service in his domestic unit. There are some "calculations" of towns that had around ten thousand inhabitants, and it was very common to find large towns that were divided into neighborhoods, especially in Jalisco, but there were also towns with this type of divisions in Sinaloa and Nayarit. In the province of Piastra, in southern Sinaloa, the Spanish gave the name Cuatro Barrios to a town thus divided, and in the region of Culiacán they called another town Cinco Barrios for the same reason. 142

In some of the large towns there were markets or flea markets. For example, in the valley of Culiacán, Sinaloa, the "Second anonymous report" (1530) mentions that "in all these towns there were large markets and contracts with each other, of fish and clothing and fruits and all their offal as in Mexico", 143

patolli from Tomatlán, Jalisco, Mexico", in *Contributions to the archeology and ethnohistory of Greater Mesoamerica*, ed. by W. Folan (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985).

¹³⁸ Mountjoy y Smith, «An archaeological patolli from Tomatlan».

¹³⁹ Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 2, p. 918.

¹⁴⁰ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 37.

¹⁴¹ Beals, *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

¹⁴² Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, pp. 304 and 307.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

There are many documents from Nayarit and Jalisco that mention the payment of tribute from small towns to the large capital of each province.

The sociopolitical situation for the southern coast of Nayarit, according to the visitation of 1531,¹⁴⁴ must have been quite typical for much of the Pacific coast of Nueva Galicia. The political organization consisted of a province with a capital, to which some minor towns were subject. Likewise, ranches were found attached to certain towns and also to a head. The capital, as well as each town, had its chief or lord.

The "First anonymous report" of Nuño de Guzmán's entry (1530) mentions that the large town of Centiquipaque [Sentispac], on the banks of the Río Grande de Santiago, in the center of the Nayarit coast, had more than forty towns subjects.¹⁴⁵

In this system, each town had commercial relations or dealings with one or more towns, but not necessarily only with towns that were within the same province. There were also certain towns in each province that used to periodically have the market or tianguis.

The Sum of visits¹⁴⁶ is a list of main towns and the stays (generally two to seven) linked to certain main towns. Also, judging from this document, the most warlike and barbaric natives were generally found in the mountains, and the natives with the most advanced culture and the densest populations were found in certain parts of the coast. For example, natives of higher culture were found around Culiacán, in Sinaloa. This was also the case in certain large inland valleys, especially that of Atemejac, the place where Guadalajara would later be founded, and in some valleys of the foothills between the plateau and the mountains, for example around La Purificación in Jalisco and Compostela in

Nayarit. The "Relation of Amula" (1579), Jalisco, mentions that in ancient times they had a governor named Xiutltecutle ("precious lord"), to whom they gave many gold and silver jewelry as tribute, such as necklaces, shields, bracelets and others. things, as well as corn, chili, beans and cotton.¹⁴⁷ This man was killed by the Tarascans when they invaded the area of southwest Jalisco and his successor

It was Teuquatlquequi (man dressed in silver). According to this relationship, the gentlemen They were dressed in very good cotton clothes of many colors and paints. and they brought many gold and silver necklaces, "and the said costume they wore was like

¹⁴⁴ Cuevas, "Visitation that took place during the Conquest."

¹⁴⁵ Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p.

296. ¹⁴⁶ Del Paso and Troncoso, *Papers of New Spain*.

¹⁴⁷ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 63.

doublets and long shirts, skirts outside, and with feather bonnets. 148 Inside their houses they had many service women with whom the lord could have sexual relations, apparently at will; All these women were under the command of the lord's "appointed woman." 149

The "Relation of Compostela" (1584), Nayarit, records the following regarding the institution of lordship:

All these Indians, the "tecoscines" (head cutters) and those from the valley [of Banderas], say, each town had a lord whom they obeyed and served; and lords succeeded by bravery in war: for whoever was brave, he was lord. And what they gave to their lords, in recognition and tribute, was to plant corn, cotton, and the other seeds of their sustenance; make the house and serve him as he commanded them, all generally obedient. 150

In Sinaloa, according to Beals, some natives practiced the custom of *couvade*, that is, the obligation of a man to abstain from sexual relations and stay at home during his wife's pregnancy. In three places in Sinaloa and one in Jalisco, the institution of *berdache* was reported, that is, men who dressed as women and refused to fight in battles.

In Nayarit, *nagualism* was very common, that is, when a son or daughter was born, relatives carried out a ceremony that included taking the newborn to a river or spring to bathe it and assign it a *nagual*, an animal of the air, of the land or water so that the animal could assist and care for it for the rest of its life, and under certain circumstances they believed that the person could even become that animal. 151

In the Sierra de Nayarit, according to Ortega (1754), a man could have all the women he wanted, especially if they were sisters of his first wife, and if another asked for one of the sisters-in-law, the father-in-law could not give her without consent of his son-in-law. 152

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, there is much evidence of large towns in the late postclassic period, especially the abundant remains of house foundations and platforms.

148 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

149 *Ibid.*

150 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

151 Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 2, pp. 937-938.

152 Ortega, "Marvelous reduction and conquest", p. 19.

FIGURE 12



The Oxtoticpac table (SS0-25),
municipality of San Sebastián del Oeste,
Jalisco.

ceremonial forms, as well as large quantities of pottery fragments and grinding stones. In many cases these towns were visited by the Spanish, for example Culiacán, in Sinaloa; Sentispac, Martonchel and Pontoque, in Nayarit; and Ixtapa, Oxtoticpac (figure 12) and Tetitlán, in Jalisco.

It has been possible to calculate with archaeological information the indigenous population of the Tomatlán valley at the time of Spanish contact, including that of the then Tetitlán capital, indicating that the population of the entire valley could possibly have reached ten thousand indigenous people in 1525.¹⁵³

There are two possible burials of lords that have been found archaeologically, both in mounds, in which the offerings of jewelry, especially of gold and silver, seem to match the descriptions in ethnohistorical sources of the jewelry that some gentlemen wore in life.

One of these burials was reported by Corona Núñez in the region of San Juan de Abajo, Nayarit, 154 where the offerings included a nose ring covered with gold foil, a nose ring made of gold foil, another silver, a necklace of six bells, an effigy in the shape of a bird and twelve beads, two jadeite pectorals (one in the shape of a human face) and a necklace composed of jadeite beads. Other offerings in this burial included four large marble vessels and other smaller, incomplete ones. It is known that it is a Postclassic burial, but it is unknown whether it is from its early or late phase.

¹⁵³ Joseph B. Mountjoy, «Calculations of the pre-Hispanic population in the river basin Tomatlán», in *Studies of Man* 3 (1996).

¹⁵⁴ José Corona Núñez, «Report regarding the discovery and archaeological exploration in San Juan de Abajo, belonging to the municipality of Compostela» (Guadalajara: INAH, 1950).

The other burial of one or more elite people was found near the town of Lo Arado, Jalisco, not far from the Villa de la Purificación, and reported by Miguel Covarrubias (1961). In this case, the remains also belong to the Postclassic period, although it is not known with certainty whether they correspond to the early or late phase of the Postclassic period.

In Lo Arado there were three large mounds (30 m long by 10 m wide and 10 m high). During the destruction of these mounds they found burial offerings including shell bracelets, copper ear cuffs, rock crystal and jadeite barbots, small copper and silver idols, copper, silver and gold bells, and gold and silver beads. , copper, jadeite, turquoise and rock crystal. The larger pieces included: gold and silver medallions with embossed motifs of images of gods such as Quetzalcóatl, Ehécatl, Tezcatlipoca, Mictlantecuhtli and Tláloc, as well as the image of a deer embossed in a sheet of gold. Here it is worth remembering that the chief of the town of Zapotitlán in 1589 was a man named Mazatl, which means deer, and that this chief was known for being a "great fighter," 155

WAR

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

Beals reports wars of troops organized into squads in various parts of Sinaloa, as well as in Nayarit and Jalisco, sometimes numbering hundreds or thousands of warriors. Weapons of war included bow and arrow in Sinaloa and Jalisco, as well as the use of poisoned arrows in Sinaloa. They also used spears to fight in Sinaloa and Nayarit, and in some cases in Jalisco they used the atlatl. Slings were used to fight in Sinaloa and Jalisco. It was quite common to fight with clubs, sometimes with stone heads, which was recorded in three places in Sinaloa, one in Nayarit and five in Jalisco. The use of a macana or macauitle with an obsidian blade edge, an object famously known as war weaponry of the Aztecs, was found in Sinaloa and Jalisco. The warriors protected themselves with shields or bucklers in Sinaloa, Nayarit and Jalisco. When the forces of Francisco Cortés entered the northern side of the Banderas Valley (Nayarit) in 1525, in the vicinity of the place called Tintoque, according to sources, they faced more than 20,000 natives who came out to defend the entrance to their town.

155 Acuña, *Geographic Relations*, p. 59.

armed with a bow, baton and throwing darts, with a lot of feathers and embajados, and each Indian carried in his hand and in his quiver a feather flag of different colors, some small and others large, which was beautiful to see; They brought with them many reed horns, like fifes, very feathered spears, with many dices of strings of coral around their necks and bracelets of the same, scabbards and capes made of green and red parrot feathers, and some large snails that served of trumpets, and with horrible shouts they came facing our men. 156

The "Relation of Francisco de Arceo" (1530) describes in great detail a confrontation between Captain Francisco Verdugo and the main warrior of the natives in the region of Tomala [Tonalá?], Jalisco. According to the report, that brave native brought, in addition to his bow and arrows, "some gold beads around his neck, and others on the wrists of his arms, and in his hands a club, like a baton, full of stone points." flints, and the handle of the baton had a strap hanging across it and tied tightly to the arm. 157 The Spanish captain, mounted on horseback, killed this warrior with his spear.

According to the "Second anonymous report" (1530) of Nuño de Guzmán's entry into the province of Chiametla, the natives fought with arrows, batons and bucklers, and "the buckler is made of rods very close to each other," with their woven thread, and they carry them held under their arm [...] and when they want to take advantage of it they release the rope and it unravels, and it remains like pavés, the covered Indian. 158

The "Third Anonymous Report" (1530) describes a battle of the Spanish against fifteen thousand Chichimecas in Nochistlán, Zacatecas, where they threw some "toasted" rods at the Spaniards. 159 This same document also reports that the natives, mainly from Nochistlán, agreed in the summer of 1530 to attack the Spanish in the Guadalajara region before reinforcements arrived from Mexico. They attacked on September 15, organized into three squadrons under the leadership of Lord Tenamastle. According to the report: «These said people came in flesh and each squad, of these three, came different in color: yellow, black and blue, and with many plumages, and their bows and arrows in their hands, the vanguard of these people was all archers, and the battle of people with toasted rods and clubs, and some flint swords. "160

156 Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, p. 58. However, it should not be forgotten that the chronicler wrote around 1653, and tended to hyperbola in terms of figures.

157 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 250.

158 *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

159 *Ibid.*, p. 334.

160 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

The use of armor made of cotton is reported for many towns in Jalisco, for example in Ayutla. 161 The same "Relation of La Villa de La Purificación" mentions that in El Tuito, in the northern part of the coastal area of Jalisco, the natives fought with knife clubs and copper axes. 162

It is common to find in the Geographical Relations mention that the natives fought with bow and arrow, but the "Relation of Compostela" (1584) also mentions that the warriors fought with darts - apparently from atlatl - and some small axes. 163

It was very common for warriors to fight naked, but there are some notable exceptions; For example, according to the "Relation of La Villa de La Purificación" (1585), in Mazatlán and Acatlán, Jalisco, they fought dressed with bracelets and silver ribbons on their foreheads and wore a lot of feathers¹⁶⁴ or, according to the same report, in Xocotlán, Jalisco, "their costume was to go around very adorned with blankets from the land, galanas, and in wars they adorned themselves with animal skins, such as tigers (because there are plenty of them), and, in the molledos, handles and, on the forehead, silver braids, four fingers wide, which perhaps the dealers sold", 165

The taking of hair or heads as trophies was reported for indigenous people in Sinaloa, who used to display such trophies on the beak of a stick, sometimes during a victory dance. 166 Cannibalism was found among natives of Sinaloa and Jalisco, sometimes related to the consumption of the flesh of a brave enemy. There is news that in Nayarit they resorted to florid war to obtain prisoners to sacrifice to their gods. 167

The "Relation of Ameca" (1579), Jalisco, reports that the warriors of this place fought naked, except for some jewelry beads and plumage of birds, such as macaws and herons, as well as footwear made of maguey threads or deer skin. . They used wooden bows and flint-tipped cane arrows, and they carried a mirror "hanging on their buttocks." 168 They took prisoners in war and fattened them to prepare them to be sacrificed to a stone idol that they kept in a house of worship that they called teocalli.

161 Acuña, Geographic Relations, p. 254.

162 Ibid., p. 228.

163 Ibid., p. 91.

164 Ibid., p. 221.

165 Ibid., p. 225.

166 Beals, *The comparative ethnology*, 1973.

167 Santoscoy, Complete Works, volume 2, p. 934.

168 Acuña, Geographic relations, p. 39.

The act of sacrifice was carried out by a virgin man, who removed the heart with a knife and placed it in the box where the idol was kept, so that he could eat the meat and drink the blood. The body of the sacrificed person was then given to the community so that people could cook it and eat the meat during a festival with lots of dancing and joy. 169

The consumption of human flesh is also recorded in the "Relation of Amula" (1579), Jalisco, for the natives in Tuxcacuesco, Jalisco, 170

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, it is difficult to detect evidence of warfare, because the same objects, such as projectile points and clubs, can function in some cases for hunting and gathering animals and plants and be used as weapons on other occasions. However, in the territory of Nueva Galicia there is a good example of a conquest reflected in archaeological materials. This is the case of the invasion of the Sayula basin by the Tarascans or Purépechas between the years 1350 and 1532 AD.

The archaeological evidence consists of the introduction of ceramic pieces of Tarascan-type shape, decoration and manufacture, including incense burners, miniature vessels and pipes, as well as various metal objects. 171 These objects are of types associated with elite people in the central Tarascan zone, and the reason for the invasion of the Sayula basin and the establishment of a Tarascan colony headed by elite people appears to have been control of the salt flats.

RELIGION AND DEATH

ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

Beals reports the use of temples in Jalisco, sometimes situated on platforms artificial. This author also reports the presence of idols carved from stone and of wood in five different places in Jalisco, as well as the presence of idols in certain parts of Sinaloa and Nayarit.

169 Ibid., p. 36.

170 Ibid., p. 73.

171 Susana Ramírez Urrea, "Ceramics of the Amacueca phase", in *Archeology of the Sayula basin*, ed. by Francisco Valdez, Otto Schöndube and Jean Pierre Emphoux (Mexico: University of Guadalajara / IDR, 2005); Francisco Valdez, "Metals", in *Archeology of the Sayula basin*.

The "Relation of Ameca" (1579) records the worship of a stone idol that was kept in a small, square petticoat, made of cane, with a lid and placed in a house of worship. The idol was attended to by priests who guarded the house, and only they could see it, never the general public. To this idol they offered the hearts of the prisoners of war, extracted with knives, and the bodies of those sacrificed were cooked and consumed by the town's residents "as the finishing touch to their festival." 172

Arias y Saavedra mentions that the natives of the Sierra de Nayarit had idols in the shape of women, naked men, snakes and birds, as well as figures made of clay or stone, and that they left effigies and offerings of peyote in certain sacred caves. 173 Arias y Saavedra also reported that on the coast of Nayarit the natives had the custom of offering the first fruits of fishing to the temple. 174

According to the "Relation of Amula" (1579), in Copala, Jalisco, the natives worshiped a stone "demon." 175 In Ixpopoyutlan, Jalisco, they worshiped a stone idol of a blind person, 176 and in Tuxcacuesco, Jalisco, the natives had a stone idol that they worshiped and on which they placed a tuxtle (bird). 177

In Mazatlán, Jalisco, the natives worshiped a stone carved as a figure of a deer, 178 and in Xocotlán, Jalisco, the idol they worshiped was in the shape of a snake. 179 Also in southern Sinaloa they worshiped a god in the shape of a snake. 180

It seems that there was an idol in almost every major town in Jalisco. Idols were so common that their absence in some towns in Jalisco deserves explicit mention in the Geographical Relations. 181

In Xocotitlan-Tecpoyotlán, Jalisco, they had an idol to which they sacrificed war captives, whom they "later quartered and distributed the meat among the principals and brave men. And they had, in the house where the idol was, a

172 Acuña, Geographic Relations, p. 36.

173 Santoscoy, Complete Works, volume 2, pp. 984-985.

174 Ibid., p. 987.

175 Acuña, Geographic Relations, p. 61.

176 Ibid., p. 62.

177 Ibid., p. 70.

178 Ibid., p. 221.

179 Ibid., p. 321.

180 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, Chronicles of the Conquest, p. 320.

181 Acuña, Geographic relations.

"a man who received and gave an answer to what the said idol said, who brought and carried a staff in his hand wherever he went." 182

Another notable example of an idol is Taccalio, Jalisco, a place that had that name "after an idol that had the said name, in whom they worshiped and to whom they presented and offered wine and food, and they cut off their ears before him and offered him their blood for the same cause, and they asked for what the other sacrifices and slaughter of men, and the same distribution. 183 And in Tenamaxtlán, Jalisco, the natives worshiped stone idols that emitted smoke from their eyes and mouths. 184

Not all idols were made of stone. When Nuño de Guzmán's forces entered the region of Nochistlán, Zacatecas, in 1530, the natives brought them gifts as a sign of peace that included the two idols they worshiped. The captain of the Spanish forces convinced the governor of the natives to burn the idols in a large fire made with two hundred loads of wood; and since the idols "were made of blankets full of blood from the diabolical sacrifices that they used of human men with their flint knives, which were among those bloody blankets, in a short space of time he did the fire all ashes", 185

In the town of Copsppapit, Jalisco, the idol consisted of a fat cross-shaped stick that was dressed in a huipil adorned with macaw feathers. 186

The "Relation of the town of La Purificación" (1585) mentions that in Ayutla, Jalisco, they venerated a spring where water always gushed: "In the past, they were not governed by governors, but only by what 'The Water' he ordered them to do; And so, they held her in great veneration and, wherever she went, they had a large house built for her where they went to seek advice. And to this water, they offered sacrifices, which was the blood and hearts of those who died; and when they did this, that was when it stopped raining," 187

Also in Cuamichitlán and Chamela, Jalisco, they worshiped water. In this case, in deep water puddles. 188 And in another case, in Atengo and Piloto, Jalisco, the natives worshiped a cave. 189

According to Beals, there were shamans in Sinaloa and Jalisco, and he reports a description of a shaman's bag in Sinaloa that was made from the skin of an animal.

182 Ibid., p. 184.

183 Ibid., p. 186.

184 Ibid., p. 283.

185 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 253.

186 Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 187.

187 Ibid., p. 2. 3. 4.

188 Ibid., p. 222.

189 Ibid., p. 229.

small and full of stones of different colors. Shamans in Sinaloa experienced visions and cured by extracting evils by blowing or sucking. Also in Jalisco it is reported that shamans cured by extracting evils by sucking.

The use of peyote is only mentioned by Beals among indigenous people of Zacatecas, where they used it to cure different diseases, but they also used it in ceremonies to cause visions. Some natives of Zacatecas used snakes in their festivals.

The Franciscan Arlegui (1733) cites the use of peyote also in Nayarit and Jalisco. The natives used it to cure illnesses and to receive visions predicting future events, such as possible success in battle, as well as to communicate with their gods. The consumption of peyote sometimes led the natives to a certain degree of "drunkenness," and under this influence they often revealed secrets that in a sober state they would have hidden. However, native parents used to hang a bag of peyote or other herbs around their children's necks to give them strength and agility. 190

In Nayarit there was use of ritual incense, according to Beals. The use of apparently intoxicating drinks is also mentioned in Sinaloa and Jalisco, and generally in Sinaloa to celebrate victories in war.

In Jalisco, Beals reports that some natives offered food to the sun, which in almost all parts of New Galicia was considered the supreme god of the gods.

On the northern coast of Jalisco, Francisco de Lorenzo found in 1530 that the natives "worshipped many idols, but the sun was Jupiter or god of the gods," and the natives "brought all the idols to the feet of the blessed Father and this "He reduced to dust those who were of earth, and threw the fuel into the flames." 191 Further south, on the coast of Jalisco, the same friar found temples with idols, one representing the god of war, and another the god of fishing. 192

A report from 1530 indicates that the Caxcan natives in the vicinity of El Teúl in Zacatecas, as well as throughout the Caxcan district, worshiped an idol of the goddess Tonan or Earth, 193 the same one that was apparently destroyed by the Spanish in 1533. 194

190 Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 2, pp. 929-930.

191 Torres, *Chronicle of the holy province of Xalisco*, p. 58.

192 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

193 Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 1, p. 496.

194 *Ibid.*, p. 502.

The "Third Anonymous Report" (1530) relates that the Chichimecas in the neighborhood of Nochistlán, Zacatecas, had ceremonies in which they sacrificed children by removing their hearts with flints, and the blood and the heart were offered to the "devil," and the body distributed among the principals, presumably to consume the meat. 195

Fortunately, we have a description of the treaty of "king [tlatoani] Nayar" after his death. His subjects kept the stuffed body on a chair in a mortuary house built near the temple of the Sun, his body laden with offerings, including more than three hundred textiles and linens, and also, according to Arias and Saavedra, offerings of salt, meat, fish, cotton, feathers, clay pots and the blood of some slit enemies that they brought in glasses to pour into a well on the floor of the room, offering it to the sun. 196

The corpse of King Nayar had a silver ribbon on his forehead, another on his waist and another also on his left arm, in order to cushion the blow of a bowstring. A document mentions that his subjects offered him sacrifices, including maidens, and worshiped him as an idol directly related to the god of the Sun. 197 His worshiped bones remained there until the Spaniards seized them in the conquest of the Mesa del Nayar in 1722, burning them in the square of San Diego in 1723. 198

Arias y Saavedra reported that in the same mortuary house where they kept the body of King Nayar there were bodies of three other leaders, dissected and sitting on chairs placed in the shape of a cross, with their hands crossed and tied over their legs. It seems that it was a certain "council of four deceased", symbolizing the four cardinal points and the four seasons of the year, and that they served as oracles for the community, and when the bodies fell apart they were replaced with new ones in the four chairs. 199

Ortega (1754) reported that in the Sierra de Nayarit they had three main gods: the main one, the god of the sun, who had a special temple in Toacamota where there was a high priest, who guarded the idol to which they offered arrows, feathers and curious cotton fabrics; the second, a goddess "our mother", who manifested herself in the form of two stones; and the third, who was the provider of all the needs of the natives. 200 Near the temple of the Sun in Toaca-

195 Parres Arias and Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the Conquest*, p. 334.

196 Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 2, p. 980.

197 *Ibid.*, p. 918.

198 *Ibid.*, p. 920.

199 *Ibid.*, p. 936.

200 Ortega, "Marvelous reduction and conquest", pp. 19-20, 24 and 26.

mota the Spanish found a stone on which the image of the Sun was sculpted. 201 Undoubtedly it is a petroglyph.

Notwithstanding the three main ones, according to Ortega (1754): "If the Egyptians had a god for each day, the Nayarites worshiped so many idols that in my opinion, they distributed themselves, giving each one his own, there were still many left over." 202 And these idol figurines were found everywhere in the mountains; in many cases, only in the center of a fence of stones stuck in the ground. 203

Ortega relates the belief of the natives of Jalisco and Nayarit that a large snake lived in a cave on the hill of Jalisco, a source of black clouds, lightning and hurricanes. This snake was believed to consume people and their homes with its fire, and this snake was worshiped as a god. 204 The same source relates the belief that the natives had in the region of the Río Grande de Santiago that the Pacific Ocean was the home of the sun because there the sun sank and illuminated Mictlán, the place of the dead, and that a dead man had to cross that river to the north helped by a sacrificed Itzcuintli dog.

Ortega (1754) also describes the way of burying the deceased among the natives of the Sierra del Nayar. It says that they dressed the deceased and wrapped them in a blanket; if it was a man he was accompanied with his bow and quiver, and if it was a woman he was accompanied with his "woodcutter" and winch, and the bodies were deposited in a cave. 205

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Archaeologically, the use of temples on artificial platforms is evident in many sites during the late postclassic, 206 although in some cases it is probably a continuous use of such platforms built in the early postclassic, for example in Ixtapa, Jalisco. 207

In the southern area of the Banderas Valley, in Jalisco, in large postclassic sites such as Ixtapa, small conical mounds are found, apparently built with the purpose of having a representation of a sacred hill on the top of which they could burn incense and leave offerings, including bowls containing food. Apart from Ixtapa, in many small housing sites it is quite common to find ceremonial architecture; this consists of

201 Ibid., p. 166.

202 Ibid., p. 19.

203 Ibid., p. twenty-one.

204 Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, volume 2, p. 928.

205 Ortega, "Marvelous reduction and conquest", p. 28.

206 Mountjoy, «Prehispanic Cultural Developments».

207 Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

FIGURE 13



FIGURE 14



Left: Stone idol. San Vicente, municipality of Valle de Banderas, Nayarit. Right: Stone cloth. Nahuapa (Tom-8), municipality of Tomatlán, Jalisco.

a small conical mound of the same "sacred hill" type, associated with a long, rectangular platform of less elevation.²⁰⁸

There are also many carved stone idols that are assignable to the late postclassic in Jalisco and Nayarit, some with apparent ties to stone idols similar to those found in Central America²⁰⁹ (figure 13). The breaking and burning of such idols, presumably by the friars, is corroborated by finds radiocarbon dated to 1550±60 AD at a late postclassic site in the Banderas Valley in Jalisco.²¹⁰ A possible attempt to hide some idols to prevent a similar fate from happening to them at the hands of the Spanish has also been recorded in Valle de Banderas, on the Nayarit side, during the same period.²¹¹

Uncommon, although present in the late postclassic period, is the use of ceramic figurines made in molds, probably related to rituals of daily life.²¹²

Another cultural feature of the Late Postclassic, which is common in Jalisco and Nayarit, is the use of rustic stone stelae, some of them with engraved motifs (petroglyphs) (figure 14), which probably served as sundials.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Joseph B. Mountjoy y José C. Beltrán, «Anthropomorphic peg-based sculptures from the Banderas Valley of coastal West Mexico», *Ancient Mesoamerica* 16 (2005).

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

The use of such monuments began in the early postclassic period but is much more common in the late postclassic period. 213

Shamanistic rites during the late postclassic period are evident in the large number of stones engraved with petroglyphs and in some places painted with pictographs. These are designs that in the vast majority of cases were engraved or painted in rites related to the transition between the dry season and the rainy season, especially, thus being physical manifestations of supplications to the solar god to stop burning the earth and began the rainy season, so important for the plants and animals that were essential for the survival of the natives. 214

The engraved symbols are primarily variations on the representation of the sun (figure 5), but include many coiled snakes symbolizing water. There are also some engravings that represent shamans or engravings in the shape of a human foot that represents the place where the shaman carried out his "renewal rites."

The only god in the pantheon of the central highlands of Mexico clearly recognizable in petroglyphs and pictographs is the water/rain god Tláloc, 215 although the representation of the coiled serpent is possibly a rural representation of Quetzalcoatl, the Mesoamerican god of creativity and life. 216

The burial of disarticulated bones of the deceased in large pots appears to be quite common during the Late Postclassic, 217 although the practice perhaps has roots in the burial of cremated bones in pots in the Middle Preclassic in Jalisco. 218 There is a known case of the ritual burial of cremated bones of infants, possibly sacrificed, deposited in ceramic vessels as a way.

²¹³ Joseph B. Mountjoy, «West Mexican stelae from Jalisco and Nayarit», *Ancient Mesoamerica* 2 (1991).

214 Joseph B. Mountjoy, "Meaning of two 17th century documents in the interpretation of petroglyphs found in the Tomatlán River basin, Jalisco," in *Recent Investigations in the Mayan Area*, volume 4 (Mexico: Mexican Society of Anthropology, 1984); Mountjoy, *The Tomatlán Archaeological Salvage Project: rock art*, Archeology collection 163 (Mexico: INAH, 1987); Mountjoy, "Rite of renewal in petroglyphs."

215 Mountjoy, *The Tomatlán Archaeological Salvage Project: rock art*.

²¹⁶ Joseph B. Mountjoy, «Some hypotheses regarding the petroglyphs of west Mexico», *Mesoamerican Studies* 9 (1974).

217 Ronald Crabtree, *Two urn burials from Santa Cruz, Nayarit* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1961).

218 Joseph B. Mountjoy, *El Pantano and other Middle Formative sites in the Mascota Valley, Jalisco* (Guadalajara: Secretariat of Culture of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / City Hall of Mascota / Acento, 2012).

of offerings around an altar at the site of Ixtapa, Jalisco, right at the end of the Early Postclassic and beginning of the Late Postclassic. 219

Also known in the late postclassic period is the custom of burying disarticulated and clean bones in a pit on the floor of the house²²⁰ or the burial of articulated bodies in pantheons, sometimes in a seated position. 221

LAST THOUGHTS

The impact of Spanish contact with native groups was generally stronger and more devastating on the coast than in the mountains. Tello estimated that there were approximately 200,000 natives inhabiting the southern coastal area of Nayarit and Jalisco when the Spanish arrived, but upon finishing his account of the province of Xalisco in 1653, Tello mentions that only 400 natives remained on that entire coast. 222

In contrast, other groups of natives who inhabited parts of the mountains, or came to take refuge in the mountains, managed to avoid for approximately two centuries the intensive and devastating contacts that the natives of the coast had with the Spanish.

For this reason, today there are still native societies, such as the Coras and the Huichols in the mountains of Jalisco and Nayarit, who maintain strongly indigenous cultures in terms of the language they speak, their beliefs and the customs they practice. And the available ethnohistoric and archaeological data indicate deep pre-Hispanic roots for both groups. 223

A research approach in the territory of New Galicia that should be very fruitful would be the archaeological exploration of sites inhabited by natives in the period of first contact with the Spanish, sites where the physical and cultural impact of Spanish culture can be documented, about the native culture, as well as the cultural adaptation of the natives to that situation.

This method is called direct-historical and can be used for both investigate places inhabited or used by natives at the time of contact

219 Mountjoy et al., *Archeology of the municipality of Puerto Vallarta*.

220 Mountjoy and Módena, *The Tomatlán Archaeological Salvage Project: background ethnohistorical and archaeological*.

221 Otto Schöndube Baumbach, "Pre-Hispanic Era", in *History of Jalisco: from prehistoric times to the end of the 17th century*, vol. 1, ed. by J. M. Muria (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980).

222 Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, p.

73. 223 Laura Solar, Laura Magriñá and Lourdes González, "The Mazapa figurines and the malinches of the Coras," *Mexican Archeology* 18, no. 108 (2011).

with the Spanish, as well as to investigate late postclassic archaeological sites located within the territories traditionally inhabited by groups such as the Coras and the Huichols to better understand the native cultures of these places in the immediately pre-conquest period.

It should be apparent to the reader of this study that to arrive at the most complete vision possible of what the native culture was like within the region of Nueva Galicia it is necessary not only to extract information from ethnohistorical sources but also to take into account archaeological information about the late phase of the postclassic (between the years 1300 and 1600) of the same region. Archaeological research now remains the only way to appreciably increase our knowledge about this culture, through the study of non-perishable cultural remains with which archaeologists work. 224

224 This text benefited from a meticulous and detailed style review by Dr. Angélica Peregrina, historian of El Colegio de Jalisco; For his great work the author will always remain tremendously grateful.



SECOND PART

CONQUEST
AND SETTLEMENT OF
THE KINGDOM
OF NEW GALICIA
(1524-1570)

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THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONQUEST (1524-1529)

Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, University of Guadalajara

GUZMÁN AND THE COURT OF MEXICO

In the month of April 1528, a man from Guadalajara, Castile, became the most important being, in political terms, in the New World: his name was Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán. The Court of Mexico had just been established and the position of president fell to him. It was the first hearing on the American continent² with power and authority to administer justice; In other words, the power to condemn or absolve the mortals of New Spain would reside in Guzmán's hands. As if that were not enough, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán was still governor of the province of Pánuco, which made him seem like a man without a political rival of stature, if not Cortés. Many believed so; He himself - it would seem - also had that assessment, because now that the accounts and balance have been made, after several centuries, it has been said that Guzmán did not take sufficient precautions against certain powers that counterbalanced his own and that Over time they pushed him to his political collapse. These counterweights were the religious, personified in the bishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, and the group of encomenderos entrenched in the city's City Hall; both, although more so the latter, were more or less under the ancestry of Hernán Cortés, then in Spain...³ However, it would also be worth asking ourselves if Guzmán himself was not his worst enemy...

1 Adrián Blázquez and Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World: Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, profile of a conqueror* (Guadalajara, Spain: Institución Provincial de Cultura Marqués de Santillana, 1992).

2 It must be remembered, however, that in the Caribbean islands the Audiencia of Santo Domingo had already been founded in 1511.

3 Jaime Olveda, *The coast of New Galicia. Conquest and colonization* (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2011), pp. 79-98; Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, pp. 23-28; Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, *L'Ouest mexicain à l'époque des*

The figure of Hernán Cortés had not stopped growing since the taking of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, to the point of generating distrust in the heart of the royal court: "he does not fear God nor has respect for the obedience and fidelity that he owes us", it was said. There were even fears that Cortés could "become tyrannical" and confront the Spanish Crown backed by "the Indians and the many artillery that he has, and that for this purpose he has purchased certain people who are his friends and associates." They were just rumors, perhaps, but the truth is that at that time major political decisions were made based on information that sometimes came from lies and gossip. And the halls of the Royal Palace were full of that: gossip about this or that person or about a certain political group reached the king's ears through his advisors. And in that sense, Francisco López de Gómara assured that Hernán Cortés was "the most famous in our nation then; but many slandered him, especially Pánfilo de Narváez, who was in court accusing him.⁵ According to Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the people on Diego Velázquez's side contributed a lot to generating this distrust of Cortés in the Spanish court: "those who complained were those on Diego Velázquez's side [...] and Albornoz's letters also helped them. Likewise, López de Gómara said that many lies were circulating against Cortés in the royal corridors. This is how he justified the statements of Narváez, who, according to him, "gave a memorial that contained many chapters, and among them one that stated how Cortés had as many bars of gold and silver as Vizcaya had of iron, and he offered to prove it; and although it was not true, it was suspicion. He insisted that they punish him, saying that he put out his eye and that he killed Luis Ponce de León with herbs.

They were serious accusations against Cortés, of murder and greed, that could not go unnoticed. Furthermore, we must consider that Charles V allowed the different political sides around him to act, creating checks and balances to avoid depositing too much power in some, but also to

découvertes et des conquêtes: (16th-17th century) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013), pp. 77-80.

⁴ Fausto Marín Tamayo, "Nuño de Guzmán, the man and his antecedents", in *Lec-Historical tours of Jalisco. Before Independence*, t. 1 (Guadalajara: UNED, 1982), pp. 106-107; Jaime Olveda, "Nuño de Guzmán versus the historiography of the conquest", *Novohispania* 4 (1998): 140.

⁵ Francisco López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, collection *Know how many...* 566 (México: Porrúa, 2006), p. 265.

⁶ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, collection *Know how many...* 5 (Mexico: Porrúa, 2007), p. 505.

⁷ López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, p. 274.

banish excesses of others. The emperor always tried to allow the different factions to express their opinion and act in the affairs of the kingdom in order to provoke better performance by all and the indisputable primacy of the emperor. This is how he advised his son Prince Philip many years later: "Do business with many and do not bind yourself or force yourself to just one, because although it is more relaxed, it is not convenient, mainly for these your principles, because then they would say that you are governed." , and perchance it would be true, and that the one to whom such credit fell into the hands, would be proud and would rise up with art that would later make a thousand irons; and in short all the others would be left complaining. So the rumors about Hernán Cortés - and about any other - were so many arguments that allowed the Spanish Crown to make changes in its political teams... In this order of ideas we could also discuss, when the time came, about the fall of Nuño de Guzmán to convince us that the correct question is not why was he stripped of his position as president of the Court of Mexico? Otherwise, why was he removed so quickly? He only lasted about a year in office.

The trial against Hernán Cortés, therefore, was unavoidable and urgent. But it had to be in New Spain, where the witnesses and evidence were found, although the judges were missing. In plural, because the improvisations of the New World seemed so many that one was not enough. At least that was the case when Mr. Luis Ponce was sent as Cortés' resident judge: his suspicious death had ruined the judicial process. Then a royal audience was established based in Mexico, with four judges and a president. On November 13, 1528, the judges landed in Veracruz and upon setting foot on land they sent a letter to Pánuco in which they informed Nuño de Guzmán that he had been appointed president of the Audiencia.¹⁰ The emperor did not omit to send a letter to Cortés, signed on April 13, 1528, requesting full obedience to Nuño de Guzmán, president." But by then Cortés was no longer in the New World; he had left for Europe, and There was no shortage of people who interpreted such a trip as an act of fear: "now he left New Spain with great fear of the president and listeners of Your Majesty," wrote Luis Cárdenas.

⁸ Manuel Fernández Álvarez, ed., «Secret instructions from Charles V to Philip II. May 6, 1543», in *Documentary Corpus of Charles V* (Salamanca: University de Salamanca, 1974), volume 2, pp. 104-118.

⁹ López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, pp. 265-269.

¹⁰ Donald E. Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán and the province of Pánuco in Nueva España, 1518-1533* (Mexico: El Colegio de San Luis / UAT, 2007), p. 153.

¹¹ José Luis Martínez, *Cortesian Documents 3. 1528-1532* (Mexico: UNAM/FCE, 1991), p. 16.

on July 15, 1528.¹² In any case, Nuño de Guzmán met for the first time in Mexico, according to minutes of the city council, on January 1, 1529, although his arrival in the capital must have occurred during the first days of the previous month.¹³ The Audience was received with honors upon their arrival in Mexico: "they were given a great welcome at the entrance to the city," said Bernal Díaz del Castillo, adding that about fifteen days later the judges began their work.

<<Nuño de Guzmán went to Mexico in the year 29. He then began to understand business with the lawyer Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, and Delgadillo; that the others died. And he made a terrible residence and condemnation against Cortés; and since he was absent, he stuck the spear into the regatón.¹⁵ It is the pen of Francisco López de Gómara, biographer of Cortés, which well summarizes the attitude with which Guzmán arrived in Mexico, with the aim of assuming his responsibility as first judge of the Court. Having spent a short time in Pánuco as governor, he was already aware of the political configuration of New Spain. He knew that on the one hand there was the side of Hernán Cortés, and on the other, the partiality of the Gonzalo de Salazar factor, who also grouped together those dissatisfied, dissatisfied and resentful with Cortés for not having obtained the position or the commission that they believed they had deserved with their performance in the conquest. This last faction was, in fact, the one that had tried to strip Hernán Cortés of his power in 1525, although without success, while he was outside Mexico City conducting an expedition towards Honduras.¹⁶

With that background, with that information, President Guzmán, according to his contemporaries, took sides: "he has become the head of the said side with all those who followed the said factor in the uprising and bustle and alteration he did on earth," explained Jerónimo López.¹⁷ Bernal Díaz del Castillo observed the same when stating that the Salazar factor "became such a close friend of Nuño de Guzmán and Delgadillo, who did nothing but what they maintained. gave." Now, the intention of the president of the Court of Mexico was clear: weaken and, if possible, extinguish all ancestry of Hernán Cortés in New Spain. The rain of trials that were filed against him in court

¹² Ibid., p. 18.

¹³ Chipman, Nuño de Guzmán, p. 154.

¹⁴ Díaz del Castillo, True History of the Conquest, p. 528.

¹⁵ López de Gómara, History of the conquest of Mexico, p. 274.

¹⁶ AGI, Justice 1017, No. 1.

¹⁷ Blázquez y Calvo, Guadalajara and the New World, pp. 185-186.

maximum that he presided over was part of the annihilation strategy. 18 "All of his servants are so amazed, the prisons and monasteries full of them, that we do not dare to appear before anyone, nor are we dared to respond to any of the shameful things they say, that this name of traitor and tyrant is so public and so ordinary. », wrote a close friend of Cortés. The bishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, left his testimony about the witch hunt that Guzmán promoted against Cortés and his supporters: «so much silence ensued in Don Hernando's business, and so many cases and accusations against him, that no one "he had written me to dare to help him." 19

However, we must be careful not to see this world in a static way as if there had only been two political sides and that's it. Nothing could be more false for these final years of the 1520s. We must not forget that it was a world in ashes, unstructured, that had suffered war, epidemic and destruction only yesterday, that did not yet have clear references in politics, which allowed the most powerful men to go to prison and leave the next day, a political world in which the envoys of Spain died in a suspicious way, in which the conquerors tried to establish themselves as an aristocracy for their <chivalrous> merits. Didn't they accuse Cortés in 1528 of trying to turn his captains into dukes and counts?,²⁰ in which they knew that their letters to Europe could be intercepted and in which, above all, they were still experiencing the shocks of the Conquest, of the possible indigenous rebellion, political betrayal, even religious confusion and cultural shock. In that world where for the first time arrived an institution of the most respected because it was the justice of the king - the Court, in that universe, the gap of the New World with respect to Europe seemed to leave its chaotic mark. If at first many Spaniards saw with good eyes and even with hope the arrival of President Guzmán and the oidores, they soon had to give it up and perhaps sink deeper into confusion. "In a short time," López de Gómara noted, "the Emperor had more complaints from Nuño de Guzmán and his listeners than from all those in the past." 21 The members of the Audiencia were accused of bias, abuse of power, slave trafficking, debauchery... Bishop Zumárraga left a testimony of one of those banquets that Nuño de Guzmán used to organize in

18 In the Justice branch of the AGI there are many judicial processes promoted by Nuño de Guzmán and his people against Hernán Cortés and his people. See for example AGI, Justice 185, N. 1, R. 2.

19 Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 24.

20 Martínez, *Cortesian Documents* 3, p. 18.

21 López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, p. 274.

his house, where he had fun with local sluts: "on Santiago's day, at night, in front of all the people who saw him, the president took a badly infamous woman by the arms, lifted her off the ground, and walked around with her." , and then others took him and did the same, throwing him on their backs. 22 The recreation house that Guzmán had built on the site of the San Lázaro hermitage allowed his detractors to make the excesses that the president of the Court of Mexico committed even more visible in Europe. 23 Such excesses in concupiscent pleasures led some to say that the reins of the government of New Spain were handled by two women: the wife of the accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz, with whom Nuño de Guzmán spent so much time during the day and night that it seemed a suspicious relationship, and a certain Isabel de Hojeda, for whom the oidor Delgadillo said he was lost. The letter that contains this information is found in the following terms: "those in charge of the land are Doña Catalina, the accountant's wife, because the president is lost because of this and at many hours of the day and night they have to find him in his house." , and if some fairs or other festivals are held, the two of them are judges of them; the other is Isabel de Hojeda y Delgadillo, the perdition of this judge and her madness have no equal nor could the dissolution and shamelessness of this be written; that if Indians have to be given or taken away from the land or other positions provided, they are the ones who command them and provide for whoever they want." 24

Finally, it must be said that, in effect, an important factor in the fall of Guzmán was Bishop Zumárraga, a man of religious and moral investiture, of good pen and of influential allies in Spain, who did not hesitate to launch against Nuño de Guzmán his most powerful weapon: excommunication. His letters and his ingenuity to get them to Spain - he hid a letter from August 1529 inside a cane-25 Christ - were important because they represented poisoned darts against the members of the Audiencia, who in his eyes deserved all kinds of insults, many of them typical of the men who swarm during the turbulent times of civil wars. 26 And no one at the Spanish court wanted him to return now in New Spain - a pass-

22 Cited in Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 26.

23 Ibid.

24 Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (collection), *Epistolario de la Nueva España 1505-1818*, t. 2 (Mexico: Mexican Historical Library, 1939), p. 39.; Martínez, *Cortesian Documents* 3, p. 65.

25 Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Nuño de Guzmán* (Mexico: Jus, 1960), p. 16.

26 José López-Portillo y Weber, *The conquest of New Galicia* (Guadalajara: Government of the State of Jalisco / IJAH, 2003), pp. 95-98.

violent scene that had been experienced ten years earlier in Castile, in 1520, when the communities took up arms.²⁷

"It was the letter that Zumárraga sent to the monarch that precipitated Nuño's fall," said historian Jaime Olveda, and added: "As soon as it was received in Spain, the king decided to remove the members of the Audiencia and undertake a residency lawsuit against them.²⁸ This letter was undoubtedly so forceful in the eyes of Charles V that he did not need to wait any longer to advance the political movement that he had planned to make at some point - although undoubtedly later and thus continue with his strategy of replacement, weight and counterbalance. , in the administration and government of his empire, supported by the different political factions existing in Spain. But when he appointed the Second Audience of Mexico he did not include any conquistador, nor Hernán Cortés, but rather he cleverly settled the accounts with him in another way: he made him marquis of the valley of Oaxaca, granted him 23,000 vassals and named him captain general of New Spain.²⁹ But he was not given any political or government position, only a military appointment and a noble title. The fundamental rule of Emperor Charles V was to employ members of the nobility a lot in military matters and little in political matters. This is what he advised his son Felipe in a secret instruction in 1543, when he referred to the Duke of Alba: <he intends great things and to grow as much as he can, although he entered crossing himself very humble and collected and advised his son to Prince Philip - you must be careful not to put him or other greats³⁰ too deep in the governorship [...] because it will cost you dearly later [...] In the rest, I employ him in matters of the State and the war ». ³¹ Many years before, undoubtedly with Hernán Cortés, and with many others, he applied this precept: he employed the nobles in war, but he did not allow them to go very far into the government. And Nuño de Guzmán, also from a noble family, would also be uprooted from high political responsibilities. Adrián Blázquez and Thomas Calvo were right when they wrote that Charles V sacrificed the First Audience and all its members because he had no other option, speaking in political terms: "if it was for just reasons, it was no less so for political calculations."³²

²⁷ Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, vol. 1 (Paris: Fayard, 1991), pp. 353-356.

²⁸ Olveda, *The coast of New Galicia*, p. 104.

²⁹ Martínez, *Cortesian Documents* 3, pp. 49-56.

³⁰ Refers to the great nobility.

³¹ Fernández Álvarez, "Secret instructions", pp. 104-118.

³² Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 28.

GUZMÁN'S MOTIVES

Upon learning that all the members of the Audiencia of Mexico would be replaced, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán decided to set out to conquer the unknown territories located to the north of New Spain. For some, it was an escape to avoid the residency trial; For others, it was the way in which Guzmán would try to ingratiate himself with the Spanish Crown: by expanding his conquered territories in the New World; Some others want to see in this decision the ambition of the president of the Court to connect his governorate of Pánuco with the new lands that he would conquer and to erect himself as a wall against the expansion ambitions of Hernán Cortés, who returned from Europe with the appointment of captain general of New Spain; That is to say, Guzmán intended to limit him by land and, in addition, surpass the merits of the conqueror of Anáhuac. 33

There were other reasons, less political, less tangible, more fantastic: discovering the land of the Amazons, reaching the place of origin of the Mexica and finding the Seven Cities of Gold. These reasons constituted for many the driving force behind all the efforts during that time, day of conquest. Regarding the Seven Cities of Gold, it is known that during his short presidency, Guzmán had heard from an indigenous person "that to the north there was a very rich kingdom called Cíbola, in which there were seven cities larger than Mexico, with streets covered in gold and silver."³⁴ It must be said that two decades later, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza also succumbed to such beliefs and financed an expedition under the command of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to discover these cities. ³⁵ For his part, Francisco López de Gómara assured that Guzmán had undertaken his expedition "in demand of Culucán, which according to some, is where the Mexicans came from", ³⁶ On the subject of the Amazons there is plenty of testimony. The friar Antonio Tello referred to it;³⁷ the religious Jerónimo de Alcalá

33 Matías Ángel de la Mota Padilla, *History of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia of Northern America* (Guadalajara: INAH, 1963) p. 23; Olveda, *The coast of New Galicia*, pp. 104-106; Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, pp. 28 and 171; Carrera Stampa, *Nuño de Guzmán*, p. 17; José Fernando Ramírez, *Historical news of the life and events of Nuño de Guzmán* (Guadalajara: Círculo Occidental, 1962), pp. 32-33; Díaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest*, p. 534; López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, pp. 274-275; Regalado Pinedo, *L'Ouest mexicain*, p. 80.

34 Olveda, *The coast of New Galicia*, p. 104.

35 Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, *Guadalajara: seven events that braron* (Guadalajara: Arlequín, 2011), p. 29.

36 López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, p. 275.

37 Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Sancta Provincia de Xalisco*. Book 2

He set out in his *Relacion de Michoacán*, transcribing the dialogue that Nuño de Guzmán had had with the indigenous governor of Michoacán. The president of the Audience asked the Purépecha leaders: «haven't you heard where the name is Tehuculuacan and another town called Cihuatlán where there are single women? They answered him: "We have not heard." Nuño de Guzmán told them: "Didn't the old people, your ancestors, tell you?" They said: "they didn't tell us anything." Nuño de Guzmán told them: "well, there we have to go to those lands."³⁸ In fact, when he was already halfway through his expedition, Guzmán himself confessed in a letter that he addressed to the Spanish Crown: "I will go in search of They tell me they are ten days away from the Amazons; Some say that they live in the sea, and others that they are in a part of an arm of the sea and that they are rich and considered gods by the inhabitants of the land. They are whiter than these others, they carry bows and arrows and bucklers; They communicate at certain times of the year with their neighbors, and what is born, if it is a boy, they say they kill it and the women keep it. There are many towns and big ones until you reach them. ³⁹ There is no doubt that Nuño de Guzmán was obsessed with finding the kingdom of the Amazons, which according to him should correspond to a city called Cihuatlán in Nahuatl and which means "place of women." However, it was information that everyone believed to be true, because even when Hernán Cortés ordered the exploration towards the north of Colima to his relative Francisco of the same surname, he touched on the subject of the Amazons: "I am informed that the coast down Bordering this said town [Colima] there are many provinces very populated with people, where it is known that there is much wealth; and that in a certain part of it there is an island populated by women, without any men, who say that they have in generation that way that in ancient stories it is written that the Amazons had.

"⁴⁰ In summary: dodging a judicial process, overcoming the feats of conquest of Hernán Cortés and at the same time limit its expansion to the north, without forgetting that he continued as governor of Pánuco, and therefore had hopes of uniting the two coasts and closing New Spain to the north. He also hoped to discover the place of origin of the Mexica, find the Seven Cities of Gold and reach the land of the Amazons. These were sufficient reasons to undertake the conquest of a territory that later became New Galicia.

(Guadalajara, IJAH, 1968), vol. 1 p. 87.

³⁸ Jerónimo de Alcalá, *Relación de Michoacán* (Morelia: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2008), p. 270.

³⁹ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 225.

⁴⁰ José Luis Martínez, *Cortesian Documents 1.1518-1528* (Mexico: UNAM/FCE, 1990), pp. 311-312.

THE EXPEDITION OF FRANCISCO CORTÉS

In fact, in 1524 the governor of New Spain, at the time Hernán Cortés, ordered an expedition to leave Colima in search of the Amazons: <What you, Francisco Cortés, my lieutenant of the town of Colima and his co- brands, you have to do, that's what follows. With those words he began his extensive civil and military training by which he ordered said exploratory raid with 20 or 25 Spanish residents of said town. In addition to them, who must have been horsemen, he had to gather 50 or 60 pawns, most of them crossbowmen and shotgunners; Likewise, he told him to take with him two cannons that were in Colima. He did not hesitate to ask him to take his organized troop: "with great concert you will follow the path of the said coast down the coast to learn the secret of what has been said," that is, of the Amazons. 42 He also recommended to his lieutenant that he organize the expedition into squads, each with their respective horsemen and pawns, naming a captain in each of them, with whom Francisco Cortés would understand. He advised being careful with artillery, always having it ready and well protected. Once in unknown land, he asked that the troops always be compact, without advancing or lagging behind, with the exception of four or five horsemen who would serve as the vanguard, always going to the front before everyone else, without allowing them to get so far ahead that they could not be missed. can notice. He recommended that some indigenous allies be with the vanguard and that the main indigenous people always be next to the captain general. In the event that the vanguard discovered "war people" at the front, he advised that they withdraw with the troops "and in no way break up or engage in skirmishes with the enemies until you order it." 43 He also requested that "the runners of the land ahead", that is, those in the vanguard, upon reaching a town, had to refrain from entering it, before they had to wait for the entire troop and let Francisco Cortés himself take charge. to speak with the indigenous people through interpreters, to make them understand the requirement. This entire act had to happen before a notary. If after this dialogue the indigenous people decided to reject them and open fire, then the battle would be fought. But even in that scenario, Hernán Cortés advised, "let it be with as few of their deaths as possible." Once victorious, the Spaniards had to speak again with the indigenous people to ask them to offer themselves as subjects of the emperor, and if they accepted it, they should treat them well: "Do not allow any wrong to be done to them, nor take any of their rights."

41 Ibid., p. 310.

42 Ibid., pp. 311-312.

43 Ibid., p. 312.

goods after they have thus been offered."⁴⁴ And any Spaniard who mistreated the indigenous people taken as subjects had to be severely punished, "so that the punishment you inflict on them goes to the notice of the Indians, so that they know that you are telling them the truth and that you keep everything what you put with them. ⁴⁵ If the towns received them in peace, he advised Francisco Cortés that they should all stay there together, where the indigenous people indicated, or where it was a safe place; He must not forget to read them the request and as a sign of peace give them some gifts: everything had to be settled with the notary. He asked Francisco Cortés to be careful that no one in the troops demanded gold, silver, pearls, or any kind of jewels from the indigenous people, "first dissemble with them, making it clear that you think little of that: because in this way [...] you will easily be able to know the secret of the riches of those provinces, because they will not hide it seeing that you have little of it. ⁴⁶ In this area, he requested that all the assets that were gained in that raid, whether through war loot or donation, should be left recorded before a notary to deliver what corresponds to the king and the rest would have to be distributed among the conquerors.

A very important request that he made to Francisco Cortés was to write a detailed report of the expedition, from the first day to the last: «from the day you left the land of friends all the days you traveled, and in what day you will arrive in each part, and what is there from one province to another, and what measurement and greatness each of the said provinces has, and everything that happens to you in each one. ⁴⁷ He also asked him to send him letters from wherever he was so that he would be informed daily about his whereabouts: "so that I know where you are and what you do, and I will provide you with the things you need."⁴⁸ In addition to the obsession with Amazon, through which the expedition was launched, Hernán Cortés was also interested in knowing practical things: "the way the coast runs", the appropriate places for ports, their shape and "what places each one is in"; In a phrase, everything related to maritime issues. ⁴⁹ In these words we can see Cortés's intention to launch new expeditions, particularly by sea. However, all the testimonies we have show us that the main objective of this raid led by Francisco Cortés was to find the land of the Amazons. Jerome Lopez

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 313.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 314.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

He was one of those who participated in this expedition and said that the objectives were "to conquer the province of Milpa and go in search of the island of the

Amazons."⁵⁰ The province of Milpa was the only reference point they had, that is, the current one, valley of Autlán and El Grullo. Perhaps that is why they did not always go along the coast heading north, but upon reaching Cihuatlán - "the place of women" - they quickly headed towards the mountains. Eight leagues ahead, according to their calculations, they arrived at Tequesquitlán, a hamlet of about a hundred houses installed on the banks of the river, like neighborhoods, for about two kilometers. ⁵² "It is a land of a lot of corn," the conquerors pointed out, and also indicated that they wore maguey and cotton clothing. Shortly ahead they encountered resistance and destroyed two towns. In the Milpa valley they did not encounter resistance, but they did when passing through the Ayutla valley; Etzatlán received them in peace, bathed by a lagoon of fresh waters that the fishermen's reed canoes plied, a town of about three hundred houses with stone walls and thatch, surrounded by fruit trees. These people lived off the harvest of salt, corn and cotton; Also fishing, of course. ⁵³ They arrived at this site on Monday, February 6, 1525, and while they were there the discord also arrived in the form of a letter. Indeed, in Etzatlán Francisco Cortés received a letter from Hernán Cortés asking him to abort the mission and return immediately to Mexico. He took the opinion of his captains and they disagreed.⁵⁴ When they decided to move forward, the cohesion of the troops was fractured as some assimilated Francisco Cortés' attitude to serious disobedience. Nuño de Guzmán learned of the incident several years later and did not stop relate it in a letter he addressed to His Majesty: "Don Hernando Cortés, marquis who is now, sent Francisco Cortés, his relative, with up to twenty-five or thirty horsemen and as many other pawns to discover here; and before he entered through land of enemies, sent him

⁵⁰ AGI, México 203, N. 6.

⁵¹ That is, a day's journey.

⁵² Half a league, according to his calculations.

⁵³ AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

⁵⁴ Francisco de Cifuentes related in this regard: "while he was in Etzatlán, this witness heard many people who were with the said Francisco Cortés say that a letter had come from the marquis to the said Francisco Cortés, who through it ordered him to to return from where he was taken because they said that there were few people left in Mexico, that it was suspected that the land would rise and that the said Francisco Cortés, they say, did not want to do it, and this witness heard it so; and they wanted to make or made a request for him to return from there, and the said Cortés, because he was in trouble with some believers, this witness wanted to go forward and saw him go in spite of all those who were with him. AGI, Justice 121, N. R. 3.

to expressly order that he turn back and not go forward; "He, realizing that he had reached the borders and that it would take him a short time to go around the coast, did not try to obey but set out on his way." 55

All the captains advanced together, compact, who knows under what agreements. On February 12 they arrived at Ahuacatlán, a town settled on the banks of a river, ruled by two chiefs, large, with about 150 houses, whose inhabitants dressed in cotton and maguey clothing. Two days later they advanced to Tetitlán, located in a very beautiful valley through which two rivers passed. 55 The pressure to return to Mexico had not disappeared within the troops; They were so latent that it was no longer possible to continue together. Captain Alonso de Ávalos, also a relative of Hernán Cortés, decided to turn back with his people and, while the bulk of the contingent advanced towards the sea, in pursuit of the Amazons, Ávalos was surprised upon arriving at Ahuacatlán by a shower of enemy arrows. Many fell and others fled towards Tetitlán again, where they were also apparently attacked. Francisco Cortés returned to Tetitlán with his troops to help Alonso de Ávalos and burned the town. 57 From that place he intended to punish the indigenous people of Ahuacatlán. He commissioned Hernando de la Peña and Francisco de Cifontes to go to said town and subdue it. But the reception of the indigenous people of Ahuacatlán was the same: a shower of arrows was projected against their respective companies, shouting war cries ("on one side and on the other they shouted at them"); They confronted them and made them flee like Alonso de Ávalos's men before. 58 These operations took them at least a week and finally they decided to continue to the sea, all together, and return along the coast.

Before March 6 they arrived at Xalisco, which at that time consisted of about four hundred houses installed on the slopes of some large hills. Tepic was smaller, almost by half, since the census that was taken that day indicates that there were only two hundred homes. The Xaliscas decided to engage in combat but were defeated and routed. The Spaniards then judged it safer to place their camps in Tepic at the end of the afternoon. The next day the emissaries from the town of Xalisco arrived there to enter into negotiations and upon establishing agreements the women who had been captured the day before during the combat were handed over to them. 59 The men of Tepic, enemies of those of

55 Blázquez y Calvo, Guadalajara and the New World, p. 251.

56 AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

57 "After visiting it, it rebelled and burned itself."

58 AGI, Justice 121, N. 2, R. 3.

59 *Ibid.*

Xalisco, chose to help the conquerors militarily. 60 They explored the north of the coast to the mouth of a large river and only then returned along the coast during the second half of March, and there were no shortage of moments when they had to use weapons. They passed through the valley of Espuchimilco at the beginning of May, and on the 4th of the same month they were already in Autlán; They crossed the Milpa valley and, following the winding of the Ayuquila River, they finally felt safe in the town of Colima. 62

THE LAND OF THE AMAZONS

More than ten pages written by both parties contain detailed information about the towns that Francisco Cortés found throughout his expedition. In the "Fifth letter of relationship" that Hernán Cortés sent to Emperor Charles V, dated September 3, 1526, he made a very brief summary of what was in that region north of Colima. In his letter the Amazons no longer sound, but rather the ports of the coast, the large towns and the people of war. He also dedicates a few lines to a large river where the expedition did not reach and he wondered if it might not be a strait to navigate from one ocean to the other. Here what he wrote:

Said captain [Francisco Cortés] sent him up to one hundred and thirty leagues from the said town of Colima down the coast, and sometimes 20 or 30 leagues inland, and he brought me a report of many ports that he found on the coast, which was no small good for the lack that there is of them in everything discovered up to there, and of many towns and very large, and of many people and very skilled in war, with whom there were certain encounters, and it appeased many of them, and he did not go any further because he had few people and because he did not find grass, and among the report he brought he gave me news of a very large river, which the natives told him was ten days from where he arrived, from which and from His inhabitants told him many strange things. I send him again with more people and war equipment so that he can learn the secret of that river, and according to the width and greatness that they indicate about it, it would not be very narrow. 63

60 Ibid. Alonso Quintero, a Spanish expeditionary, declared: "all the people [...] of Tepic came to their aid."

" They returned along the coast making war, says the testimony.

62 See a more detailed account in Regalado Pinedo, Guadalajara, pp. 16-24. 63 Hernán Cortés, Letters of relationship (Mexico: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 2002), p. 338.

Nothing about Amazons, it is true, but there were stories that contained "many strange things" about that great river that was ten days further north - that is, it could refer to the swollen Piaxtla River, or perhaps to nothing - and that Now it served as an incentive for new explorations.

The Amazons were reduced, for now, to a reality contained and described in those more than ten pages that Francisco Cortés sent to Hernán Cortés, and that covered the valleys of Espuchimilco, Autlán, Ayutla, the province of Etzatlán, the region of Ahuacatlán and Tetitlán, and the coast where Xalisco and Tepic stood out. For us, this document, which is currently in the General Archive of the Indies, in Seville, Spain, is of great importance because thanks to it we can see the indigenous reality that was experienced just at the time of the first contact with the Europeans, just before the conquest of Nuño de Guzmán and the establishment of New Galicia. That document that Hernán Cortés would have liked to contain descriptions of warrior women, of beautiful and sensual Amazons, contains a demographic, social, economic and military reality of a different nature.

In the Espuchimilco valley they recorded the names of six towns. One of them was Tequecislán,⁶⁴ located next to a river "in a very beautiful valley with fruit groves." It was made up of about a hundred houses that followed the meandering of the water bed for a league and had a lot of corn planted. They were not Nahuas nor did they usually hold flea markets. They wore maguey and cotton clothing. Tepustequepamane was the name of its ruler. Half a league away, according to the calculations of the conquerors, there was a town called Acautlán, also composed of about a hundred houses that extended over a league, like neighborhoods, just as Tequesquitlán was arranged, which they recognized as a town, kind of provincial capital - it was "a people subject to itself. The river also passed through there and there were many fruit trees around it. They were not Nahuas either, which is why in the description they were named Otomies. Their boss bore the name of Maxcaltete. A league further on there was a town called Xalipanga, more or less of the same demographic size and according to the shape and style of those above. This town had resisted the conquerors and was therefore burned. It was probably never populated again. A league further on was the town of Ystlichanga, which was also destroyed during the first encounter. As

⁶⁴ AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

⁶⁵ Without a doubt it is the same town that is currently called Tequesquitlán. The description of the geographical site, although very vague, agrees. Also the reference of its location with respect to Cihuatlán.

The previous ones consisted of about a hundred houses and they grew corn. A league later they found the town of Coyntla, on the slopes of a mountain range with about sixty houses on the edge of the river; They grew a lot of corn and had no shortage of fruits. A little further on was Chixilitlán, a small town of about forty homes located on the slopes of a large mountain range; A river ran through it and they also grew corn. In summary: in the valley of Espuchimilco, following the bank of the river, there were towns that were not Nahuas and in the space of about six or seven leagues lived about a thousand tributaries, according to the calculations of the conquerors, that is, about three thousand inhabitants. They all lived by growing corn, harvesting fruit and wore cotton and maguey clothing. They were not Nahuas, they were called Otomies, they did not have flea markets and it seems that the clothes they wore had to be obtained through trade since they were not products that they grew.

Four leagues from the Espuchimilco valley was the city of Autlán. With all its letters, "city", because that is how the conquerors named it the three times they referred to that city. If this word has demographic connotations it can be understood. The Europeans calculated that Autlán had about 2,200 houses and twice as many tributaries; That is to say, it could have had a total population that was close to ten thousand inhabitants. In demographic terms, the town of Milpa was next, made up of about five hundred households that provided twice as many tributaries in the eyes of the conquerors. These two sites brought together almost 50 percent of the total population of the Autlán valley, where they were settled; According to the European registry, some 21 towns with a total of 5,559 homes and twice as many tributaries. If we calculate 4.5 inhabitants per household we would have a population of around 25,000 people in the Autlán valley at the time of first contact with Europeans in 1525. Three towns had been destroyed (Tetlistacán, Zoquitlán and Tlacapatlán), although we do not know if they were the wars of conquest or fights between them. We know that Autlán and Milpa were enemy towns ("they had war with Milpa, which is two leagues from this city"). Autlán and Xiquitlán were places with double rulers. The old Mylpanecatette and the young Opuchel ruled the city; and in Xiquitlán Pelzantette and Sinicocalynque ruled. In three places there were young rulers: in Autlán, we already mentioned, Opuchel ruled; In Epetlán there was a 12-year-old boy named Uzalo; and in Zacapala the man was a 6-year-old boy named Calatiane. On the other hand, the only places where the existence of a flea market was mentioned were Autlán, Ocula, Xiquitlán, Tlacaltescal, Milpa and Teutlichanga. Almost all the towns were located on the banks of the Ayuquila River; This was not the case in Autlán or Ocula, which, because they were far from any water stream, drank from wells. Everyone was dedicated to the cultivation of corn, but in Autlán also

They grew chili. The conquerors indicated that all the inhabitants of that valley were Otomies, but that in the town of Xiquiltlán there were ten or twelve homes where they spoke Nahuatl: "there are ten or twelve houses of Naguatlatos in this town," they noted. Finally, it must be said that everyone wore maguey and cotton clothing, like the people of the Espuchimilco valley. 66

In the valleys of Tenamaxtlán and Ayutla, nine towns were censused, four in the first and five in the second. For all of them, there were 480 households and 948 tributaries, according to the opinion of the Spaniards (236 households in Tenamaxtlán and 244 in Ayutla; 460 tributaries in the first and 488 in the second). That is to say, there could have been a total population of about four thousand inhabitants in both valleys. It should be noted that only the towns of the Ayutla valley confronted the conquerors with weapons as they were destroyed. The head of said valley, Melindoque, was left with only 23 homes standing, and in Tepetitlán only 30 houses were left. The inhabitants of both valleys wore maguey clothing and planted corn for sustenance. Without exception, at the end of the record of each town, the notary noted: "they are poor people."

Nine towns were noted for the province of Etzatlán. Here they recorded two capitals: Etzatlán and Ocotitlán. The first town was located at the foot of a freshwater lagoon. It surprised the Spaniards that the houses at this site had stone walls; "The houses are many of them stone walls," they pointed out. Also in Atitlán, subject to Etzatlán, the walls were of the same material. The five towns governed by Coyulcin, lord of Etzatlán, were located on the lagoon; Some, like Atitlán and Teniaca, were in the interior, on islets, but the farms were on the slopes of the mountains. They grew corn, but they also lived from fishing and the salt and cotton trade. In Etzatlán there was a flea market. The Spaniards saw many "very well made" reed canoes plying the lagoon. They all wore maguey and cotton clothing. In total there were 685 homes, almost all of them in Etzatlán (300 houses) and in Atitlán (250 houses). It is noteworthy that on the islet of Atitlán there were temples of the style in which they were made in the Valley of Mexico: "there are stones like those of Culua and between carved stones." They indicated that the inhabitants of Etzatlán and Atitlán were mostly Nahuas, but Teniaca, Tezantepeque and Tlacateyo were Otomies. Coyulcin, the lord of Etzatlán, had Calpixque posts in each subject town for his government. For its part, in Ocotitlán, located a league from Etzatlán, lived a lord named Coyul, who ruled over four towns.

66 A more detailed study on Autlán and its valley is found in Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez, *Autlán de la Grana. Population and miscegenation* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara-Centro Universitario de Los Lagos / CUCSH, 2014).

along with his brother Quechulxoxoyque, who lived in Coyutequepaque. There were a total of 350 homes whose inhabitants wore cotton and maguey clothing, the majority were Nahuas and lived off corn, beans and salt. The settlements were located in neighborhoods, and only in Ocotitlán and Coyutequepaque were there flea markets. Ocotitlán and Etzatlán were heads independent of each other, but the province was named after the second town. All the census towns in this province, nine in total, had just over a thousand homes, so we can calculate that their population did not reach five thousand inhabitants.

The province of Ahuacatlán was described in 1525 with four capitals that governed the life of thirteen towns. The capitals were Ahuacatlán, Yspan, Cuatlán and Tetitlán. On average each housed 150 homes. The most populated place in the province was not any of these towns, but Mespa, subject to Ahuacatlán, where there were 170 houses. The total number of households registered in this province reached 1,233, so we can estimate a total population of about 5,500 inhabitants. Unlike other regions, the information invites us to think that this was a province where demographic density was quite well distributed; That is to say, most towns had, on average, around one hundred homes. In fact, Tetitlán, despite being the capital, did not have more than seventy houses standing, although we must take into account that the place was burned by the conquerors due to an alleged rebellion. On the other hand, this province also showed a rare ethnic diversity for the region: at least one settlement, the town called Guatechico, had a population of Teúles-Chichimecas; Three other towns were described as Otomies, and at least five other towns were home to mostly Nahua people. It is a unique case, in this description from 1525, in which three different ethnic groups coexist in a small province. We cannot affirm that this province was under the aegis of the Nahuas because the information is meager. We only know that the presence of Nahua people was not lacking in any of the capitals. In Ahuacatlán there were two rulers, one Otomi named Suchipil and another Nahua named Xiocoal; Furthermore, in this place it was indicated that the majority of the population was Nahua: "the majority of this town are nahuatlato." In Yspan there were also two rulers, an old one who called himself Coal and a boy called Coautlatla. It is not said that the majority of its inhabitants were Nahuas, it is only said: "part of them are Nahuatlato." The inhabitants of Cuatlán were described with the same words as those of Yspan ("it is part of them nahuatlato"), so we cannot affirm that the Nahuas were the majority in that year of 1525; We only know that its "lord" was called Gueyquemitle, that there were no flea markets and that the urban layout did not follow the pattern found in the rest of the towns since it was not populated in neighborhoods but was very compact:

<this town is very close». Tetitlán also did not have a Nahua majority ("naguatlatos are part of them") but the town did have a flea market. Its ruler was called Guautlatlaque. Unlike the other regions described in 1525, this province of Ahuacatlán had a clear border. Every time a town is described, the same phrase is used again: "they border with the Teúles-Chichimecas", and on one occasion they added: "who are like beasts." That is to say, there was a clear cultural differentiation between the Nahua and "Otomie" peoples with the Teúles. Finally, the towns of this province also wore maguey and cotton clothing and traded salt, corn and a little cocoa.

The province of Ahuacatlán was closely linked to the coast through trade. Coalu, lord of Teuzacualpa, stated this when they asked him who he used to trade with: "with those from the province of Ahuacatlán and Xalisco and Tepelcingo and with another town that is ahead called Ciutlán," he answered. Teuzacualpa was a town located on some plains through which a beautiful river passed, a league away from the sea. It was one of the headwaters of the coast and around it seven other towns were located about a league away, the houses distributed in neighborhoods. There were about 1,100 households dedicated to fishing and farming corn and cotton. It was the only head of the coast that brought together such a number of towns around it. Of the 21 settlements that the Spanish registered in 1525 on this coast of Tepic, there were 9 towns that were treated as capitals, with one or two subject towns. These capitals were Xalisco, Tepic, Quexipan, Tlaguealchitipan, Tecomatlán, Ystapa, Teuzacualpa, Tepelcingo and Chacala. The census carried out by the Spanish gave a figure of 3,115 households that if we multiply by a density per house of 4.5 members, we would have a total population of about 14,000 inhabitants in what is currently the coast of Nayarit. In most of the towns there was a Nahua presence, with the exception of Xalisco and Palpa, where they were described as Otomies. Xalisco was the most populated place. There were 400 homes. Ystapa continued, where there were 370 houses. In Tepic the number of houses dropped to 200. It was a region dedicated to the production of cotton, which was apparently abundant, corn, cocoa and fishing. Only in Tepic, Quexipan, Ystapa and Tepelcingo were there flea markets. They wore cotton clothes and not maguey, unlike the other places where the Spanish had passed. Only in Chacala did they drink well water. In the fishing village of Palpa, the Europeans did not fail to notice that there were reed canoes.

In summary, the region explored by Francisco Cortés in 1525, from Colima to the Río Grande de Santiago, was a land where there was a sedentary population (79 towns were listed) dedicated to agricultural work, fishing and fruit picking. Everyone wore clothes made of maguey, cotton or both.

It seems that the only place where they found that the houses had stone walls was in the province of Etzatlán. Also there and on the coast they found canoes. The urbanization of their towns was like neighborhoods; That is to say that in an open space, generally in a valley or on the side of a hill, on the edge of a river, between a large fruit grove and near the fields, the houses made of perishable materials were located. The most populated place was the Autlán valley, in the province of Milpa, where 5,559 homes were counted distributed in 21 towns. The other important demographic center was in the region of Tepic and Xalisco, where the 21 census towns housed 3,115 households. There is a strong presence of Nahuas on the coast of Tepic and in the provinces of Ahuacatlán and Etzatlán; On the contrary, in the valleys of Espuchimilco and Autlán their inhabitants were mentioned as Otomies. The only province where a border was indicated - is the word they used - was in Ahuacatlán, with the Teúles-Chichimecas, who we even found installed in a town in said province. Nuño de Guzmán had access to all this information, whose provinces contained therein constituted his only point of reference. This land was not part of his expeditionary objective but rather part of the unknown. And that other unknown territory was bordering what was described in this information. And since the only border that was indicated in this file was that of the Teúles-Chichimecas, Guzmán did not hesitate to announce that his exploratory enterprise was intended to conquer the Teúles-Chichimecas.

PREPARATIONS FOR CONQUEST

Towards the north, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán only had two points of reference: Pánuco, where he was still governor; and Tepic: last land explored in that direction in 1525 by Francisco Cortés. Beyond it was land of teúles-chichimecas, terra ignota and also still a land where all the dreams and fantasies of many conquerors fit.

According to García del Pilar, one of Nuño de Guzmán's interpreters, the conquest expedition against the Teúles-Chichimecas left Mexico City three days before Christmas Easter in the year 1529.⁶⁷ However, since the month of July Guzmán's intentions were already public: "the president is now in a very great hurry to get ready to go pacify the Teúles-Chichimecas," he explained.

in a letter Francisco de Terrazas to Hernán Cortés, dated July 30, 1529. Five months ago! Five months earlier it was already known that Pedro Almídez

⁶⁷ José Luis Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia in the territory of New Spain* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 2001), p. 217.

Chirinos would be the lieutenant general of the expedition; Five months earlier it had already been publicly proclaimed "that all people who have Indians go with him, under penalty of their suspension"; Five months earlier, it had also been proclaimed in the towns that men should come to Mexico City with weapons and horses "under grave penalties"; Five months earlier, indigenous leaders "from all over the land" had already been notified to prepare to go on the expedition "and they have more than fifteen thousand Indians," Terrazas said.⁶⁸ Five months earlier, the lords of Huejotzingo had already been asked for a lot of gold and feathers, and to enlist two thousand men for the war "and the same for all the other towns." According to this letter, the armed expedition should leave around the month of October ("it is believed that it will leave within two months"), probably having passed the rainy season, in order to have enough pasture for the horses and water for everyone. Finally, five months before leaving, Nuño de Guzmán had already received six thousand pesos from the royal treasury from the officers to prepare his conquest expedition; although some, like Francisco de Terrazas, accused that Guzmán would squander that money on his customary parties and feasts that he organized to please Doña Catalina, the accountant's wife, with whom according to public opinion he had fallen madly in love: "it will be for banquets and mockery." "What she does every day to make her friend

happy."⁶⁹ Finally, on December 21, 1529, the display was made in the main square of Mexico.⁷⁰ Many of those who attended that day and who joined the ranks of the expeditionary force were there by force. Others who definitely refused were forced to finance someone to go in their place, giving them a horse and saddlebags. Those who went of their own free will were recent arrivals from Europe, with nothing to lose, although there were also allies and associates of Guzmán. <<As at that time Nuño de Guzmán was still president, he gathered as many soldiers as he could, explained Bernal Díaz del Castillo, "those who did not want to go by rank, he urged them to go by choice or by force, or they had to give money to other soldiers." "Let them go in their place, and if they had horses they would take them." For his part, Francisco López de Gómara, referring to the way when the president had recruited the expedition members, he said: "[it took] some prisoners, others against their will; and those who were graduating were novices in the world. . . ."⁷² The indigenous people were the most numerous and there was no shortage of African slaves.

⁶⁸ Martínez, *Cortesian Documents* 3, pp. 72-73.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁷⁰ Olveda, *The coast of New Galicia*, p. 106.

⁷¹ Díaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest*.

⁷² López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico*, p. 275.

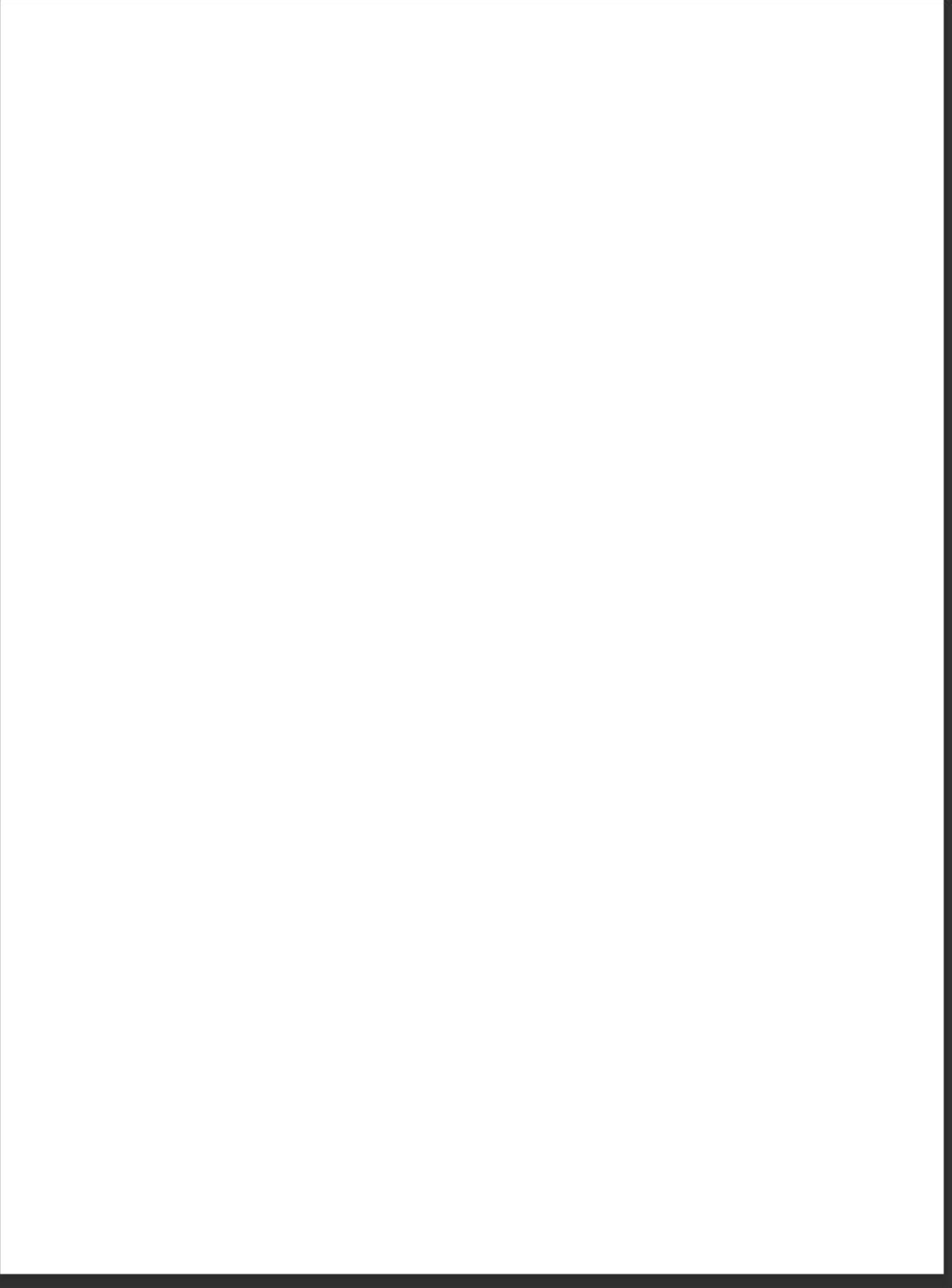
The first point where they stopped for a few days was Michoacán. Before the indigenous people arrived, they saw a large comet in the sky and took it as a bad omen. In response to the request that President Guzmán had made days before, through some of his envoys, the principals of Michoacán gave him hundreds of cotton doublets, bows, arrows with metal caps and copper axes. They also gave him loads of corn that numbered in the thousands and chickens to supply the expedition. Likewise, they gave him a large amount of gold and about eight thousand men who swelled the expeditionary ranks. The lord of Michoacán was taken prisoner: they demanded greater amounts of gold, they asked him to indicate the route that best suited them, they asked him to account for an alleged indigenous ambush, and when they could not satisfy any of their demands and requests, they tortured him, they killed; Already lifeless, they burned him and scattered his ashes in the river.⁷³ López de Gómara, with his tacit and unadorned writing, summarized the episode in a few words: «In Michoacán he arrested King Cazonci [sic], friend of Cortés, servant of Spaniards and vassal of the Emperor, and that he was at peace. And he got from him, according to fame, ten thousand marks of silver and a lot of gold. And then he was burned with many other knights and leading men of that kingdom, so that he would not complain; "What a dead dog doesn't bite." ⁷⁴ Even Bernal Díaz del Castillo, always prolix, chose to write the episode of the death of the lord of Michoacán briefly: «Nuño de Guzmán tormented him and burned his feet, and because he demanded Indian men and women for his service, and for other reasons. "The barricades [sic] that they raised on the poor chief, he hanged him, which was one of the bad and ugly things that the president or other people could do, and all those who were in his company took it badly and cruelly." ⁷⁵ We can ask ourselves once, twice, three, four and five times about the reasons for this episode, perhaps one of those that have given Nuño de Guzmán the worst fame. What did the president of the Court intend? Was he truly afraid of being ambushed by the indigenous people of Michoacán, friends of Cortés, his enemy? Did you want to punish by example? Was he trying to send a message of firmness to the entire soldiery? On the other hand, we can also at least ask the question: in this unstable and violent world that was crumbling without control, where death for a thousand reasons and in a thousand ways was a daily reality, in which other indigenous leaders had been similarly tortured and murdered? , for similar reasons, why in this case did the conquistador Díaz del Castillo consider it to be an "ugly thing"? In any case, the expedition

⁷³ De Alcalá, *Relación de Michoacán*, pp. 274-279.

⁷⁴ López de Gómara, *History of the conquest of Mexico* p.

275. ⁷⁵ Díaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest*, p. 534.

of conquest of the Teúles-Chichimecas, headed and promoted by Nuño de Guzmán, began with the mark of violence, of death, of destruction: that was invariably the mark of the entire event that historians have called "Spanish Conquest."



A CONQUEST BY BLOOD AND FIRE (1530-1536)¹

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The dark night - blue but dark, starry but dark - collapsed over the towns of , according to the indigenous account. Here there were no dire omens, there were no disastrous signs, there were no previous signs that announced dark times. Suddenly night fell and launched fiery snakes over the lands of the warm coast, with poisonous tongues hanging from threatening jaws. The image is impressive, the metaphor is terrifying. To represent the passage of Nuño de Guzmán with a dark sky that spits out deadly snakes is to imagine torture and slavery, blood and despair, terror and catastrophe, fire and smoking ash, life in suspense, death and the last of the disasters... On page 44 of the Telleriano-Remensis codex, painted by indigenous hands in the 16th century, and currently preserved in the National Library of France, the image that recounts the campaign appears. military of Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán. At the top you can see a box that frames the glyph of a house and eleven blue dots or circles: this is the date. Immediately you see the representation of Nuño de Guzmán mounted on a horse that looks more like a saddled dog, with its tongue sticking out as if it were panting, overwhelmed and disconcerted as well. Guzmán, president of the Court of Mexico and governor of Pánuco, is represented with a black beard and sparse mustaches, a fixed gaze and a closed mouth. Her hair cannot be seen because her head is covered by what appears to be a red cap. A green doublet protects his torso and only allows us to see the long sleeves of his red shirt and the legs of his scarlet zaragüelles, which culminate in a pair of

¹ Some reflections and paragraphs in this chapter have been taken from my book Guadalajara. Seven events that elevated her (Guadalajara: Arlequín, 2011).

IMAGE 1. TELLERIAN
CODEX-REMENSIS



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black shoes hanging from a saddle without stirrups. In his left hand he carries a cross from whose vertex hangs a yellow and red striped flag, the colors of Castile. In front of this man the starry night is represented, from where a snake descends towards the earth with its tongue outstretched. At the bottom of the painting, a writing from the 16th century provides a diligent explanation: "year of eleven houses and 1529, Nuño de Guzmán left for Jalisco, going to conquer that land. They pretend that the snake comes out of the sky, saying that there was work for the natives when the Christians went there" (see image 1).

The interpretations of that plate of the code ce Telleriano-Remensis could even be apocalyptic. It is not difficult to identify Nuño de Guzmán and his hosts with the knights of the last day devastating the lands of the New World with plagues and punishments. A terrifying vision with an air of final judgment. Actually it

was. The Conquest with a capital letter in many ways was an apocalypse, a destruction left and right, a kind of blank slate, although in reality it looked more like a reorganizing chaos. And this general feature of the Conquest was true everywhere. To explain the Conquest of New Spain, Brother Toribio de Benavente or Motolinía had to resort to biblical explanations: the conquest of Mexico was, in his eyes, a divine punishment, since there was so much destruction that it could not be any other way. From the first chapter of his work he explained it: "God struck and punished this land [New Spain] and those who were found in it, both natural and foreign, with ten painful plagues."² These calamities took the form of diseases, wars, , exploitation in the mines and in the fields, political conflicts, slavery, famine... Plagues that were not caused by man, but by God, which were not controlled by man, but by God, which together generated the final destruction. «The land was so destroyed by the revolts and plagues already mentioned, Motolinía explained, that many houses were left completely barren, and there was not one where part of the pain and pain did not fit.

² Toribio Motolinía, History of the Indians of New Spain, collection Know how many... 129 (México: Porrúa, 2001), p. fifteen.

crying which lasted many years. The words of Motolinía, in reference to Mexico, like the image of the Telleriano-Remensis codex, for New Galicia, contain the destructive character of the Conquest, wherever it happened, without the particularities of each region giving any other result.

MILITARY COMPOSITION

Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán's military expedition had destruction at its core. It could not be otherwise. The preparations that were made the previous days were aimed at preparing to wage war, to attack, intimidate, subdue, destroy. According to the calculations that Nuño de Guzmán himself made on July 8, 1530, the army he managed to gather was made up of 300 Spanish soldiers, half on horseback, half on foot; by seven or eight thousand indigenous soldiers from the surroundings of Mexico and by 12 cannons. Years later, when he was returning to Spain, Guzmán reconsidered his calculations and assured that the Spanish soldiers numbered about 400, "well equipped with weapons and doubled horses, without thirty that I carried to help those who were missing and died," he said. - as I did during the war, and with seventy crossbows and fifty shotguns and twelve bronze shots with their banks, and many spears and much ammunition of arrows and caps and crossbow thread and gunpowder, espadrilles and armor for the peons and Indians ".⁵ In reality, neither Nuño de Guzmán nor anyone else knew or will know exactly the number of indigenous allies; Furthermore, as the army advanced, some deserted and others joined. The armed troops that participated in the conquest of Hispanic America had unprecedented features in terms of their organization and their military hierarchy. "Some of them only reached armies with no other organization than the authority of the chief. However, in the army by Nuño de Guzmán it seems that yes There was a military structure that we can identify through the analysis of

³ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴ Adrián Blázquez and Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World: Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, profile of a conquistador* (Guadalajara, Spain: Institución Provincial de Cultura Marqués de Santillana, 1992), p. 205.

⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

⁶ Luis González Rodríguez, «Premiers contacts dans l'ouest et le nord-est de la Nouvelle Espagne», in *Destins croisés. Cinq siècles de rencontres avec les Amérindiens*, ed. by Joëlle Rostkowski and Sylvie Devers (Paris: UNESCO, 1992), p. 143.

⁷ Matthew Restall, *The seven myths of the Spanish conquest* (Madrid: Paidós, 2003), pp. 59-79.

the chronicles of conquest of the time. This fact indicates that Guzmán had prior military knowledge that allowed him to organize his troops like a true army. At the head of the expedition was a captain general, whose responsibility was in the hands of Nuño de Guzmán, surrounded by a body of personal guards (there was a leader of them), and assisted by a waiter and a butler, characters who fulfilled functions in the administration and in the personal service of the captain general. Then, in hierarchical order, followed the position of lieutenant of captain general. It was the second most important position in the army, because if the captain general was missing, his lieutenant would lead the expedition. The army also had a body of people who had useful knowledge, such as translators of different indigenous languages, scribes and doctors, whom we can also consider as a very important part of the army, although it is difficult to place them according to a hierarchical scheme. The field master was an essential figure within the military organization of the time, as he was in charge of directing, organizing and maintaining communication between the different military detachments. It was also the point of liaison and communication between the captain general and the captains of each platoon. From a hierarchical point of view, the field master was above the captains. Another important position was that of the general lieutenant, that is, the person who served as a guide to the army and was easy to identify because he carried the royal standards, and therefore was the obligatory reference for every soldier. Each military detachment could also have a standard bearer with insignia on the type of platoon it was (cavalry, infantry, artillery), so that the captain general could maneuver the entire army from afar, sending his orders through his field master. Nuño de Guzmán's army also had a shipyard mayor, who was responsible for the proper functioning of the arsenal. It must be remembered that Guzmán had left Mexico with twelve cannons on his back. The

captains (and their detachments) were the heart of the army in many ways. First, because these commanders had a better financial situation than the rest of the conquerors, and in that sense they contributed important resources to the expedition that no one else could provide. We can mention the case of Captain Cristóbal de Oñate, who put money from his purse for the

8 José Luis Razo Zaragoza (compilation and paleography), *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia in the territory of New Spain* (Guadalajara: IAH, 2001); Jaime Olveda, *The coast of New Galicia. Conquest and colonization* (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2011), pp. 107-108.

expedition campaigns; The same was true for Captain Juan Fernández de Híjar, scion of one of the most prestigious families of the nobility of Aragon.¹⁰ Furthermore, the captains joined the expedition with everything and their military detachment, that is, they gathered their soldiers (Spanish and indigenous), they controlled them, kept them together trying to avoid desertions, sometimes fed them, and distributed the loot to them when there was any. In other words, the army was the sum of hosts or troops that obeyed and were loyal to a captain, who negotiated the services of his detachment with the captain general when distributing the loot. The financial help of these captains was precious to Nuño de Guzmán, because often the Spanish soldiers were men without the means to buy a sword, at least, so the captains sometimes equipped their soldiers with weapons and horses. And of course Nuño de Guzmán, the captain general, set the example. In 1537, in front of the judges, his defense lawyer evaluated everything that the first president of the Audiencia of Mexico had spent and distributed among the conquistadors at the time of starting his expedition: "he distributed up to sixty or eighty saddled and trained horses to the conquerors." that they did not have them to go to the said conquest [...] he also gave them many corselets padded with blankets for their persons and weapons for the horses and iron corselets and many espadrilles and a quantity of flasks to carry their property» "He added that to supply the expeditionary force he provided more than three thousand heads of livestock (cattle, pigs and goats), a lot of cheese, wine, oil, bread, flour and medicines.¹² On the other hand, Nuño de Guzmán also claimed to have procured - raked and carried the necessary tools to colonize the land and build a ship, as these were objectives that he had set for this expedition: «he took supplies with more than one hundred and fifty dozen pieces of hardware and nails [...] more than one hundred and fifty bars of iron and as many hoes, and many almocafres and more than one hundred and fifty axes [...] and tools and nails to make a brig or ship if necessary and a lot of iron and steel [...] he also took many blankets and more fabrics and shirts and naguas from Indians and from Castile that he gave to the Indians who came in peace. ¹³ The captains, therefore, to the best of their ability, gathered a troop and tried to support the

⁹ AGI, Justice 339, pages. 186-199.

¹⁰ Jesús Amaya, *The conquistadors Fernández de Híjar and Bracamontes* (Guadalajara: Gráfica, 1952).

¹¹ AGI, Justice 337, question 50, *passim* pages. 131-223.

¹² *Ibid.*, question 54.

¹³ *Ibid.*, questions 56-57.

their expenses, but each of the Spanish soldiers also contributed what they could: an extra sword, a surplus horse that they lent to a companion, some pigs or chickens to supply the army. All this was taken into account in the end, when distributing the loot.

Despite the privileged relationship that the captains had with their detachment, Nuño de Guzmán imposed on his expeditionary army the conventional organizational chart of the armies of the time. To guarantee the order of the platoons under the command of each captain (artillery, cavalry or pawns), the figure of the chief bailiff was used. Juan de Burgos was the chief constable of this army, under whose orders there was a constable for each detachment. They were in charge, in effect, of guaranteeing order among the soldiers. Furthermore, they were the natural link between the captains and their detachments. It has not been possible to verify this with testimonies yet, but surely the people who held these positions had the approval of the captain of each platoon. The organization chart, with names, of Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán's army, through archival documents and chronicles of the conquest, is summarized in table 1.

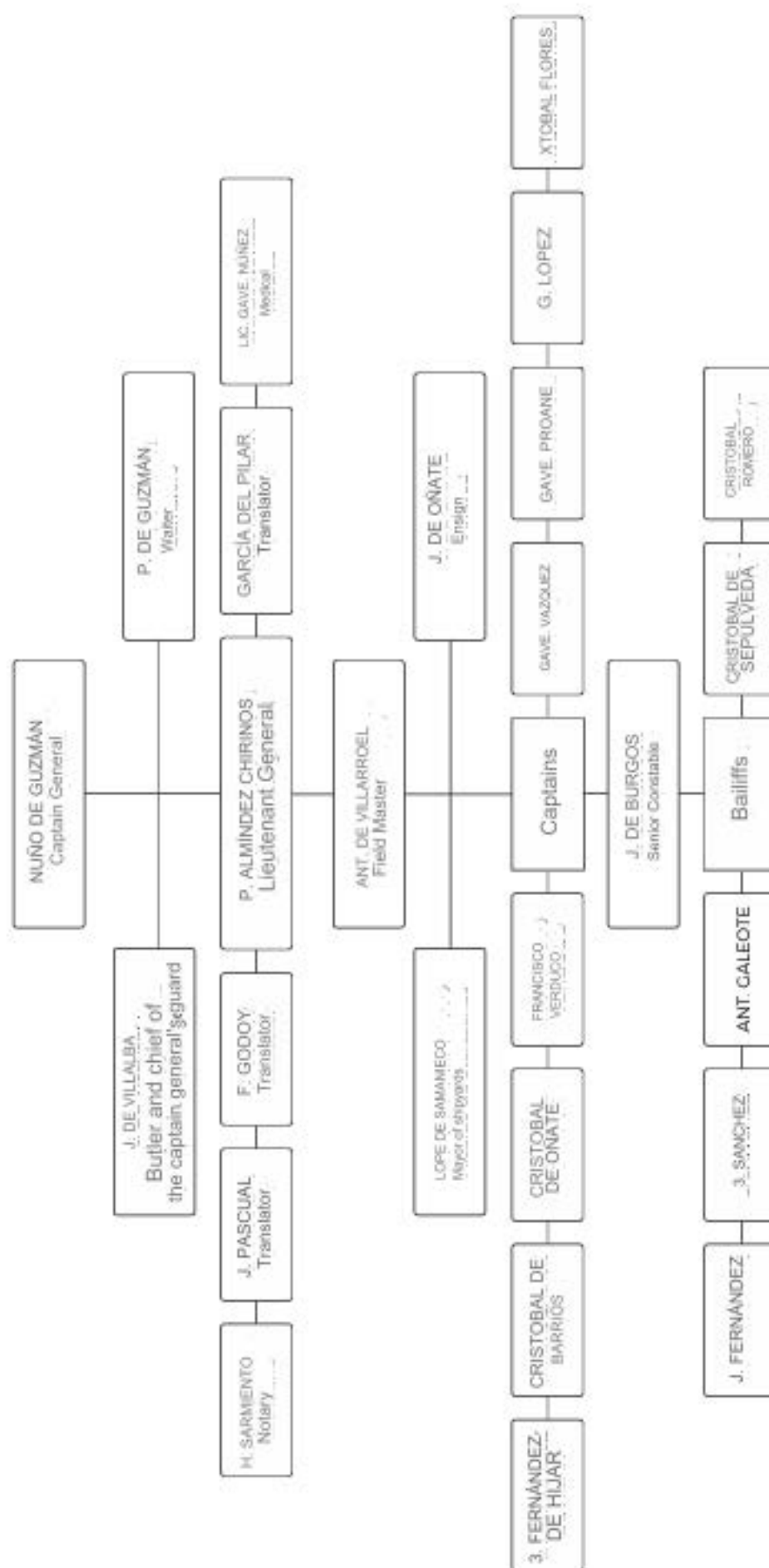
A COASTAL CONQUEST

The army that Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán assembled in 1529 was one of the largest in the history of the Conquest; The only one that Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza gathered, eleven years later, to quell the Mixtón threat may have had more troops. It must be realized that although Nuño de Guzmán always demanded discipline from his army throughout the military campaign, and if he also carried out a precise organization in this regard in order to always retain control, it was an impossible task. maintain order in a host made up of about ten thousand men. In addition to discipline, this crowd had to be fed every day and it also had to be led and maneuvered. More than a task, it was a challenge for the captain general. As if that were not enough, the troops were heading towards a geography of endless mountains, challenging ravines and narrow roads, when there were any;¹⁵ a geography that throughout the annual seasons and the route was becoming tropical or arid, of hot or cold temper, sometimes with copious rains, with devastating winds, with rivers

¹⁴ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁵ AGI, Justice 337, question 56, *passim* pages. 131-223. Guzmán's lawyer assured, in effect, that the expedition members were opening roads during much of the journey.

TABLE 1. THE STAFF OF NUÑO DE GUZMÁN, 1529-1530



possessed by demons or with suns from Dantesque hells that made them thirsty and hungry and made the horses thin and the indigenous allies die. Nuño de Guzmán's lawyer tried to convince the judges, in 1537, that the army always advanced with an orderly pace and under the control of the captain general: "the army was always very organized and with great concert, and very restrained and corrected, and well commanded and obedient [...] without anything getting out of control. 16 The artillery captain, Juan Fernández de Híjar, made a similar statement when the judges questioned him about it: "no army so well organized conquered has ever come out of these parts." Another captain of the conquering host, Gonzalo López, stated in another context, a reality different from the one that the lawyer Saldaña was determined to build. He related that after the first battle that the army held against the community of Cuynao, the indigenous allies stampeded to burn the province, and although Nuño de Guzmán tried to prevent it, but was unsuccessful: "the [indigenous] friends began to get out of control and burn; the governor ordered a proclamation that under penalty of death no one would burn a house, and he sent certain horsemen to ensure that the friends did not burn more, and they got in the way." something, although not much." 18 Juan de Sámano, for his part, related that in Nochistlán, where by the way only part of the army headed by the lieutenant general went, "the [indigenous] friends did a lot of damage and burned a lot of the town". 19

Another problem closely linked to the size of the army was supply. If the captain general made efforts to maintain the discipline of his soldiers, he also made efforts to provide them with food. It was the reason why he took with him a herd of three thousand head of cattle. His lawyer also spoke on this topic before the judges in 1537, and assured them that Nuño de Guzmán during the expedition "gave many rations of meat to many, and four or five or more pigs were killed every day in the house of the said Nuño de Guzmán and medicines and refreshments from Castile were given to all those who needed them. 20 Despite everything, the president of the Court of Mexico and captain general of the expedition also failed in this area. He confessed it himself, when he recounted that after the expeditionary force crossed the Huentitán ravine, just upon reaching the territory where Francisco had passed five years before

16 Ibid., question 59.

17 Ibid., response to question 57, *passim* pages. 223V-246.

18 José Luis Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of New Galicia in the territory of New Spain* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1960), p. 47.

19 Ibid., p. 110.

20 AGI, Justice 337, question 55, *passim* pages. 131-223.

Cortés, had begun to feel, perhaps for the first time, the scarcity of food. "Some hunger was suffered along this mountain and unpopulated road," Guzmán wrote.²¹ But nothing would be comparable to what they experienced several months later, when starting from Culiacán the expedition members desperately searched for something they never found, perhaps the Amazon. There among the inhospitable and steep mountains the hunger was to drive people crazy if not to kill people. García del Pilar and the rest of those who recounted the chronicle of the expedition gave a timely account of this calamity. They narrated that the indigenous allies were literally dying of hunger and that the Spaniards were becoming hopelessly thin; They even considered killing some horses for food. The lack of provisions was one of the confessed reasons that pushed the captain general to declare the end of the expedition and turn around. In the mouth of García del Pilar the events occurred in the following way: «[Guzmán] seeing that we no longer had to eat, and that the supplies were already finished [...] he agreed to speak to all the people [...] that he was glad to return; and so we left. ²² To make matters worse, the few indigenous allies who had been accompanying the conquering army from Mexico chose to desert, driven by the hunger that consumed their insides. Pilar did not hide this fact when she had to chronicle the expedition: "up to two hundred Indians fled here [...] the most Indians of this city [Mexico] and its regions just died here." ²³ The famine that decimated the ranks of the conquering troops occurred due to the lack of reliable informants who could indicate with precision and certainty the regions that the host had to visit. Every time there was a lack of food it was because the conquerors found themselves in isolated, unpopulated regions, where the few indigenous peoples, if their inhabitants had not abandoned them, did not have sufficient reserves to feed Nuño's military hosts. of Guzman. The demographic panorama of these lands was similar in many ways to what Francisco Cortés found in 1525: scattered, discreet and sparsely populated towns, in brutal contrast to the Seven Cities of Gold that the conquerors longed to find to tear down their walls with cannon shots.

From Mexico to Michoacán the conquering troops had advanced with a firm and sure step. The road, the region and the indigenous people were known. The provinces of Colima, Zapotlán and Sayula were also known, but the last point of reference that the conquerors had was Xalisco and Tepic along with the territory

²¹ Blázquez y Calvo, Guadalajara and the New World, p. 220.

²² Ibid., p. 236.

²³ Ibid.

that Francisco Cortés had traveled. The rest of the geography was *terra incognita*. For this reason, after they left Michoacán, Nuño de Guzmán's army resembled a poor man walking in the dark, groping forward, or a ship adrift, without a compass. The towns they passed through were deserted, temporarily abandoned by their inhabitants; Informants were scarce and when an indigenous person from the region fell into their power, they could not communicate with him because there were a multitude of languages in each locality. Nuño de Guzmán often confessed it in his letters: "there were some people from that province, both men and women, whose language none of them understood."²⁴ So the troops did not stop until Xalisco, it seemed that the captain general's intention was to reach Tepic, from where he intended to truly begin his campaign of conquest. There was action, however. A battle, several skirmishes, some looting and sterile persecutions that uselessly consumed the energies of both the indigenous and Spanish conquerors. The local indigenous people reacted to them in different ways: they abandoned their villages and waited in inhospitable or difficult-to-access places for the military column to pass, then they returned to their homes. Others hid on the roads and practiced guerrilla warfare by attacking the weak points of the expedition in their path, such as provisions, packaging, livestock or some disorganized columns of the indigenous allies. There was no shortage of those who received the conquerors with courtesy, however, with tricks and deceptions they led them against their own enemies. Finally, there were those who decided to confront them militarily, in the open field, like the indigenous people of Tonalá, those of Atematlán and those of Culiacán. The script would have

been repeated from Xalisco to Culiacán, since the invading host seemed to be passing through, only in pursuit of those fleeing Amazons and those seven wonderful cities. But in Aztatlán the conquerors were stopped by a cyclone. They had the impression that the sky was falling on them. "The flood was such that we all thought we would perish," explained García del Pilar.²⁵ He also reported that a thousand indigenous soldiers who were wounded were swept away and drowned by the currents of the raging rivers, another eight thousand fell so sick that only about 200 allies were those who could walk and stand. In

full catastrophe, famine extended its shadow over the camp until the extent to which the indigenous people who could, deserted and fled. Antonio de Aguayo

He left us a brief testimony of those moments of misfortune: "while

The said storm came, this witness was found in the army, in which this witness saw that the real was in danger of being lost, and a lot of supplies were lost in it,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 207.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 232.

because this witness saw it rotten and that the river was carrying it away [...] after this happened the Indians began to fall in mourning and many died.²⁶ The passage of the cyclone left the land in a state of desolation and Nuño de Guzmán's army unrecognizable. In one sentence, García del Pilar summarized the results of the catastrophe by reporting that the captain general had been left "lost without Indians and in that swamp in a quagmire."²⁷

Natural adversity was combined with political adversity. News arrived of the imminent return of Hernán Cortés to Mexico City, as he was in Spain. Nuño de Guzmán sent a commission to the capital of New Spain and maintained the direction north with the remains of a decimated army. He quickened his pace and arrived in Culiacán. There he settled his camp. In the midst of his haste, or perhaps his desperation, and without caring much about his diminished state of health, he divided the troops as a faithful imitation of the actions of Francisco Cortés in Tepic, five years before. He sent Gonzalo López's military company towards the eastern mountains, Samaniego was entrusted with combing the northern and northwest region, and Nuño de Guzmán headed south, then west, ending in the northeast of Culiacán. They did not find the Amazons, nor the cities of gold, nor the northern maritime strait, only endless mountains and inhospitable deserts on one side, and the immeasurable sea on the other. Returning from these entrances towards the surroundings of Culiacán, Nuño de Guzmán's army seemed to be composed more of skinny beggars than of gallant conquerors. Their morale was at rock bottom and it is to be expected that their faces showed disarming disappointment.

The captain general then decided to end the expedition, end the military campaign and colonize the land. Did I have any other option? Wasn't that preferable instead of returning to Mexico as a defeated man, where, now that he was no longer president of the Audiencia, his enemies had multiplied? He knew that he would also be imprisoned and have a relentless judicial process against him, where he would have to answer to the judges (his enemies) from the diversion of Crown funds to the way he had fun. There, in the uncomfortable north, it was better. The territory that separated it from Mexico was enormous and Nuño de Guzmán knew better than anyone that it was still a no-man's land, unconquered, plagued by untamed indigenous people scattered everywhere. He knew that it was a kind of wall that could only be crossed with supernatural efforts. There in the wild north he was safe from his enemies. The new heads of the Court of Mexico sent letters to Spain in February and March

²⁶ AGI, Justice 337, response to question 68, *passim* pages. 263-277.

²⁷ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 232.

of 1531. In them they explained that the indigenous people of the regions that Nuño de Guzmán claimed to have pacified did not stop taking the lives of Spaniards and allied indigenous people, and that they were the masters of the few roads that existed. They added that it was practically impossible, under these conditions, to establish any communication with Guzmán, and that to achieve this it was necessary to equip a large group of soldiers ("with a copy of people").²⁸ In such a way that the still governor of Pánuco, Nuño de Guzmán, was in a situation of isolation, it is true, but also of freedom and independence with respect to the authorities of Mexico.

THE LUCK OF THE SPANISH IN THE WAR

The Conquest, with a capital letter, because it is a name that historians have given to this historical event, which had immeasurable proportions, which seemed to have had a life of its own, like those phenomena that get out of control. Nothing had disrupted the lives of the inhabitants of the American continent as much as the Conquest. Its effects can be felt, identified and palpated in the 21st century like a scar, and sometimes even like a wound. The Conquest was a historical event that confronted the American Indians with the Europeans, but also later with the Asians and Africans. Violence in many of its forms was present. Physical violence, with war, but also cultural, intellectual, religious, economic and social violence. At first glance the Conquest seems like a war that led to a territorial occupation, but there is no lighter historical reflection than that. This phenomenon cannot be reduced to a simple war. Because even from a purely military point of view, there are marked differences between the Conquest and the wars that took place at that time in Europe. The expeditions undertaken by the conquerors sometimes barely arrived on horseback, according to the words of Mario Góngora.²⁹ In the economic area, they depended on the contributions of captains and conquerors, it was an investment that they hoped to multiply at the end of each expedition with the loot gained.³⁰ Furthermore, if you look closely at the conquering troops, you can see

²⁸ Paso y Troncoso, *Espistolario de la Nueva España 1505-1818*, pp. 15-23 and 35-64.

²⁹ Mario Góngora, *The groups of conquerors on the mainland (1509-1530): historical-social physiognomy of a type of conquest* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1962), pp. 14-38.

³⁰ There were also merchants who financed conquest expeditions. Cf. Thomas Gomez, *L'invention de l'Amérique. Mythes et réalités de la Conquête* (Paris: Champs-Flammarion, 1992), pp. 156-165.

You will find that from a martial point of view the expeditionary soldiers formed an unprecedented military group, with a very poor notion of what war was; There were also indigenous allies, ten or twenty times more numerous than the Europeans and who had to be constantly distrusted. And while it is true that some Spaniards had the experience of the Spanish reconquest or the wars in Italy, the life of the soldier who fought in Europe and that of the conqueror who sought to survive in America were completely different realities. The concept of war was not the same for the indigenous people as for the Spanish, so that the battles, the war itself, were undertaken with different rules for both camps.³¹ Combats in the open field were rare, guerrilla warfare was frequently used by the indigenous people, who saw the way in which the hosts of Nuño de Guzmán allowed themselves to burn their towns, destroy their idols and plant crosses in their path. The phenomenon became a human catastrophe out of control. A phenomenon that came to change the foreseeable course of world history.³²

The emergence of Europeans in the New World caused, before anything else, chaos and disorder. Along with the military battles, the destruction of indigenous idols, the burning of towns, devastating diseases and religious confusion, a kind of middle ground appeared, that is, an intermediate and unstable zone (supposedly transitional) where social fractures emerged, the confusion and identities were dislocated. Before the emergence of colonial society, the Conquest produced intermediate zones or unstable regions. The historian Serge Gruzinski called them zones *étranges*, arising from a brutal and unforeseen shock. ³³ These zones appeared physically on the rubble of the destroyed towns, but also mentally, on the ruins of shattered imaginaries and identities. The people who found themselves in the New World suffered the consequences of unstable regions, both Europeans and indigenous people. In the New World, on an immense and unknown continent, in front of men never seen before, within a small group that seemed more like adventurers than conquerors, where everyday life was the unforeseen events and improvisations were the daily. The demoralizing defeats, the unforeseen ambushes, the indigenous betrayals, the political turbulence, the wounds

³¹ Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, "Le conquistador: un soldat mutilé", *Clio: Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 20 (2004).

³² This is suggested by the works of Serge Gruzinski, *Le destin brisé de l'empire aztèque* (Paris: Gallimard, 2010).

³³ Serge Gruzinski, *La thought métisse* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), pp. 68-72.

Inescapable, shuddering panic and death were almost commonplace for the conqueror. Furthermore, they had a feeling of living eternally in the middle of an endless war, because unlike those who waged war in Europe, the conquerors, at the end of the military campaign, could not return to see their families, their wives and children. ...they were condemned to live in the world of enemies. The version that represents Spanish soldiers always in armor, on horseback, invincible in battle and quickly enriched by plundering Amerindian treasures is false.

Many conquerors even left their entire personal fortune in the conquest enterprises and were ruined.³⁴

However, the conquerors were not clear about the way in which they should remake (rather than reconstruct) society; they had contributed to the destructuring of the indigenous world but were incapable of immediately proposing a social restructuring.³⁵ The way of life of the indigenous peoples, transmitted from one generation to another since time immemorial, was suddenly condemned by European morality without acceptable explanations being given. ³⁶ Furthermore, these new rules imposed by the Spanish were not even respected by the conquerors themselves, and this increased the indigenous perplexity and confusion. For example, polygamy was prohibited, but the conquistadors had sexual relations with indigenous women, often in a violent manner. Judges and religious overlapped these types of practices because they considered them a way to avoid marriage. For them, the rape of indigenous women was only a "clumsy sin", but not a mortal sin, because "it was a greater sin to have her as a girl."³⁷ The indigenous social model, at the time of collapsing, did not find an immediate replacement: it was It installed chaos and instability that gave way to the middle ground, to the intermediate zones, to the unstable regions where the conquerors were also immersed, anguished in a land where almost everything was foreign, strange, alien to them; They had become unstable, rootless, nomadic beings, with significant psychological damage where their original ambitions had been lost, where the only important thing was, often, saving one's life in the midst of omnipresent danger.

³⁴ Bernard Grunberg, *L'univers des conquistadors. Les hommes et leur conquête dans le Mexique du xvie siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993), p. 75.

³⁵ Nathan Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), p. 270.

³⁶ Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, vol. 1 (Paris: Fayard, 1991), p. 256.

³⁷ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 2, exp. 4, fs. 194-196v.

The conquerors did not escape the devastating effects of the Conquest. The indigenous people were forced to change their pace of life, but so were the conquerors. 38 On the American continent, time seemed to move slowly and slowly, distances seemed longer, nature was different; Far from Europe it was very difficult for them to get used to living out of phase with the old continent, the news took a while to arrive, when it did arrive; They had to replace European objects with indigenous ones, they learned to sleep on mats when they slept; They took on new lifestyle habits and changed their diet. Bernal Díaz del Castillo described the situation of abandonment and helplessness in which the conquerors felt: «heroic acts and great feats that we did in the wars, fighting day and night [...] being so far from Castile, nor have any other help [...] [with] great dangers and labors such as hunger and thirst and infinite fatigue that tend to increase those who are going to make similar discoveries in new lands. 39 The conquerors became beings incapable of projecting themselves into the future with the certainty that comes from a time of peace and the stability of a self-assured society, where there are established rules of life, rites and ceremonies that mark the social rhythm. Nuño de Guzmán searched in vain for the Amazons, the cities of gold, and found only diseases, famines, tribulations, cyclones and storms, inhospitable lands, in the midst of the death of friends and enemies. 40 When he accepted his defeat, when his strength failed him They were already able to continue, his enthusiastic projects ended and he bitterly complained about reality: "work and expenses, which have been quite a few in the past and present without any interest." 41

In this situation of failure, the reaction of many was abandonment, abdication, resignation. Fray Antonio Tello wrote a revealing passage in this regard, explaining that after three years of living in Culiacán, many residents decided to leave Nueva Galicia, "seeing the great ruin and misery they suffered, they decided to leave the land." According to the friar, 100 of 150 settlers arrived in Compostela, leaving Culiacán behind, that is, two-thirds of the population. In the capital of Nueva Galicia, the governor tried to retain them, but his efforts were in vain, because the deserters expressed their desire to die rather than stay: «Nuño de

38 Bernand and Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, pp. 266-267.

39 Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *True history of the conquest of New Spain*, collection Know how many... 5 (Mexico: Porrúa, 2007), pp. 577-578.

40 Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 225.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Guzmán stop them with skill or rigor; But they came so desperate and so chastened by the misery, poverty and misfortune that they had suffered, that they decided to die rather than stay in Nueva Galicia, and forming a squad, already desperate, they opposed the governor, who seeing their determination "He let them go." 42

Death emerged at every step of the conquerors. And every step they took in unknown regions was immersed in insecurity. The conquerors knew that a rapid indigenous reorganization was enough to be annihilated. Knowing that one lived on the verge of death, and of cruel death in the form of human sacrifices, or with bodily limbs torn to pieces, was to live in the midst of anguish and terror. The Spaniards were shocked to discover the way in which the indigenous people around Tepic killed their enemies. In a writing they described the way in which they had found some of their fellow soldiers in the mountains: "dead and dismembered and their hearts, livers and kidneys taken out." Another conquistador declared that he had seen the enemy indigenous people doing "a carnage on them that was something to be frightened, in which he saw a leg with its foot next to the cut belly, and the rest that were missing from the body could not be found, and that he saw "a liver from an Indian spit on a stick with the heart and kidneys." One more conquistador reported that "he saw the bones of the Spaniards [...] and found two of their heads in pieces, which had been crushed, and then he saw another one on top of a tree." 43 These examples are enough to understand the daily terror and fear in which the conquerors lived.

In the campaign, at night, when silence sank into darkness, the conquerors had difficulty sleeping because they were on constant alert, since the indigenous people had already learned to attack during the night or at dawn. So every time the day ended, there was fear that the indigenous people would suddenly arrive and burn the thatched houses where they were staying. In Tepic, Pedro de Ulloa heard those warrior cries at night, and that required him to remain on guard, because whoever fell asleep ran the risk of waking up in the other world. Such a state of alertness caused those who reached old age to have difficulty falling asleep, as he wrote

42 Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Holy Province of Xalisco*, Second Book (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / IJAH, 1973), vol. 2 P. 27.

43 AGI, Guadalajara 46, N.

44 Ulloa declared that "while in his inn he heard the shouts of Chichimecas who were jumping the natives of this town." Statement by Pedro de Ulloa to question 9, in AGI, Guadalajara 46, N. 1.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo for his personal experience: "I can't sleep except for a little while at night when I have to get up to see the sky and stars and I have to walk for a while in the night sky." Four. Five

Fear was also experienced during combat, because the conquerors knew that they were not safe from death, even if they themselves insisted on spreading the rumor among the indigenous people that they were immortal, as when Nuño de Guzmán, after In a battle near Tonalá, he ordered a dead horse to be cut up and buried, so that the indigenous people would not know that they died like anyone else. Nuño de Guzmán recounted the meeting in the following way:

The observer [Pedro Almíndez Chirinos] found, on one side of the ravine, about three hundred Indian warriors with their bows and arrows, who the day before had killed five hundred friendly Indians; and they took a black man from a dead squire who had gone ahead, and very joyfully singing with him they found them, and while fighting they killed a horse with an arrow through the breasts, and up to a hundred of them were left dead; The others, as the ravine was close but dangerous, were saved by it, not without danger [...] after the encounter was over, we cut up the horse so that there was no sign of it, nor did they know that they could die. 46

Weeks later, once again crossing the Rio Grande de Santiago through the Tepic crossing, they had to fight another of the few open battles. At the end of it, Captain General Nuño de Guzmán recounted the damage received by his troops. There were six dead and fifty horses injured,

The mayor was wounded in the face by a bad arrow, and Captain Oñate was wounded in the hip, which was fine; to the captain of my guard on one back, and to the captain of artillery they passed his arm, and to one squire they gave him a bad arrow in the face and another in the groin, passing the weapons on him, and to another they passed the hands and to another a leg with a spear and wounded another also; The rest of us did not lack arrows, although without damage; Up to ten or twelve of friendly Indians died. 47

In the midst of the battles, the confusion or panic of the Spaniards was such that they did not mind sinking their spears into the bodies of the indigenous allies.

45 Díaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest*, cited in Bernard and Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, p. 672, note 10. 46

Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 208.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

two. It is difficult to know if this occurred because the conquistadors confused the allies with the indigenous enemies, as they themselves claimed, or because of the terror of suddenly seeing themselves betrayed by the allies. At the end of the battle Guzmán also wrote on this point: "of friendly Indians, up to ten or twelve died, some of them from spears by Christians, for not knowing them, and others were wounded." 48 As Nuño de Guzmán and his conquerors sank deeper into the complex phenomenon of the Conquest, and as everything turned into smoking rubble, the solutions to get out of these unstable regions became narrower and more difficult than getting out of a swamp. . To such a degree that everything was reduced to kill or be killed. The only possible solution that Nuño de Guzmán saw in the end was that, and this is what he wrote in June 1532, from Compostela: "that I cannot punish them or wage war on them in any other way if it were not by killing them or suffering them to kill us, and killing us." the friendly Indians and the Christians who go from one town to another", 49

The conquerors did not lack bodily wounds and considerable moral or psychological traumas from which they would not be able to fully recover. In 1562 Antonio de Aguayo was still mourning the death of two of his brothers, Lorenzo and Diego, killed during different battles against the indigenous people. 50 Antonio de Aguayo himself had gone through a thousand hardships, in the Caribbean islands, in Florida, where he saw many of his friends massacred, in Colima, in Guzmán's campaigns. A countryman of his found him one day "naked and very poor, and brought him to the town of Colima in his company." 51 Later he lost an arm during a battle he fought against the indigenous people of the coasts of Tomatlán and El Tuito. A friend of his reported that he had seen him "injured in the right arm, cut at the elbow, from which he later became disabled." 52 Almost all the conquistadors who managed to survive were mutilated by war. So the first residents of Guadalajara and the other Neo-Galician towns were incomplete men. To give some examples, it is enough to mention the first accountant of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, Juan de Ojeda, who was missing a leg; 53 Martín Páez was one-eyed; 54 even the famous captain Cristóbal de Oñate lost an arm in a confrontation, and his body was a map of ci-

48 De la Mota Padilla, *Chronicles of the conquest*, p. 40.

49 Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 244.

50 AGI, Board of Trustees 65, N. 1, R. 4.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*

53 Francisco de Icaza, *Autobiographical dictionary of conquerors and settlers of New Spain*, vol. 2 (Guadalajara: Aviña, 1969), p. 228.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 274.

war catrices that in his old age he boasted as testimonies of the violent battles in which he had participated.⁵⁵

Psychological damage, perhaps the most devastating for many, is difficult to recognize and evaluate. But its consequences can be seen in the reactions of the conquerors to specific situations. For example, the massacre that Nuño de Guzmán and his conquerors carried out against the indigenous people of to reduce the danger that overwhelmed them from all sides. It was also a way to release the tensions and frustrations that had been repressed for so long and that overwhelmed them so much. Two lines summarize such frustration coupled with devastating desolation. They were written by Nuño de Guzmán in a letter he sent to the king on June 12, 1532: "The entire

land is lost and destroyed and poor, and the inhabitants are dissatisfied and the natives are upset." ⁵⁶ This spontaneous and heartbreaking phrase summarizes with great precision the great devastation left by the phenomenon of the Conquest. A complete destruction that affected the indigenous people ("the natives were disturbed") as much as the Spanish ("the settlers were dissatisfied").

It is also necessary to add the collective frustration of the conquerors who felt abandoned and left in the lurch by the royal authorities, in distant provinces that were close to being the end of the world, surrounded by men never before imagined and without the means to return to Europe or to undertake a new exploratory campaign. A letter from the Compostela City Council is revealing of this ultimate situation: "there is no way to pay for a single shoe to wear and finally none of the things that are necessary to get through life, because after three years and more that it has "We who walk in the service of your Majesty, there is no leather or straps left but the will." ⁵⁷ The impression remains that these already old and mutilated conquerors want to look quite like war veterans. ⁵⁸

THE LUCK OF THE INDIGENOUS IN THE WAR

In terms of human lives, however, the indigenous people were the ones who paid the highest bill for the Conquest event. More than for

⁵⁵ AGI, Guadalajara 47, N. 18.

⁵⁶ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 255.

⁵⁷ AGI, Guadalajara 30, N. 1.

⁵⁸ See Regalado Pinedo, "Le conquistador: un soldat mutilé."

Anyone, for them the Conquest was a brutal experience. First, because the monstrous collision between both worlds resulted in the destructuring of the indigenous universe⁵⁹ because America was the scene of the collision. The first action that pushed the native communities of this continent into the abyss was the literal social decapitation. Among the first victims of the war were the leaders, the leaders, the guides. Social beheading was practiced throughout the Conquest. Hernán Cortés was the first to do it when he deprived the Mexica people of Moctezuma. Francisco Cortés learned the lesson and throughout his expedition to Tepic, in 1525, he deprived the towns he passed through of their leaders.⁶⁰ Nuño de Guzmán was no exception. His first victim, upon undertaking his conquest, was the lord of Michoacán, whom he sent to the other world after torturing him with an unbearable cruelty even to the eye. One of Guzmán's translators could not resist watching the torment until the end and chose to leave the place: "he was overcome with compassion to see such a great gentleman treated so badly." The lord of Michoacán was accused of treason, dragged by a horse and burned alive tied to a log, finally his ashes were thrown into a river⁶² to make him disappear forever from the memory of his people. The indigenous people, bewildered, could not understand the reason why they had sentenced their king to death. The chief of Quirongari expressed in this regard: "without having any fault, being a Christian he burned him, that the whole land and the natives of it were amazed and that everyone cried for him and felt very sorry for him", ⁶³

During his campaign of conquest, Nuño de Guzmán did not stop using the same practice of social decapitation. In Ahuacatlán, to give an example, "Guzmán ordered the arrest of the chiefs and kept them prisoners and then, when he left, he took them prisoners in chains to the town of Xalisco," declared a witness.⁶⁴ Faced with this situation, the indigenous crowd must have experienced a helpless emptiness, disorientation and unexpected confusion. What happens when the guides suddenly disappear? The rhythm of indigenous life and its religious, social, economic, cultural direction... were condemned to change in a dizzying manner.

Secondly, the Conquest was a brutal experience for the indigenous people, because it happened without anyone expecting it. The natives of America met

⁵⁹ Ruggiero Romano, *Les conquistadors. The mechanisms of colonial conquest* (Paris: Champs-Flammarion, 1972), p. 23.

⁶⁰ AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

⁶¹ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 32.

⁶² According to García del Pilar's chronicle. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶³ AGI, Board of Trustees 60, N. 2, R. 3.

⁶⁴ AGI, Justice 121, N. 2, R. 3.

in the middle of a different war, with enemies of whom they knew little or almost nothing, who came from a distant land, never before conceived or seen. The indigenous warriors were also inferior in technological terms and sometimes also numerically if we consider that they faced the Spanish, but also the indigenous allies. The inhabitants of Xalisco, for example, had to face nearly ten thousand soldiers (indigenous and Spanish) of which Nuño de Guzmán's army was composed, and they, the Xaliscas, did not reach four thousand.⁶⁵ The overwhelming troops of the Spanish captain general were enough to explain the flight undertaken by the reckless inhabitants of Xalisco and their allies. We must also add the cruelty of the confrontation, which especially in this area reached levels that approached what several centuries later was called "total war"; that is, a war that caused damage and human loss among people who were not soldiers. "War with fire and blood," was Nuño de Guzmán's decree. The cruelty of these confrontations can be easily seen. The conquerors themselves judged that in this region the brutality of the war had no measure. García de Salamanca, 25 years old, described the confrontation as "very cruel, many Indian people died."⁶⁶ On Sunday, May 16, 1530,⁶⁷ the hosts of Nuño de Guzmán pursued the resistant indigenous people of Xalisco to the sea, which represents approximately a distance of more than 30 kilometers. That day the Spanish made a killing by taking more than two thousand prisoners. Finally the town of Xalisco was burned and reduced to ashes.⁶⁸ And from then on everything was exposed to flames. García del Pilar related that as the conquerors advanced towards the north, they systematically burned everything: "the land was burning, leaving nothing that could be burned, which did not burn."⁶⁹ He also reported that prisoners of war were shod red-hot to become slaves, and that there were no shortage of women and children among them. He also lamented the death of children on the side of the roads: "the greatest passion in the world is the children who die on this road."⁷⁰ These elements are enough to convince us that the Conquest, in the military field, approached a total war that facilitated the clean slate.

⁶⁵ AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

⁶⁶ AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

⁶⁷ Pedro López González, *Xalisco, the original* (Xalisco, Nayarit: City Hall of Xalisco, 2003), p. 27.

⁶⁸ AGI, Justice 113, R. 4.

⁶⁹ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 231.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2. 3. 4.

The violence of the war was the beginning of an endless string of elements that would perpetuate trauma for the indigenous population for years. A general confusion that is reflected in the remains of a manuscript in Nahua, belonging to the community of Xalisco, and that was undoubtedly part of the annals of that community. The document is in very poor condition and does not devote many pages to the episode of the Conquest, but the little it does refer to is full of bitterness and reflects the life of a people who were torn between amnesia and the memory of a tragic and painful event. The arrival of Nuño de Guzmán was captured in the following way: «Another conqueror came [...] they again called the rulers [...] again in the same way they greeted, each one with a golden gourd [...] we will be conquered, in the night many were killed [...] sleeping people [...] enemies [...] then he ordered that he wanted to go to Colhuacán [...] there many macehuals all tied with chains». The life of those years of destruction was remembered by the indigenous people with words of violence as in the previous paragraph: conqueror, we will be conquered, night, death, enemies, chains. The war of conquest was such a heartbreaking event that for many it was impossible to experience it. Suicide was preferable to facing the tragedy and atrocities of the Conquest. García del Pilar, interpreter of Nuño de Guzmán, related a case of collective suicide in the vicinity of ⁷² You have to imagine the collective pain to understand that at the same time, along the way, the indigenous people of the coast of Nayarit had decided to die by hanging by their own hands. This episode also shows us that the Conquest became a point of no return where chaos was the dominant element. Never again would any day be like before. In this context, a kind of regression occurred among the indigenous people, where the collective memory is erased and the future stops. To say that the indigenous people had the feeling of being foreigners in their own land, in the land of their ancestors, is to accept a frustration that corresponded in them to a brutal dispossession of the world.⁷³

The violence of the Conquest crossed the limits of war to establish itself as second nature in indigenous daily life. The pre-Hispanic order was questioned: the pace of work, the culture, the type of life,

⁷¹ Thomas Calvo et al., *Xalisco, the voice of a people in the 16th century* (Mexico: CIESAS / Cemca, 1993), p. 80.

⁷² Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 2. 3. 4.

⁷³ Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus*, p. 64.

everything was doomed to change.⁷⁴ Specifically, Nuño de Guzmán's incursion dislocated the indigenous culture and social organization of the coast, from Culiacán to Purificación, where the transformations occurred with greater vehemence.⁷⁵ The archaeologist Joseph Mountjoy, when analyzing the coast of Jalisco, referred to the Conquest as a "phenomenon of biological and cultural disintegration of the indigenous societies of the West."⁷⁶ In summary, the Conquest was a brutal and tragic event, it was a human catastrophe that, although caused by man, soon escaped the control of all its actors and to that extent can be considered an involuntary tragedy. The authors of the *Histoire du Nouveau Monde* have reached this conclusion: "the demographic debacle [...] does not obey any reasoned plan, any deliberate will."⁷⁷ Other historians have also reached the same conclusion.⁷⁸ The Conquest, then, was a brutal historical phenomenon that enveloped everyone in its uncontrollable whirlwind, which had heartbreaking and regrettable consequences. It was a cataclysm of such magnitude that today, as I write this, its vibrations are still felt, and the Latin American societies of our days, heirs of those indigenous people and those Europeans, five centuries later still feel marked by the wounds of this tragedy.⁷⁹

THE FOUNDATION OF THE VILLAS

After a stay of about four months in the Culiacán region, Nuño de Guzmán gathered his men and spoke to them. He expressed his desire to found a Spanish village in that place, another in Xalisco and one more in El Teúl. It was a speech that marked the end of the military campaign and the beginning of colonization.

⁷⁴ Romano, *Les conquistadors*, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁵ Phil Weigand and Acelia G. de Weigand, *Tenamaxtli and Guaxicar. The deep roots of the Nueva Galicia rebellion* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Ministry of Culture of Jalisco, 1996), pp. 133-135.

⁷⁶ Refers to western Mexico. Joseph Mountjoy, "Calculations of the pre-Hispanic population in the Tomatlán River Basin", *Estudios del Hombre* 3 (1996): 174.

⁷⁷ «The débâcle démographique [...] n'obéit à aucun plan raisonné, à aucune volonté délibérée». Bernand and Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, p. 256.

⁷⁸ See the work of Matthew Restall, *The seven myths of the Spanish conquest* (Barcelona: Paidós, 2004), p. 185; as well as Salvador Álvarez's recent book, *The Indian and the Northern Colonial Society. 16th-18th centuries* (Durango: The College of Michoacán / UJED-IIH, 2009), p. 65.

⁷⁹ The work of the philosopher Octavio Paz is revealing of this aspect, especially *The Labyrinth of Solitude*.

European tion in the north of the American continent. Nuño de Guzmán then appointed Diego de Proaño as mayor of Culiacán, and also the members of the Cabildo: Pedro de Bobadilla, Cristóbal de Tapia, Diego de Guzmán, Juan de Labastida, Juan de Almesto and Diego Rojas.⁸⁰ He baptized the town as San Miguel de Culiacán and determined that one hundred Spaniards would stay to populate it, half of them being horsemen. For their sustenance he left them cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens and mares. For their defense he equipped them with three cannons and rifles. He had a church built and entrusted a priest to take care of spiritual matters. He left blacksmithing and a forge in the town and asked a blacksmith to stay and live there. A carpenter also settled there. Guzmán was concerned about leaving everything he deemed necessary for the prosperity of the town. Afterwards he returned to the road to Xalisco with his diminished army. According to Juan de Sámano it was October 15, 1531.⁸² He arrived in Tepic in a hurry and his first action was to found in its vicinity the main city of a governorate that the Spanish queen decided to name Nueva Galicia and Compostela as its capital. The following year he sent his ensign Juan de Oñate to El Teúl to found another town. Oñate fulfilled his mission by founding Guadalajara, in honor of Nuño de Guzmán (a native of Guadalajara), in the vicinity of Juchipila. In 1532, the captain general sent Juan Fernández de Híjar to the south of Compostela, towards Colima, to choose the most appropriate place to host another Spanish foundation. In February 1533, and not without some failures, the Aragonese Fernández de Híjar fulfilled his mission by founding a town which he named Villa de Nuestra Señora de la Purificación.⁸³ That same year Guzmán commissioned his captain Cristóbal de Barrios to found a town in Chiametla, which would serve as a link between Culiacán and Compostela.⁸⁴

Culiacán, Chiametla, Compostela, Purificación and Guadalajara were the five towns with which Nuño de Guzmán intended to support the governance of Nueva Galicia. Each of those Spanish towns had a town hall, and each one had a momentary mission. Culiacán was the outpost town, the door to new conquests, the final frontier towards the inhospitable north but,

⁸⁰ Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 261.

⁸¹ AGI, Justice 337, questions 71 and 72 of the questionnaire, *passim* pages. 131-223.

⁸² *Chronicles...* op. cit. 1960, p. 131.

⁸³ Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, «Conquerors, clerics and officials. Networks social affairs in Nueva Galicia 1529-1579», in *Historical Research Notebooks 1*, coord. by María Pilar Gutiérrez Lorenzo (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008).

⁸⁴ AGI, Justice 337.

Who knows, surely with many surprises. Compostela was the capital, located on the coast and in the middle of an indigenous population allied with the Spanish (Tepic), abundant in relation to the rest of the explored territory, with fertile lands and with a road established since time immemorial that led to the dominion of Michoacán, and to Mexico. Chiametla was the "stage town" between the capital and Culiacán. Purificación was the outpost to the south; the retaining wall against the possible attacks of Hernán Cortés and his men; the lookout post of Nueva Galicia. And Guadalajara, finally, was established in a difficult geography, in the vicinity of Nochistlán, one of the few sedentary towns, because many indigenous people of that region were still nomads. Guadalajara was primarily tasked with providing an outpost on the way to the Gulf of Mexico, towards Pánuco, where Guzmán was still governor. It was also the only town located far from the coast. New Galicia was born, in this way, as a coastal kingdom, facing the unknown sea. And although its maritime vocation did not last four decades, this first urban organization of the governorate left a marked mark in terms of its demographics.

DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE COASTAL CONQUEST AND SPATIAL RECOMPOSITION

The expedition of Francisco Cortés in 1524-1525, that of Nuño de Guzmán in 1530 and that of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540 all had coastal lands as their main setting. And until 1560, more or less, the coast of New Galicia recorded the greatest presence and greatest activity of the Spanish.⁸⁵ The consequence was an irrefutable demographic decline that was more pronounced than in the Guadalajara region and inland areas. Several towns on the coast were doomed to disappear as their inhabitants died, fled to the mountains or were resettled in other indigenous communities. So some coastal spaces remained empty or weakly populated, such as the valley of Espuchimilco where the town of Purificación was established. In 1554 Lorenzo Lebron de Quiñones visited that valley and in his report he stated that only 80 tributaries remained there out of the five thousand that there were 30 years ago.⁸⁶ The first towns to disappear due to the Spanish incursions were Xalipanga and Ystlichanga. Its inhabitants resisted the forces of Francisco Cortés and the towns were burned. When the expeditionaries returned

⁸⁵ See, in this regard, Regalado Pinedo, "Conquistadors, clerics and officials", pp. 123-147.

⁸⁶ AGI, Patronato 20, N. 5, R. 14, pages. 2v-3.

Passing by the place several months later, they found both establishments deserted. 87 Cuyutlán, installed in the same valley, no longer existed in 1576,⁸⁸ and later Pampuchin, an important district of the jurisdiction of Purificación, disappeared. 89 The conquistadors, later converted into encomenderos, found themselves at the origin of an unprecedented demographic disaster in America, with great damage even to their own interests. The process of demographic decline lasted several years and must be framed in that event called Conquest, in the broadest sense of the term.

Many conquistadors came to America with the intention of getting rich and returning to Europe as quickly as possible, so that, lacking satisfactory loot after each expedition, they saw in indigenous work - and often in their slavery and exacerbated exploitation - a way to achieve the desired wealth. 90 They soon realized that the time to return to their homeland could take many years or never come, so the need to make the indigenous people agree to pay tributes to achieve their own sustenance was imposed; In the words of the time, they had to be pacified. This task was not easy. Many conquerors lost their lives before achieving it. A famous case was that of Governor Diego Pérez de la Torre, when he led a pacifying expedition in the area of Ahuacatlán in 1538 and died in the attempt.⁹¹ The subjugation efforts, so to speak, began from the moment the Spanish they settled. From that moment on they also became more vulnerable and felt harassed daily by the indigenous people. Sometimes their fears were real, but other times they fell into a paranoia fueled by recent and terrifying events. When they returned from Culiacán to Tepic, after Nuño de Guzmán put an end to the conquest campaign, along the way there were no more than three indigenous communities that saw them pass in peace; The other towns, according to the testimony of García del Pilar, made war on them. 92

⁸⁷ AGI, Justicia 113, R. 4. You can also consult the study by Carl Sauer, «Francisco Cortés and the expansion towards the north», in *Historical Readings of Jalisco. Before Independence*, coord. by José María Muria (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1982), volume 1, p. 90.

⁸⁸ AGN, Mercedes, vol. 10, f. 89v.

⁸⁹ AHJ, Government Books, book 23, f. 309v.

⁹⁰ José Miranda, *Estudios novohispanos* (Mexico: UNAM, 1995), pp. 133-134.

⁹¹ Vicente Casarrubias and Luis Pérez Verdía, «Indigenous rebellions in Nueva Galicia», in *Jalisco Thematic History. Part 1. Kingdom of Nueva Galicia*, ed. by José Luis Razo Zaragoza (Guadalajara, University of Guadalajara, 1981), pp. 243-244.

⁹² Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, p. 237.

In reality, most of the coast of New Galicia was hostile land almost throughout the 16th century. In those years when the effects of the Conquest were felt most brutally, there were victims in both camps. In 1533 the Cabildo of Compostela reported that in its jurisdiction the life that the Spaniards and the indigenous allies led was little less than a life, because death could be found around the corner. No one who appreciated his life could venture alone on the roads, where life was worthless. Even Compostela, with all its dignity as the capital of New Galicia, began to tremble when the indigenous people, to the rhythm of their warrior cries, attacked it and when they retreated they left some of their houses burning as the worst omen. In fact, the conquerors preferred not to go out to fight them so as not to risk their lives or that of their mounts,⁹³ since the bill paid by the residents of Compostela was already high in that area. They assured that there had been "many horses and Spaniards that have died in it and that the indigenous people kill them every day."⁹⁴ During those months of the year 1533, the indigenous people of Zapocingo were in charge of sending a Spanish called Megollo. Three others had been killed in Xalisco. In Xalacingo the Spanish found Gonzalo Gallego, Juan Antón and Hernando Rodríguez breathless, and in the Banderas Valley eight more Spaniards did not manage to survive the attack by the indigenous people. But the deaths were not as many as in the distant and unprotected province of Purificación, which in its first months of life was called a new village. Before the year 1533 ended, 16 conquistadors were sent to the afterlife in that jurisdiction.⁹⁵

In 1535, two years after the massacre in the province of Purificación, the town of Chiametla del Espíritu Santo was attacked in broad daylight. The indigenous people prepared their attack. While some came like lightning to burn houses, others surrounded the town and filled the sky with their war cries. The Spanish abandoned the place as best they could.⁹⁶ The town of Chiametla was abandoned and repopulated many years later, when the waters were less rough. In such a way that Nuño de Guzmán's military campaign is not enough to explain the incorporation of the indigenous world of this region into Spanish rule or into the Western world. This fact confirms what M. Restall called the myth of completeness", a myth created by the conquerors themselves that assured that the indigenous world, precisely, had been incorporated

⁹³ "For not putting their horses and people at risk." AGI, Guadalajara 30, N. 1.

⁹⁴ AGI, Guadalajara 30, N. 4.

⁹⁵ AGI, Guadalajara 46, N. 1.

⁹⁶ AGI, Board of Trustees 184, R. 24.

to the Spanish Crown and that the conquest had been complete and total.⁹⁷ Nothing could be more false. In 1544, ten leagues from Compostela, 17 Spaniards fell under the arms of the indigenous people, but they also helped two religious men enter heaven.⁹⁸ The priest Bernardo de Quirós, in a judicial file that he himself promoted, meticulously illustrated the odyssey of the Europeans to settle and remain in Jocotlán, from where they had been violently expelled some years before.⁹⁹ The event of the Mixtón (1541-1542) is enough to explain the tenacity and strength of indigenous resistance. A report dated November 28, 1549, seven years after the Mixtón, reveals that on the coast side, especially around Compostela, many hostile indigenous strongholds had remained outside of Spanish control.¹⁰⁰

The coastal military campaigns and the founding of coastal towns also leave no doubt that the conquerors had a coastal project. In this project, it must be repeated, Guadalajara had the only function of linking the governorate of Pánuco, also devoted to the sea, with Nueva Galicia. Slowly but firmly, indigenous pacification and the distribution of the *encomiendas*, the tributaries, and the loot, began, therefore, on the coast. The movement of the coast towards the interior occurred at the pace of events and successive governors.¹⁰¹ In light of this fact, we can better understand the reason why the indigenous people of the maritime lands were condemned to endure the Spanish exactions with greater intensity, to the extent that the conquerors experimented with building a new society in many places, senses, and often without them being aware of it. They implemented the *encomienda* system on the coast for the first time. And for this matter, the experience of New Spain was not of great help, because the geography, the indigenous people, the way of life, almost everything was different. However, the conquistadors installed the *encomienda* system, weakened indigenous resistance with hard work and at the same time practiced for the first time their position as master, their new role as lords of a region almost completely unknown to themselves.

⁹⁷ Restall, *The seven myths of the Spanish conquest*, pp. 107-122. This myth was propagated and preserved by the chroniclers and viceregal historians who they explained the event of the conquest.

⁹⁸ AGI, Guadalajara 30, N. 5, paragraph 4.

⁹⁹ AGI, Guadalajara 46, N. 4.

¹⁰⁰ AGI, Guadalajara 5, R. 3, N. 9, paragraphs 18-21.

¹⁰¹ Salvador Álvarez, «La grande asiatique frontière du nord de la Nouvelle Espagne. L'expansion espagnole dans le septentrion au XVI^e siècle», doctoral thesis (Paris: EHESS, 2002), vol. 2.

On the other hand, some conquistadors who participated in Nuño de Guzmán's military campaign, already established in Mexico, considered the Neo-Galician territories only good for looting, because their place of residence was not in this region. For this reason, in 1538 Governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado reported that, on the way from Mexico to Compostela, he had found many indigenous people from the coast taken to the capital of New Spain to rent or sell them. He saw them walking one after another, in groups of fifty, and they all looked such that a hungry man would look better next to them.¹⁰² In 1544, when Governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado himself had to face a residency trial, the judge in said trial accused him, precisely, of having committed the same sin, since he had sent indigenous people from Xala and Ahuacatlán to Mexico, Michoacán and Guadalajara. Furthermore, the judge accused him that during the way some indigenous people did not endure more to remain alive, and had given themselves over to the arms of death.¹⁰³ More than anywhere else, on the coast of Nueva Galicia the demographic drop was spectacular. The Spanish realized this situation too late. On December 15, 1548, some officials of the Court of Compostela raised the alarm because the indigenous population had decreased so drastically that it prompted them to write the following: «this city has a very great lack of Indians next to it. that [...] there are very few.¹⁰⁴ However, exploitation continued and in 1551 a visitor to Compostela wrote a letter to the king of Spain to inform him that the indigenous people of the coast of New Galicia were forced to endure excessive taxes and services specific to each season of the year.¹⁰⁵

Wars, forced mobilizations, exploitation without suspicion, epidemics, escapes, suicides and lack of vitality are the elements that explain the demographic tragedy. From the first moment of the shock of the Conquest, indigenous people fled to the mountains and places beyond Spanish reach.¹⁰⁶ In 1537 the residents of Purificación explained that one of their almost daily activities was to carry out military entrances into rebellious areas to bring the indigenous people into servitude.

¹⁰² AGI, Guadalajara 5, R. 1, N. 5.

¹⁰³ AGI, Justice 339, pages. 89v-96v.

¹⁰⁴ AGI, Guadalajara 31, N. 2, paragraph 5.

¹⁰⁵ Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de la Nueva España, 1505-1818*, vol. 7 (1939), pp. 36-39.

¹⁰⁶ Francisco Mariano de Torres, *Fragment of the chronicle of the Holy province of Xalisco* (Guadalajara: Tip. A. Jaime, 1939), p. 32.

"Every week or more an entry was going to be made," declared a witness.¹⁰⁷ In 1542, another resident of Purificación, Melchor Álvarez, claimed that the indigenous people of his encomienda had fled.¹⁰⁸ He was not the only one, since viceroy Antonio de Mendoza had to give authorization so that several conquistadors from that region could go out to look for its entrusted tributaries.¹⁰⁹ Vázquez de Coronado was accused of making the indigenous people of his encomienda work in the recently discovered mines, although it is known that this practice was widespread.¹¹⁰ Cristóbal de Oñate did the same with the residents of that they were used to. The oidor Lebron de Quiñones explained in 1554 that one of the reasons why there had been so many indigenous deaths in the first years of colonization was the fact that they had been removed from their towns and regrouped in others, in order to facilitate evangelization, the collection of taxes, their control and surveillance.¹¹¹ However, five years earlier, Lebron de Quiñones himself had also accepted that the impressive decline in the indigenous population was due to wars of conquest and epidemics. Bishop Mendiola, for his part, blamed the climate in 1571, when he explained that the indigenous people of the Purificación jurisdiction had died from living in a hot land: "miserable people and since they are from a hot land, every day they waste away and end, as do all the natives of the similar lands that exist in these parts",¹¹² And although outside of Bartolomé de las Casas there were not many who denounced the exhausting work days, it was a reality to see indigenous people dying for this cause.¹¹³ The inhabitants of Xalisco paid a high bill, as they listed more than a hundred dead, because they were made to work until death.¹¹⁴ Few observed,

¹⁰⁷ AGI, Justice 337, pages. 223v-262 and 289-292v, response to question 35, statements by Melchor Álvarez, Juan Fernández de Híjar and Felipe Cáncer.

¹⁰⁸ AGN, Mercedes, vol. 1, exp. 276, fs. 129v-130.

¹⁰⁹ AGN, Mercedes, vol. 1, exp. 277, f. 130; exp. 300, f. 138v; exp. 301, f. 139.

¹¹⁰ AGI, Justice 339, charge 21, pages. 89v-96v.

m Calvo et al., Xalisco, the voice of a people, p. 84.

¹¹² Thomas Hillerkuss, comp., *Documentalia del sur de Jalisco* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / INAH, 1994), pp. 24-25.

¹¹³ AGI, Patronato 20, N. 5, R. 14, pages. 3-5v.

¹¹⁴ AGI, Guadalajara 5, R. 2, N. 8.

¹¹⁵ AGI, Guadalajara 55, N. 8.

¹¹⁶ AGI, Patronato 20, N. 5, R. 14, pages. 3-3v.

¹¹⁷ Calvo et al., Xalisco, the voice of a people, pp. 88 and 92.

However, many indigenous people were desperately seeking death. Let us remember the collective suicide of 500 people, as Nuño de Guzmán's military column passed by. Equally tragic was the case of a woman who killed her own son in 1551. The secretary of the Court who was still in Compostela, Pedro Ruiz de Haro, forced an indigenous woman from Tepic, baptized with the name Ana, to change her residence to Compostela so that she could serve as a wet nurse in her house. Ruiz de Haro had just become a father again. A witness recounted the tragedy: she said that the indigenous Ana, who had a baby in her arms, on the day she traveled from Tepic to Compostela, left her son dead on the road, to spare him the suffering of life in conditions like those she herself carried. All the way he didn't stop crying and making loud exclamations.¹¹⁸ For their part, the residents of Purificación stated that the indigenous people of that region sought death with bad herbs: "there are many poisonous herbs with which they kill themselves and many natives have died."¹¹⁹ Historians have called this phenomenon "vital reluctance."¹²⁰ And they have observed that indigenous couples were less fertile than those where one of the spouses belonged to a different ethnic group (mulatto, mestizo, African, Spanish...). In fact, the town of Cacoma (located in the province of Purificación) is a good example that corroborates this statement. Already in the 17th century it was a very small indigenous community. Between 1611 and 1629, 13 indigenous people died, but only two of them had left a descendant.¹²¹ The indigenous demographic decline was a reality for all of Nueva Galicia, however the impact was greater on the coast, according to the studies of Peter Gerhard¹²² and the testimonies that have been presented in this section. From 1524 until the middle of the 17th century the coast lost thousands of indigenous people and became a half-empty coast for many decades.

¹¹⁸ Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de la Nueva España, 1505-1818*, pp. 36-39.

¹¹⁹ René Acuña, ed., *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia* (Mexico: UNAM, 1988), p. 214.

¹²⁰ Lilia Oliver Sánchez et al., *500 years after the conquest. Psychoanalysis and social sciences* (Guadalajara: Guadalajara Group of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy, 1996), p. 16.

¹²¹ BPJ, AJAG, Civil, C 12-21, f. 19.

¹²² Gerhard, 1996, p. fifty.

SLAVERY DURING THE GOVERNMENT OF NUÑO DE GUZMÁN

The first governor of New Galicia and its creator, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, did not make any innovations. 123 Slavery on Americans was practiced since the first phase of colonization in the Caribbean islands. 124 Subsequently, slave practice was introduced in New Spain by Hernán Cortés and his captains. When Guzmán arrived in Pánuco, as governor of that province, he discovered that the Cabildo of Mexico controlled a juicy trade in slaves taken in Pánuco and sold in New Spain and the Caribbean islands. 125 Nuño de Guzmán, once in the capital of said governorate, in Santisteban del Puerto, wrested the monopoly from the Cabildo of Mexico and put himself at the head of an important network of businessmen who sold the slaves of Pánuco in the Caribbean islands or exchanged them for horses and cattle. 126 The scourge of slavery in Ahuacatlán, Xalisco and Tepic came with the order of Nuño de Guzmán, at a time when the conqueror was drowning under the flood of Aztatlán. In the words of García del Pilar it happened like this: «Seeing Nuño de Guzmán thus lost without Indians and stuck in that swamp, he agreed to send Gonzalo López, with fifteen horsemen and twenty laborers, to the province of Michoacán to bring Indians, so that they could get him out of there. Forty days later, having not heard from him, Nuño de Guzmán commissioned García del Pilar and 10 other horsemen to go in search of him to hasten his return. They found him in Ahuacatlán. Gonzalo López had, according to his calculations, up to a thousand indigenous people from Michoacán chained. They were in a corral that they had made, where Pilar could see adult men, but also women and children, locked up. The women were tied ten by ten with a rope. Soon Pilar would discover that they were inhabitants of Ahuacatlán, because while they were imprisoned in that corral, López and his men had taken on the task of touring the province of Ahuacatlán, burning and looting the towns. At the end of the day, a conquistador presented Gonzalo López to a chief of the region, who was asked to obtain many indigenous people to carry the loads of the expeditionary force in exchange for all those women and all those children. With visible tears he responded that he would do so. According to García del Pilar, it took

123 Silvio Zavala, "Nuño de Guzmán and the slavery of the Indians," *Mexican History* 1, no. 3 (January-March 1952).

124 Alain Milhou, "Introduction," in *La destruction des Indes* by Bartolomé de las Casas (1552) (Paris: Chandeigne, 1995), pp. 9-24.

125 Blázquez y Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*, pp. 112-114.

126 *Ibid.*, 115-125.

between one hundred and two hundred indigenous people, who were immediately secured with chains or neck ties, without releasing the women, nor the children, who were taken away tied up five by five.¹²⁷

A week later they arrived in Xalisco. The governor of that town left in peace and placed himself under the orders of Captain Gonzalo López. He then requested that for this reason the destruction and fires that had been carried out in the other regions be avoided. He fed them abundantly and gathered two thousand indigenous people to help with the loading and transportation tasks of the expedition, in this way the quota requested by the conquerors would be covered. They built a solid corral and there they locked up the surrendered indigenous people, along with the prisoners from Ahuacatlán. Captain López entrusted García del Pilar, who was sick, with some more horsemen and certain laborers with the responsibility of ensuring that no one escaped from the corral and he left for Zacualpa, from where he returned two days later with 500 indigenous prisoners, among whom there were Women and children. Pilar asked some of her companions how things had gone and they replied: "the lord and the principals all left in peace, we surrounded them and brought them prisoners, and more than two thousand souls of our friendly Indians have died." The indigenous people captured in Xalisco realized that the intention of the conquerors was to take them in that condition to Aztatlán and upon seeing the preparations to embark on the departure, they escaped. The Spanish tried to avoid it, they pursued them and only managed to hold 200 men and as many women and children. Gonzalo López, as a form of retaliation, sentenced the governor of Xalisco to the stake and left him in ashes, while his soldiers marked the captive indigenous people with the scarlet iron of slavery. According to García del Pilar, a thousand slaves were shod, and tied with ropes and chains, they took the road. By the twelfth day of the march, almost all the children and some adults had died. Aztatlán was empty, Nuño de Guzmán and his troops preferred to move to Chiametla, but without packing, so that Gonzalo López's prisoners could transport him. Once everyone was reunited with Nuño de Guzmán, the slaves of Xalisco and Ahuacatlán were distributed among the conquistadors. Some got ten, others four, some more sold them and from each transaction they gave a peso of tax to the royal treasury. Upon setting out again towards Culiacán, they left the province "ravaged and at war", according to the adjectives that García del

Pilar used.¹²⁸ The episode told by García del Pilar was the first act, surely, in the long script of the history of slavery in the lands of Nueva Galicia.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 233.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 233-235.

And this first act took place on the coast, like those that followed in those first years. From then on, enslaving indigenous people became a recurring practice throughout New Galicia. On January 26, 1533, Nuño de Guzmán sent a letter to his captain Diego de Proaño, mayor of Culiacán, and among other points authorized him to organize lightning expeditions to capture slaves. He specified that the captain of that day could keep two hundred slaves, each member of the Cabildo must be given one hundred slaves, between ten and twenty for each resident of Culiacán and eighty slaves for Guzmán's servants.¹²⁹ And the same logic prevailed in each of the Spanish towns. There are still, in the Archive of the Indies, some records of the slave activity of Nuño de Guzmán in Nueva Galicia between 1535 and 1537. From April 1535 to July 1536 the Banderas Valley was the main scene of this activity. At that time, nine entries were officially registered and more than a thousand slaves were captured. Slaving expeditions were also organized to the Conytle valley, the Mascota valley, the Catoalpa valley, the area of Chacala, Comitlán, Matanchén and Xaltemba, towards Ahuacatlán, Guxácal and Etzatlán, but there are also records of slave capture in Culiacán, Tonalá and Huentitán. And although it was an activity practiced in the surroundings of the five Spanish towns, it must be emphasized that the majority of slaves, in these years of Nuño de Guzmán's government, were made on the coast. The books of the Royal Treasury of Nueva Galicia recorded the capture of nearly five thousand slaves in a period of two years (1535 and 1536).¹³⁰ How many were captured in the previous five years? There are no known records of this and we will probably never know. But at least we can add to the sum the two thousand that García del Pilar observed were made during the campaign of conquest.

¹²⁹ AGI, Justice 121, N. 1, R. 4.

¹³⁰ AGI, Justice 337, pages. 88-90.

THE FIRST REGIONALIZATION (1530-1570)

Salvador Álvarez, El Colegio de Michoacán

THE FIRST GEOGRAPHY OF A NEW BORDER PROVINCE

If at the time of entering the lands of the Teúles-Chichimecas, Nuño de Guzmán's purpose had really been to "populate" the new territories, in the strict sense of the term, the choice of sites for the founding of his first Spanish villas would certainly have been very different. The chronicles of the 1529-1530 expedition show that, at the time of contact, the old province of Xalisco, where Compostela was founded, was one of the most densely populated and best supplied with agricultural, gathering and hunting goods in that part of the world. But it was also a hot, humid and extremely mountainous province, where the Spanish would hardly have found either the climate or the type of land necessary for their way of life. The land was full of dense jungles, marshes, swamps and mighty rivers, making it very difficult to navigate, especially on horseback. In addition to everything, it was occupied by rebellious and even ferocious aborigines, like the famous Texcoquines, who, protected by their environment, resisted the conquest for decades. And yet, it was there that Nuño de Guzmán decided to stay and establish the headquarters of his new government.

Unlike the so-called province of Xalisco, the one that the expeditioners called the province of Coima might have been a better choice for them. This covered the great corridor that makes up the northern end of the

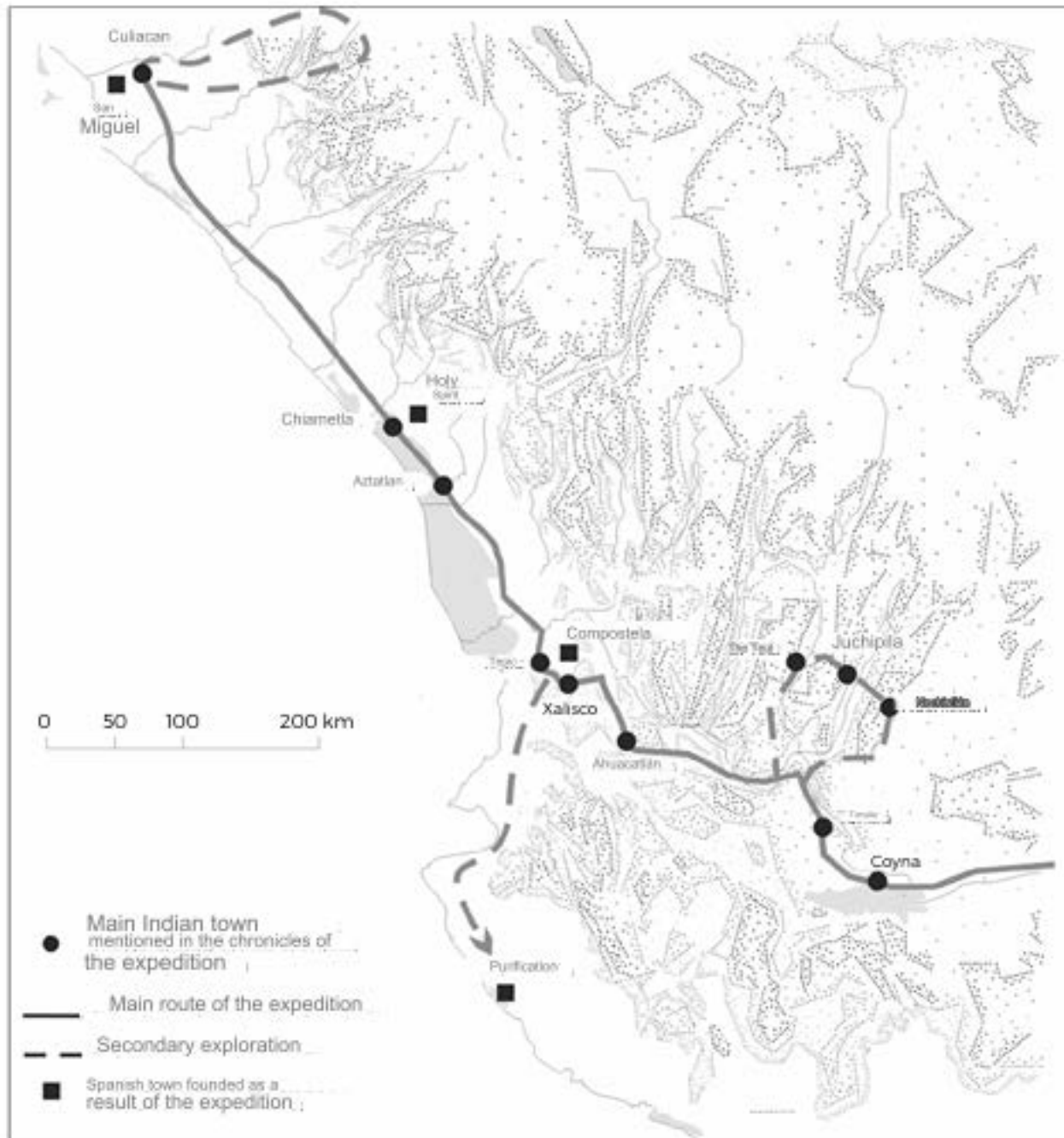
¹ See, for example, Cristobal Flores, "Relation of the day that Nuño de Guzmán to Nueva Galicia", in *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of New Galicia in the territory of New Spain*, compiled by José Luis Razo Zaragoza (Guadalajara: IAH / Guadalajara City Council / INAH, 1963), p. 210.

Neovolcanic Axis, from the vicinity of the great Lake of Chapala, to the vicinity of the Ceboruco volcano, running parallel to the Rio Grande ravine, on the southern side. It is a long succession of flat valleys, alternating with short mountain ranges, which end where the Neovolcanic Axis comes into contact with the northernmost portion of the Sierra Madre del Sur and the southernmost portion of the Sierra Madre Occidental. Without being strictly flat, this intermediate zone offered the Spaniards a relatively pleasant environment, with easier transit and dotted with good alluvial lands, where it would have been possible for them to settle more easily and perhaps develop, little by little, a way of life closer to the one they had always known in Spain. Furthermore, it was a region that at the time of contact was well populated by groups of relatively advanced village farmers, capable of providing the Spaniards with everything necessary to survive, both in labor and agricultural products. But despite all this, the Spanish initially ignored that area and it would not be until much later, as we will see, that complex circumstances would lead them to take advantage of those parts, much more favorable to them. The explanation for this is related to the ambitions of Nuño de Guzmán, who wanted to obtain the marquisate of Tonalá, in clear imitation of Cortés, and discouraged the Spanish from settling in that part.

We see that, in the end, the spatial distribution of the first five Spanish foundations in New Galicia was a result, and reflection at the same time, of the central objective pursued by the expedition of the Teúles-Chichimecas: the exploration of the northwest part of the New World. In fact, both Cortés and Guzmán saw the Pacific coast as a gateway to the rich kingdoms that they imagined hidden in the great northern unknown land, but their strategies for exploration and the creation of new establishments were different. While Cortés had, from the beginning, the necessary means to undertake the construction of deep-sea ships in New Spain itself and organize from there the maritime exploration of the South Sea,² in contrast, Guzmán, lacking those means, directed all his efforts towards terrestrial exploration. This explains why four of its first five towns (San Miguel de Culiacán, Espíritu Santo, Compostela and Purificación) were located near the Pacific coastline; but, unlike places like Zacatula and Colima, which were once used by Cortés as shipyards and seaports, none of the first establishments

² Woodrow Borah, "Hernán Cortés and his maritime interests in the Pacific, Peru and Baja California", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 4 (1971).

LETTER 1. THE EXPEDITION OF NUÑO DE GUZMÁN
AND THE FIRST VILLAGES FOUNDED IN NEW GALICIA



Neo-Galician foundations came to acquire these functions. Not even Purificación, whose original location was along the coast, ever served as a window to the sea and partly for this reason, shortly after, the town was moved to the inland lands.

We then have a well-defined pattern presiding over the location of the new foundations and from which only one of them, Guadalajara, completely departed, although this was due to a very particular circumstance: control

of a supposed and imagined route towards the Atlantic coasts. The location of these new foundations, arising not from a population impulse itself, but from the logic of exploration, also ends up determining, to a large extent, the future functioning of the nascent Neo-Galician society. From that early period and for a long time to come, the conquerors had to content themselves with maintaining, more by force than by degree, in their precarious and defensive locations, in the face of the growing contrary reaction of the local Indians. It is interesting to note how, in such a context, the conquerors did not even remotely choose to concentrate and become strong together with their Indian allies in one or two places close to each other. Instead, they spread out, putting a lot of land between these fragile outposts. Only one of them - curiously, the most distant and isolated, that is, Culiacán - achieved a certain stability, thus becoming an absolutely unique case in this context. However, everything was due to the fact that, given its remoteness and since its founding, Guzmán tried to ensure that the place remained populated:

Here he founded a town called the town of Señor San Miguel; Fifty horsemen and fifty pawns remained in it; There were many cattle, mares and sheep and pigs left to raise. ³

Even, to reinforce the settlement of the new town, he ordered that many of the friendly Indians who had accompanied him there be forcibly remained in the place, dedicated to the service and defense of the Spanish neighbors:

Leaving in this town, with his license and consent, a large part of the Indians of this land that he had brought with him to help him wage war, in payment for their good service and work after two years spent walking along the roads and mountains [...] he left them in this town among its neighbors, as free people, made slaves chained by the neck and others in stocks, so that they would not come after us.⁴

This crude procedure was ultimately effective, because despite its prolonged and absolute isolation, the town not only did not disappear, but

³ Chronicles of the Conquest, "Relation of the conquest of the Chichimeca teúles given by the emergency captain Juan de Sámano", p. 151.

⁴ Chronicles of the Conquest, "Relation of the journey that Nuño de Guzmán made to Nueva Galicia, written by the captain of Cristóbal Flores", p. 209.

It managed to consolidate itself as a Spanish bastion in the most remote part of the New Indies known until then. What happened in San Miguel did not happen with any of the other Neo-Galician foundations of that period, whose initial settlement was not consolidated by the massive presence of friendly Indians from the center of New Spain: that was the great secret of Culiacán.

Thanks to this, it was possible for the first residents of San Miguel to more effectively pacify the local aboriginal populations and it was most likely that context of relative peace that allowed the newly arrived Indians, like the aboriginal populations, to resist with some success the blow of epidemics. The above remains a topic to be investigated, but it is clear that, in the rest of New Galicia, the effects of wars and epidemics were much more overwhelming than in Culiacán. Such was the case of the provinces located immediately south of Culiacán, that is, those of Aztatlán and Chiametla, where, in 1535, a great epidemic, followed by a violent rebellion of the local Indians, forced the Spanish not only to abandon the town of Espíritu Santo, but to withdraw from that vast region, which from now on would remain for them an almost inaccessible land of war.

Starting in 1535, the town of Culiacán would become a true remote enclave of Nueva Galicia, separated from the rest of the governorate and condemned to lead a life of isolation, self-sufficiency and a certain stability as well. His case is exemplary, as it allows us to show the absolute dependence that the Spanish settlements of this time had on the presence of Indian auxiliaries from the center of New Spain, as a factor of population and demographic stability. Without their presence in sufficient numbers, the survival of the Spanish foundations of New Galicia always hung by a thread, all the more so since the circumstances of their initial location condemned them to a life of isolation and narrowness. Let us remember that at that time there was no direct road, much less suitable for being traveled on horseback, that linked the Spanish towns to each other, so any attempt at communication or exchange that was attempted between them was not possible except at the price of organizing painful and risky expeditions.

THE CONQUERING HOSTS AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE PROVINCE

One might wonder why, given the isolated conditions in which they lived and without having access, at least immediately, to any product that was truly valuable to them, those conquerors insisted on remaining in those places.

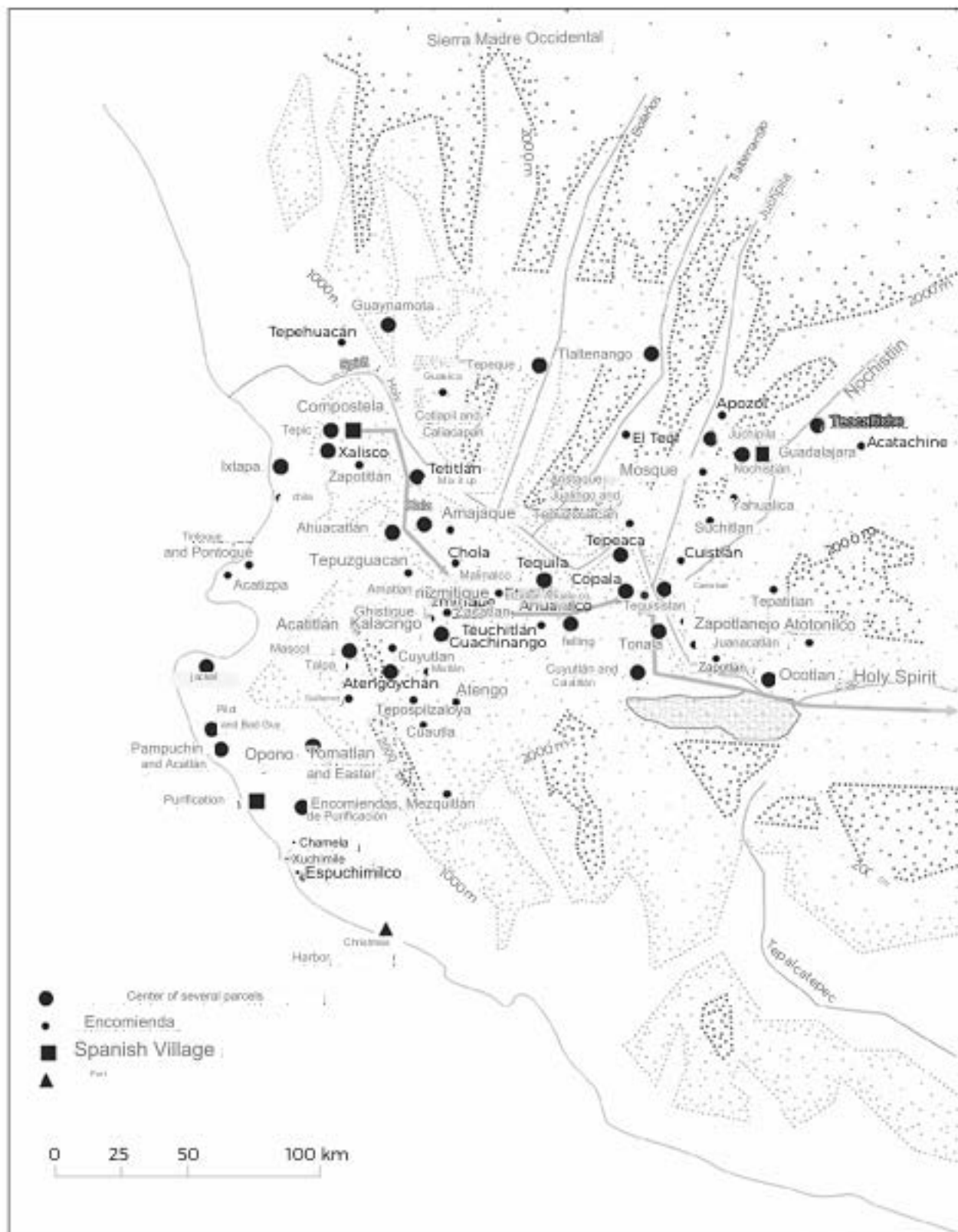
so remote, difficult and dangerous. There were two main reasons. The first, the hope of one day resuming the race for new discoveries; and the second, the future enjoyment of the encomiendas that the majority of them had been granted. And, during his administration at the head of Nueva Galicia, Nuño de Guzmán distributed more than 120 Indian towns in encomienda among the members of his expedition, not counting the more than 60 also granted in Culiacán during that period.

As was usual in all conquests, the distribution of these grants followed a strictly hierarchical pattern, which responded to the typical and specific composition of the conquering hosts. These were organized under the model of the old companies or medieval companies of commerce and war, which were in turn the organizational model of the private hosts in the Spanish Reconquista. These were groups that were formed around one or several captains or war chiefs, usually rich people with military hierarchy, who provided weapons, transportation and tools to groups of adventurers who, in exchange for all this, were placed under their command to achieve a specific warrior objective. It was also possible that several of these particular hosts, already previously constituted, were placed under the command and protection of a major chief, for the organization of a war enterprise or, as in the case at hand, conquest. Tradition stated that, although the members of these particular hosts preserved their internal hierarchies, at the same time they were obliged to help each other and, above all, to respect the authority of whoever served as captain general of the campaign. In the long run, within these types of organizations, bonds of subordination and loyalty ended up being established with respect to their bosses, which sometimes lasted for the rest of their lives and were often transmitted even for several generations, as will be seen later in the case of Nueva Galicia.⁵

It was hosts of the type mentioned above that carried out, for example, the conquest of the Canary Islands, and it was also under that model that the host that accompanied Cortés to the conquest of the Mexica was formed, as Silvio clearly showed. Zavala in both cases. Several private troops also participated in Guzmán's army; among them, for example, the captained

⁵ See, for example, Demetrio Ramos Pérez, *Formative determinants of the Indian host and its exemplary origin* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Jurídica, 1965). Silvio Zavala, *Private interests in the conquest of New Spain: historical-legal study* (Madrid: Palomeque, 1933); Silvio Zavala, "The conquests of the Canary Islands and America. Comparative Study", in *Indian Studies* (Mexico: El Colegio Nacional, 1948), 6.

LETTER 2. ENCOMIENDAS AND VILLAS OF SPANISH IN NEW GALICIA
DURING THE PERIOD OF NUÑO DE GUZMÁN



by Juan Fernández de Híjar, the same one who was in charge of founding the town of Purificación. This captain, belonging to a family of rich peninsular men (the lords of Riglos, in Aragon, descendants of James I of Aragon), had originally arrived in New Spain with Cortés. However, he separated from the conqueror of the Aztecs to join, together with his followers, weapons and horses, the expedition of the Teúles-Chichimecas, within which he occupied a prominent place in the military hierarchy from very early on.

It is interesting to highlight how the life of Juan Fernández de Híjar would henceforth be closely linked to Purificación. However, even more than with the settlement of the town as such, it was the encomiendas that were granted in the region to the captain and the members of his host that originated the most powerful and lasting link with that distant province. Among the most significant of these encomiendas were those granted directly to Fernández de Híjar, among them, Pampuchin, Acatlán and Tepeltlacaltitlan, which were the first, followed a little later by Tomatlán, Pascua, Mezquitlán and Tecomatlán. Towns such as Xuchimile and Curuel were also given to Juan de Alместo, Tintoque to Alonso Álvarez de Espinoza,¹⁰ Chila to Juan Sánchez, and Chacala and Acasuchiles to Alonso Valiente;¹² all of them members of the same host.

⁷ Jesús Amaya Topete, *The conquistadors Fernández de Híjar and Bracamonte. Bio-geographical essay* (Guadalajara, Government of Jalisco, 1952); Jesús Amaya Topete, *Ameca: Mexican proto-foundation: history of property in the Ameca Valley Jalisco and surrounding area* (Mexico: Lumen, 1951), appendix, p. 59.

⁸ The three oldest are mentioned as such in the tax assessments of New Galicia made in 1578, but all the details are about what they can get after the debut of the conquête: AGI, Contaduría 859, Tributo del medio peso, Appraisal from 1578; Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 60; Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Sancta Provincia de Xalisco*, book 2, vol. 2 (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1968), p. 30; Jaime Olveda, "The colonization of the southern coast of New Galicia", *Estudios Jaliscienses* 16 (1994): 43.

⁹ Peter Gerhard, *The north frontier of New Spain* (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), p. 119.

¹⁰ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, p. 141.

¹¹ Mariano González Leal, ed., *Secret relationship of conquerors. Reports from the personal archive of Emperor Carlos I that is preserved in the Escorial library, years 1539-1542* (Guanajuato: University of Guanajuato, 1979), <<Memory of the residents of Compostela>>, p. 91.

¹² Ibid., "Neighbors of Xalisco", p. 79; Ibid., "Memory of the residents of Compostela", p. 91.

In the case of Guadalajara we see another particular host in action, also formed before the beginning of the Teúles-Chichimecas expedition, that is, the one originally led by Miguel de Ibarra. This was a captain originally from the town of Eibar, in Guipúzcoa, belonging to a family of old servants and allies of the Velasco, who were among the most powerful noble clans in Castile. Miguel's father, Diego de Ibarra, had fought under the orders of Íñigo Fernández de Velasco, constable of Castile, when he was captain general of Guipúzcoa, and it was certainly that family and war closeness that allowed him to Miguel de Ibarra arrived in the New Indies as the owner of his own ships. In Pánuco, Ibarra met Nuño de Guzmán and very quickly both characters teamed up to establish an active slave trade to Cuba and Hispaniola. Then, already within the ranks of the Teúles-Chichimecas expedition, we found at the side of Miguel de Ibarra another war captain called Cristóbal de Oñate, who was originally from the town of the same name in Guipúzcoa, located about twenty kilometers from the aforementioned town of Eibar. This character had arrived in New Spain as assistant to the accountant of the Royal Treasury of New Spain, Rodrigo de Albornoz, and his brother Juan of the same surname and his nephews Vicente and Juan de Zaldívar Oñate came with him.¹³

Although they did not arrive together in New Spain, given the proximity of their birthplaces, it is very likely that Ibarra and the Oñate shared a common family and warrior past in the service of the Velasco. It is not strange, then, that once under the orders of Guzmán, they associated to form a particular host. However, as we will see later, the interesting thing about this particular group is that it would establish within itself a very close relationship, both personally and between families, which would last many decades and would lead them to participate together in expeditions, discoveries and numerous campaigns. The homogeneity of this group was immediately reflected in the primitive organization of the town of Guadalajara, from the short period in which it was located in Nochistlán. Well, like Fernández de Híjar and his circle of captains in Purificación, or perhaps even more intensely, the members of the Ibarra-Oñate host took over numerous encomiendas in the region around the first and second towns of Guadalajara. So, for example, John

¹³ Jesús Amaya Topete, "Conquest and settlement of Sinaloa", in *Historical Studies of Sinaloa*, ed. by Antonio Pompa y Pompa, *Memorias series and magazine of the Mexican Congress of History 1* (Mexico: Mexican Congress of History, 1960), p. 88.

de Oñate, brother of Cristóbal, became encomendero of El Teúl;" Miguel de Ibarra acquired Nochistlán; and Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, nephew of Cristóbal de Oñate, was encomendero of Tepatitlán, Atlemacapuli and Acatlán. 15

The previous scheme, where we see how the founding of each of the first towns of New Galicia was, from its origins, associated with the activity of very specific groups of conquerors, associated in the form of particular hosts, was also repeated. In the case of Compostela, the provincial capital.

There, the most marked difference with respect to the other towns derived simply from the fact that the head of the founding host was Nuño de Guzmán himself. Being the captain general of the party, he immediately reserved the most populous and best supplied of the towns discovered in that region, that is, Tepic, and with it his subjects, which were all the towns on the banks of the river. Tepique, that is, the Santiago or Grande de Nuestra Señora. 16 In addition to his large self-assigned commission, Guzmán granted another of the most important towns in the region, Xalisco, to Cristóbal de Oñate, whom he had named mayor of Compostela. Other beneficiaries in this region were Alonso Álvarez de Espinoza, who received Guayacán;" Juan de Villalba, his former chief sheriff in Pánuco, received Cuitlán, Ixtapa and Jaljocotlán;¹⁷ and his old notary, Pedro Ruiz de Haro, Apetatauca and Matatlicpac. 19 As

we pointed out, there were more than 120 Indian towns distributed by Guzmán, which means that a large part of the members of the original expedition and others who arrived later ended up becoming Indian lords. But something equally or more important than the rights and taxes associated with the encomienda was that, within this nascent colonial society, the acquisition of

¹⁴ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, p. 101.

¹⁵ González Leal, *Secret relationship of conquerors*, p. 88; Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, pp. 122 and 192; Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *The Primordial Audience of New Galicia 1548-1572: Response to Juan de Ovando's questionnaire by the oidor Miguel de Contreras y Guevara* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Cultural Ignacio Dávila Garibi / National Chamber of Commerce of Guadalajara, 1994), p. 286; Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 136-137.

¹⁶ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, p. 140. The testimony of the taking over of Tepic and the towns on its riverbank by Nuño de Guzmán appears in the trial that followed him in Spain after his exile from the Indies in AGI, Justicia 339.

¹⁷ González Leal, *Secret relationship of conquerors*, p. 91.

¹⁸ Ibid., "Memory of the residents of Compostela", p. 91; Ibid., "Pobladores encomenderos", p. 57.

¹⁹ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, "Reason for the encomienda certificates", p. 285.

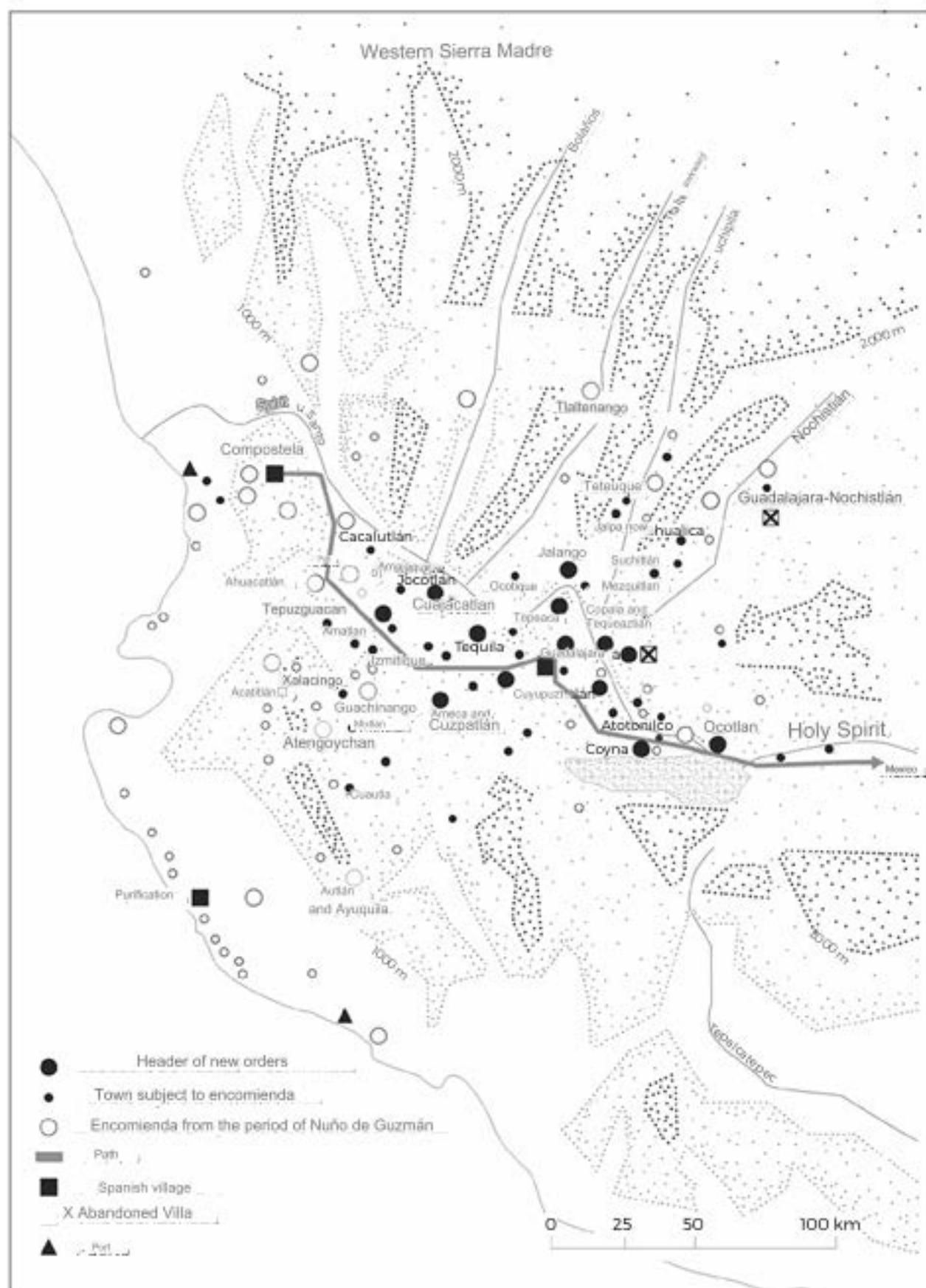
This type of grant implied the full confirmation of neighborhood rights, with all its attached privileges. This meant priority and preeminence not only over the work of the Indians and the use of local resources, but also for access to all types of positions and positions in government and justice. For this reason, as Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra emphasized at the time, in many places in the Indies the status of neighbor was for a long time reserved for local encomenderos, that is, the encomendero was the neighbor par excellence, while that the rest of the Spanish inhabitants received the status of domiciled or shelves. ²⁰ It is not surprising, then, that the new settlers always fought to preserve and perpetuate their encomienda rights and that this gave that institution a certain vitality in the context of New Galicia.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCE AFTER NUÑO DE GUZMÁN

In 1536, New Galicia experienced its first major crisis, derived from the arrest and exile of its founder, Nuño de Guzmán. Various accusations weighed against him, many of them relating to the justice of the wars waged against the aborigines since 1529, as well as the exactions committed by the encomenderos on their respective Indians and their reduction to slavery. But despite all that, at the end of the process, the institution of the encomienda as such not only came out well, but was even reinforced in Nueva Galicia. Guzmán's replacements, Diego Pérez de la Torre, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Cristóbal de Oñate himself, during their various interim terms, ratified many of the encomienda rights previously granted and granted new grants of this type. One of the areas where the most rights were granted was what we have called here the central mountainous plateau of Nueva Galicia, south of the Rio Grande ravine. In that area, towns such as Ahuacatlán, Xala, Amajaque, Guachinango, Tequila, Atengoychán, Ameca, Guajacatlán, Ocotlán and others were linked during that period.

Without a doubt, the defense of the rights obtained and especially those of encomienda, became the factor that most contributed to the permanence of the conquerors in the government and to avoiding their depopulation, at a time

²⁰ Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, *Indian Politics*, Library of Spanish Authors series, numbers. 252-256 (Madrid: Atlas, 1972), book 2, chap. 20, v. 1, no. 54, p. 338 and book 3, chap. 27, no. 6, v. 2 P. 316.

LETTER 3. COMMENDATIONS GRANTED
BY PÉREZ DE LA TORRE Y CORONADO

when the situation had become extremely precarious. In 1538, for example, the then governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado wrote a highly revealing report to the Crown about the state of the province. We see how, less than a decade after the first European arrival in the area, the local indigenous population was already in full decline, war was taking over everywhere and the Spanish establishments were on the verge of abandonment. Among other things, Coronado reported that of the thirty original neighbors-encomenderos of Compostela, only ten kept a house in that town; And for the governor, the reason for the exodus was found in the fact that the local Indians, being at war, did not deliver any tribute, neither in product nor in work, to their encomenderos:

In the region of this city of Compostela there are thirty repartimientos entrusted to its neighbors and there are only ten houses in this entire city because the neighbors have not wanted to reside, some saying that the Indians who have repartimientos are at war and the others that they do not give them any benefit.²¹

This was a general scenario throughout the governorate. Two years before, the town Purificación had been on the verge of falling into the hands of the Indians and while Therefore, the town of Guadalajara, in its new location of Tlacotlán, suffered of the siege of the local Indians. In short, after the departure of Nuño de Guzmán and the periods of Diego Pérez de la Torre and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the colonial settlement of New Galicia made very little progress due to the precarious number of Spaniards, the decline in the population local aboriginal and the generalized state of war. Of course, no new Spanish town or settlement of importance was founded at that time.

Curiously, Guzmán's departure would end up contributing a little to the strengthening of the weak Spanish demographics of New Galicia, by opening the door to the arrival of new war captains, accompanied by their respective private hosts. In turn, this would cause the governorate to also begin to extend its territory, but not through new foundations, but directly through the exploration of unknown regions. We have an example of what began to happen then in the case of Diego Hernández de Proaño, a character linked to the high spheres of New Spain, as he was the nephew of Diego de Proaño, former sheriff of New Spain at the time.

²¹ Artur S. Aiton, "Coronado's first report on the government of Nueva Galicia," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 19 (1939): 311-312.

of Ponce de León and later councilor of Mexico City.²² As soon as he settled in New Galicia, the first thing that Hernández de Proaño did was put together a small expedition to venture into the region of the Sierra Madre Occidental, beyond the Rio Grande ravine. In reality, he did not get very far, but his prospecting allowed him to locate the ravine of the Tepeque River (today known as Bolaños) and, upon his return, claim that nine towns be assigned to him in encomienda and along with them all the rancherías and ranches of Indians located on that river course.²³ This assignment was shared by Proaño with Hernán Martel, another captain recently arrived in Nueva Galicia, probably his relative and with whom he would establish a very long-term relationship, as we will see later.²⁴ Proaño also requested that he be granted an encomienda with all the Indian inhabitants of a vast, entirely unexplored region, located between the town of Tlaltenango and the Sierra Madre to the north of it, where he had about twenty towns.²⁵

In the same way that the region of the Tepeque River and the mountains located to the east and north of it were assigned to New Galicia through the Proaño encomienda, other distant regions were formally and figuratively incorporated into New Galicia by that same means. This was the case of another captain who had recently arrived in the province, Toribio de Bolaños, who obtained the encomienda of Jalpa, which included nine other unknown towns but considered subjects of the previous one, all located beyond the Rio Grande ravine. He also obtained another twenty towns subject to Tlaltenango in encomienda and as if that were not enough, the entire region located between Tlaltenango and Guaynamota was given as a bond, according to his encomienda document.²⁶ So imprecise and, at

22 Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *The government of Mexico City in the 16th century*, *Historia novohispana* series 31 (Mexico: UNAM-Institute of Historical Research, 1982), p. 81.

23 Guanusco, Joacala, Cuaymala, Tabasco, Centatiche, Tepoista, Tepeuque, Guajaca and Tenanguen. Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 79; Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *The Primigenia Audiencia*, p. 288.

24 Robert Himmerich y Valencia, *The encomenderos of New Spain, 1521-1555* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), p. 155; Atanasio G. Saravia, *Apuntes for the history of Nueva Vizcaya* 25 (Mexico: UNAM, 1978), vol. 1 p. 87.

Arabaltica, Catetique, Hojaloca, Coibetan, Cenepaltán, Catamajaque, Ochijina-que, Comacamotlán, Teteyuca, Haji, Asquestán, Coltitlán, Pocotique, Nochistiqué, Taste, Yuca, Guajoltitlán, Tenaque, Tenango and Bicolique. *Ibid.*; Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, "Reason for the encomienda certificates", pp. 285-289.

26 Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, "Reason for the encomienda certificates", p. 285.

At the same time, so extensive was this dominion imagined over inhabitants of unknown lands, that the Indians of the unknown region of Guaynamota had two encomenderos at the same time: Alonso de Castañeda, 27 who later also obtained Guaynamota; 28 and Francisco Rojo, to whom "the towns of Cora" were entrusted, within which the region of Guaynamota was supposed to be included. 29

The attribution of encomiendas in distant regions, unexplored and at that time, practically inaccessible to the Spaniards, could seem to be the product of acts that were more symbolic than real, and they were. However, it would be worth reflecting on the fact that, in the initially subjugated areas of New Galicia, the power and tangible and concrete benefits that the encomenderos enjoyed were often neither much more concrete nor more tangible than those claimed by Proaño or Bolaños in their distant missions. At that time, the Spanish had practically not yet opened their own farms in New Galicia, so that all their sustenance and labor needs had to come directly from the tribute. But the big problem was the lack of real control over local aboriginal societies and the absence, therefore, of a stable taxation system. Only the main war captains were in a position to obtain goods and manpower, but only by acting by force and against societies that were still capable of actively resisting and through war, with consequences such as those experienced by the towns of Purificación, Compostela or Guadalajara.

Things were at that point, when events arose that would have enormous consequences for the life of the province. The first was the beginning, in January 1540, of the great expedition in search of the famous Seven Cities of Gold of Cibola and Quivira, commanded by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Regardless of its results in the field of exploration, the start of this expedition meant for New Galicia a true drain of Spanish settlers, which further weakened its precarious colonial establishments. What happened next is well known. Too weak to contain the attacks of the war Indians, especially in the area beyond the Rio Grande ravine, the town of Guadalajara (already located in

27 Encomendero also of Apetatauca and Mataticpac (both near Ixtapa, on the Pacific coast). Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 289.

29 González Leal, *Secret relationship of conquerors*, p. 91; Thomas Hillerkuss, comp., *Documentalia del sur de Jalisco* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / INAH, 1994), p. 115.

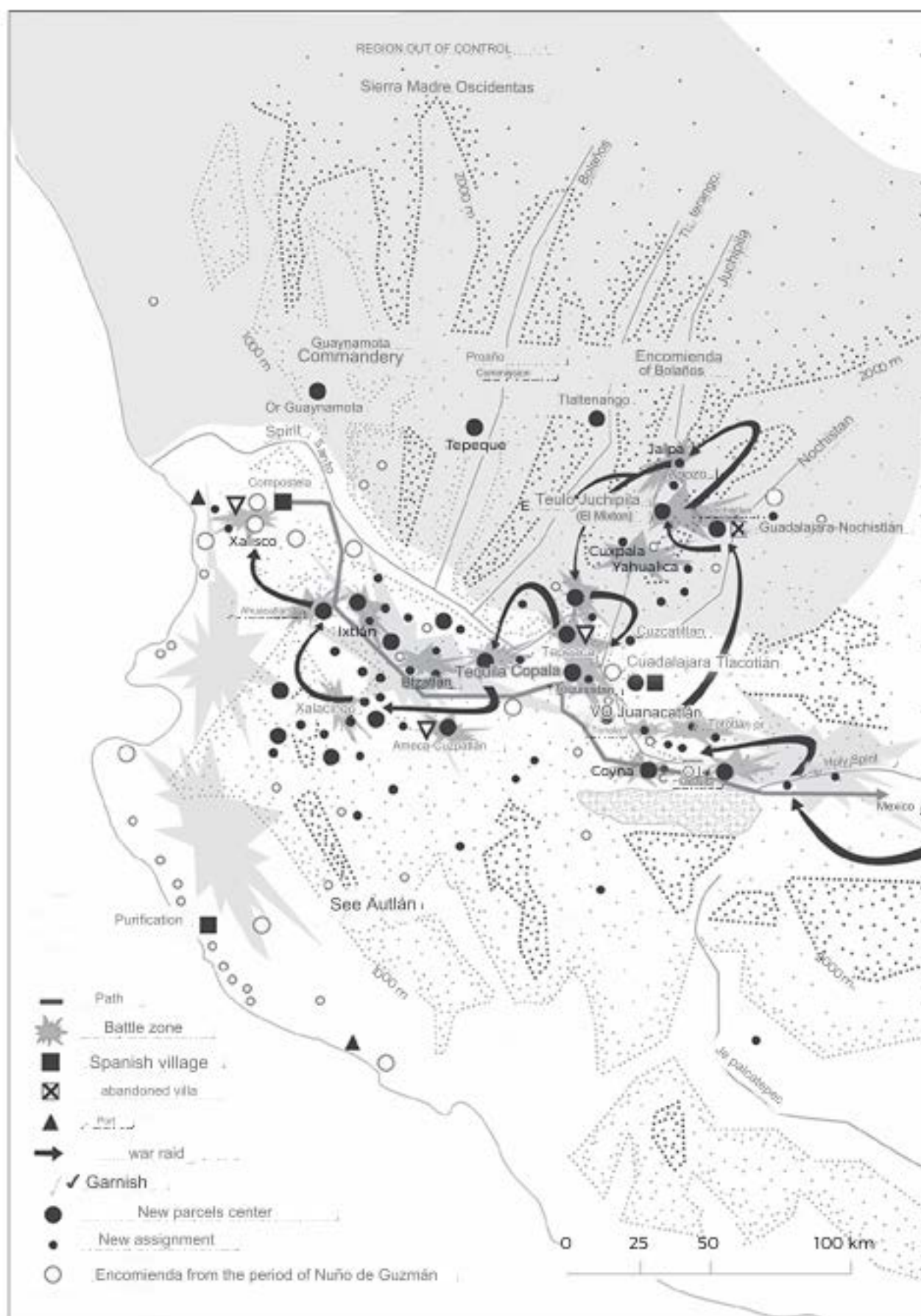


Tlacotlán) becomes besieged. Then, in an attempt to help the Spanish, Commander Pedro de Alvarado dies and the news of these events causes such terror throughout New Spain that Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza decides to personally go to pacify the land. To this end, he assembled an imposing army composed of more than three hundred well-mounted and armed Spaniards, supported by a huge contingent of friendly Mexican Indians, whose number has been calculated at more than 50,000 troops. We will not elaborate here on the events of that war, which have already been widely studied. However, it is worth mentioning that, in the stories about the so-called Mixtón War, it is frequently forgotten that, once the Indian towns beyond the ravine had been razed and crushed, the enormous host led by Mendoza did not disperse. Far from it, he continued moving through practically all of New Galicia, literally crushing town after town of Indians and persecuting and reducing all the warring people he found in his path, as the itinerary of letter 5 can illustrate.

The catastrophe that fell upon the aboriginal societies of New Galicia, as a result of the presence of Mendoza's enormous army, has not been sufficiently evaluated or considered in historiography. However, the fact is that when that epic ended, the state of the province and, in particular, that of the local indigenous societies was completely different. The sources of war were extinguished and soon the entire area of the central plateau of New Galicia was practically reduced to peace. One of the drivers of this transformation was the massive transfer to Nueva Galicia of thousands of friendly Indians, mainly Nahuatl speakers, who were permanently settled in the old Indian towns of the governorate, next to the aboriginal populations. This reinforced the demography of the governorate, thus supporting the settlement of the main Spanish settlements, but at the same time, it began a process of profound changes within the local aboriginal societies. Perhaps the most violent and profound of all was the rapid Nahuatlization of the Indian towns of New Galicia, so much so that, by the 1580s, most of them had lost their original language, while Nahuatl was imposed as the *lingua franca* throughout the region.³⁰ All of this facilitated the subsequent pacification of the central part of the governorate, in

³⁰ René Acuña, ed., *Geographic relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia*, Anthropological series 65 (Mexico: UNAM-Instituto de Ciencias Antropológicas, 1988). See, for example, the Ameca relations, p. 27; Cuasalapa, p. 79; Compostela, pp. 83-85; Tlaltenango, p. 145; Nochistlán, p. 168; Purification, p. 206; Pampuchín, p. 208, among other possible ones.

LETTER 5. VICEROY MENDOZA'S CAMPAIGN



where Spanish establishments were never again truly threatened with disappearance. Thus, for the first time since their arrival in those lands, the colonizers could consider themselves as dominators over the local aboriginal societies, while they entered into a process of acute sociodemographic changes with irreversible consequences.

We have a first clear indicator of the extent to which this new balance of forces favored the Spanish neighbors in the fact that the majority of them began to abandon their establishments from the time of Nuño de Guzmán, to head towards the central mountainous plateau. Neo-Galician. The town of Guadalajara was removed from its old site in Tlacotlán and was refounded in what would be its definitive location in the Atemajac valley, becoming in a very short time the numerically most important Spanish town in the province.³² As we know, in 1548 a governing audience was established in New Galicia, in Compostela, which made Guadalajara its residence in 1560,³³ and the same thing happened with the bishopric of New Galicia, whose creation process also began around those same years. One of the first tasks undertaken by the brand new Governing Court was the preparation of a series of reports on the state of the province, and among the most unique and informative documents that were the result of that work is the famous Painting or letter of New Galicia, from 1550.³⁴ This was prepared by order of the visitor Hernán Martínez de la Marcha, in order to show the authorities in Mexico and Madrid the distribution and general geographical location of the province and argue through it about the convenience of moving the capital of the province from Compostela to Guadalajara. Likewise, an attempt was made to clarify what the limits could be between what would be the future bishopric of New Galicia, and that of Michoacán of New Spain, under whose custody the province had remained until then.

³¹ We have analyzed this issue more extensively in Salvador Álvarez, *El indio y la Sociedad Colonial Norteña, Centuries XVI-XVIII* (Durango: UJED-Institute of Historical Research / El Colegio de Michoacán, 2009).

³² The bishopric of Guadalajara was erected by bull of Paul III, dated July 13, 1548. The first head of the diocese, Pedro Gómez de Maraver, made Guadalajara the royal seat of his bishopric, a situation that was not favorably sanctioned by the papacy until 1560. Carmen Castañeda, "The archives of Guadalajara", *Historia Mexicana* 24, no. 97 (July-September 1975): 143.

³³ See, in this work, «In the service of the king and God: institutionalization in the century XVI», by Celina G. Becerra Jiménez. 34

See, in this work, "An unavoidable actor: Between mountains and basins", by Thomas Calvo and Paulina Machuca, map 2, p. 38.

Analyzed in detail, this unique graphic creation allows us to understand more clearly what was the vision that the Neo-Galician neighbors themselves had developed about the geography of their province. However, like many other ancient cartographic expressions, the Painting presents visual elements that, for the modern reader, deserve some explanation. The first is that this letter does not follow the principle, generally accepted today, of using a single scale. The reason is that the Painting was expressly conceived to circumscribe the entire Neo-Galician territory within a rectangular and symmetrical space, creating a composition where the region considered by the Spaniards at that time as the heart of their province is privileged and visually highlighted: the great central neo-Galician mountainous plateau. The reconstitution and cartographic interpretation that we have made of the Painting of 1550 on a modern chart background (see chart 6 below), allows us to appreciate how that region occupies the entire middle part of the Painting and extends over a much larger space, than that which would correspond to a cartographic representation built on a single scale. The fact that the so-called province of Ávalos appears equally magnified and that it constitutes a kind of extension of central Nueva Galicia, despite being jurisdictionally separated, is still significant. In fact, the jurisdictional separation appears indicated in the Painting, but only by means of a particular sign, in this case, the crosses are seen on the drawings of small houses, which indicate the existence of a town, whether of Indians or of Spaniards. The places marked with crosses are those that would be subject to the jurisdiction of New Spain and therefore to that of the bishopric of Michoacán. It was then enough to join these symbols by means of a dotted line to outline the line of demarcation between the two bishoprics, as it had been defined at that time. The

idea expressed in the Painting of making the province of Ávalos an extension of New Galicia was not gratuitous. In addition to its proximity, the Geomorphology supported that perception. From that point of view, it would be difficult to establish the existence of some kind of natural border clearly separating mind what we have called here the central neo-Galician plateau (and within the southern part of the Lake Chapala basin) of the inter-lacustrine corridor, montane located between the Sierra de Tapalpa, El Tigre and the high parts of the basins of the Atoyac, Sayula and Tamazula rivers, which corresponds, roughly speaking, to the so-called province of Avalos. These are two portions of somewhat different in terms of their origins and geomorphological characteristics, but which They are still contiguous, with easy transit between them, with similar topographies and

very similar in terms of their territorial resources.³⁵ It is not strange then that the Spaniards themselves saw these two portions of territory as part of the same and unique group. Let us also remember that their jurisdictional separation came only from the fact that the original *encomienda* grants over the so-called towns of Ávalos were given by Hernán Cortés and not by Nuño de Guzmán. But apart from that fact, from the social and economic point of view, there was never an effective dissociation between Nueva Galicia and the so-called province of Ávalos. In fact, throughout the rest of the colonial period, the old towns of Ávalos and that entire area in general would become integrated into New Galicia, not only from a social and economic point of view, but also from a jurisdictional point of view.³⁶

What we find then in the Painting is a cartographic manifestation of the period and carried out by the protagonists themselves of the events about the appearance of a historical region, in the truest sense of the term. Nothing was immediate. It was not enough for the Spaniards to appear in any portion of the New Indies, give it a Hispanic name and declare all its inhabitants to be subjects of His Catholic Majesty, for everything to start moving automatically and suddenly a new province, governorate or historical region, whatever you want to call it. None of this begins to take true shape, in the case of New Galicia, but from the moment in which the subjugation and pacification of the local Indians became effective, and at the moment also in which, to the above, was added the massive arrival of friendly Indians from the center of New Spain. The combination of these two factors was what allowed the Spanish presence in Nueva Galicia to finally stabilize, beginning an effective process of new settlement in the area.

Another of the graphic elements of the Painting that also attests to all this evolution is the importance attributed there to the new city of Guadalajara, which appears as a central element of this entire schematic configuration of space. Its exceptional character is emphasized by the fact that it was drawn under the effigy of a walled and crenellated city, something that, of course, never happened. Along with the walled town, the road to Mexico that runs longitudinally through the entire central plateau of New Galicia (from the Chapala lagoon, passing of course through Guadalajara and then through Ahuaca).

³⁵ Rosa Alicia de la Torre Ruiz, *Demographic and territorial property changes in the province of Ávalos (18th-19th centuries)* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2012), pp. 9-28.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-43.

tlán, to finally finish in Compostela) is another of the elements that highlight the importance that that particular portion of territory had gained as a vital space and heart of all the activities of the Spanish neighbors.

In counterpart and reinforcement of all the above, we see how the border territories that mark the external limits of that central Nueva Galicia, that is, those in the south on the coastline and those in the north on the Sierra Madre Occidental, appear compressed in their territorial dimensions, and are displaced to the margins of representation, as if it were an undifferentiated whole where geographical distances are unimportant. The coastal areas are described as sick and empty lands, as indicated by the frequent mentions of the existence of depopulated areas along the coastal strip. For its part, the highlands of the Sierra Madre Occidental are clearly designated as dangerous and war zones, a fact symbolized by the series of small figures of bow-and-arrow Indians that populate the sections corresponding to these territories. Some of the battles of the so-called Mixtón war are even evoked there, such as those of the peñoles of Coima, Nochistlán, Juchipila, El Mixtón and El Teúl. The enemies of the present also appear recorded, as we can see in the northwest of Zacatecas, where we see a group of Indians with bow and arrow accompanied by the legend "llanos de los chichimecas." Another example is the effigies of war Indians that appear northwest of Tequila, both in the Guajacatlán area and a little further north, at the confluence of the Tlaltenango and Tepeque rivers with the Espíritu Santo river, identified in the Painting like war tezoles. However, the region that appears perhaps the most threatening and the most surrounded by mystery is that located to the northwest, well inside the Sierra Madre, where we find the effigies of the Tepehuan anthropophagi.

The indefinite and threatening borders that the authors of the Painting identified as the geographical beyond of New Galicia immediately contrast with the relatively well-pacified central plateau of New Galicia, which the Painting shows as the natural sphere of action for the Spanish neighbors of the governorship.

A very clear indicator of the dominance that the Spanish had managed to establish in that central region over the local Indians is given by the fact of the establishment, during the following years, of a permanent and stable system of supply of labor and goods. consumption for the Spanish, through tribute. Thus, in 1557 and 1558, the first formal appraisals, auctions and collections of tributes for the province appeared, whose geographical distribution was as illustrated in letter 7.

Figure 1



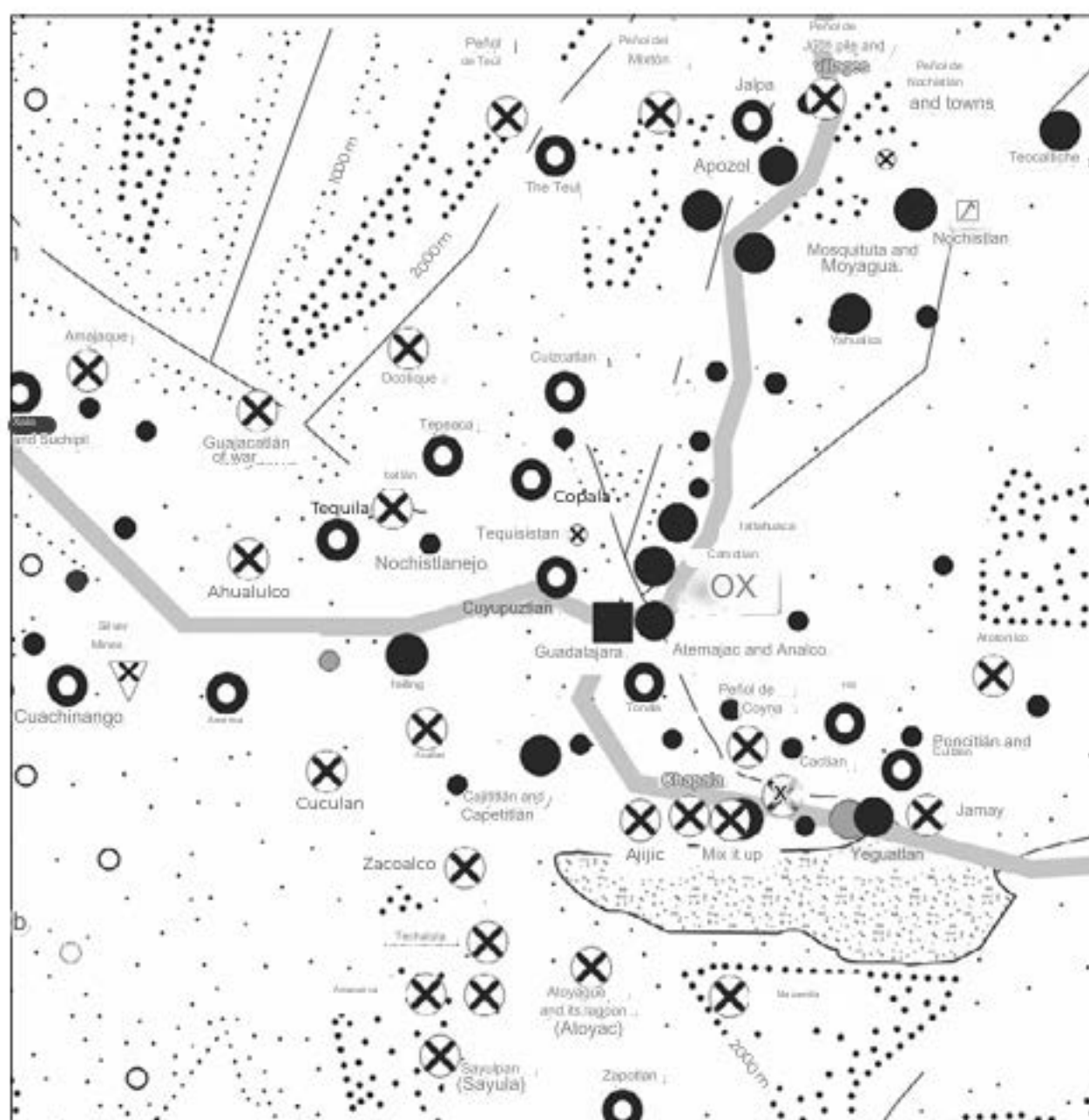
The letter speaks for itself. The majority of the towns assessed are precisely those of the central plateau of New Galicia, so that the geography that is drawn here is practically a carbon copy of that shown to us in the Painting of 1550. Thus, a first territorial logic for the young neo-Galician colonial society, based on two basic elements: the creation of stable settlement areas occupied by Spaniards and related Indians and the collection of indigenous tribute. Thus, with the appearance of these two unifying elements, it can then be said that the area that we have called here the neo-Galician central plateau began to take shape as a historical region.

With the passage of time and as was natural, the Spanish settlement, as well as the situation and composition of the Indian towns, would change, thereby transforming their respective geographies, as well as that of the region that housed them. However, it is important to note how, in the case of New Galicia in the mid-16th century, we see that this entire process occurs in a context that was certainly one of change, but where we also find strong continuities with respect to the previous period. As we have seen, one of the greatest changes brought about by pacification had been the establishment of a stable system of tributes for the Indian towns, of which, however, the first beneficiaries had been precisely the old *encomenderos* of the province, grouped, as in the past, in private hosts. In fact, several of the armed groups that had emerged and operated since the time of the conquest of the province were still entirely active, and they were precisely the ones who led several of the changes that were taking place.

The great pacification of New Galicia arrived just at the moment when the first silver boom was emerging in New Spain, and it is interesting to see how, already around 1550, we find figures such as Juan Fernández de Híjar and the most important members of his old host, like Álvaro de Bracamonte, Francisco de Estrada and Francisco Pilo, settled in Guachinango, dedicated to the exploitation of silver mines. However, these captains had launched this new activity thanks to the consolidation of an old institution that had played a capital role during the period of the conquest: the *encomienda*. In fact, the town of Guachinango itself, the main one in that area, had been granted by Guzmán to Álvaro de Bracamonte, along with Atenpaque.³⁷ But Fernández de Híjar had obtained Talpa, Ciatitlán, Ocotlán and Cuautla, places where everything would indicate that the first discoveries of silver veins were made. It was for this reason that, in 1545, Fernández de Híjar himself proclaimed himself as the discoverer of the main veins of

³⁷ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, p. LXXII.





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|--|---|
| ○ Subject town no longer appearing even in the painting of 1550 nor in appraisals of 1554-1558 | ● Head town appraisals 1554-1558 not present in the painting of 1550 |
| ▼ mining center | ● Town subject appraisals 1554-1558 not present in the painting of 1550 |
| ✕ Disappeared mining center | ○ Tributary town present in the painting of 1550, revised in 1554-1558 |
| ■ Spanish village | ✕ Town present in the painting of 1550 no longer assessed in the painting of 1554-1558 |
| ✕ abandoned villa | ○ Tributary town no longer appeared in the painting of 1550 or in appraisals of 1554-1558 |
| — Camino Real | |

Guachinango.³⁸ Later, the shine of silver would attract more Spanish neighbors, so that according to the oidor Martínez de la Marcha, by 1550, Guachinango had become the best populated area of New Galicia, only behind Guadalajara and its area. Thus, during the following decades, like Guachinango, other areas of the neo-Galician central plateau would also be subject to progressive settlements, which in some cases would transform them, in the medium or long term, into many other historical regions: the area of Guadalajara, the so-called province of Ávalos, the area of Lake Chapala, the old town of Tequila and its surroundings are possible examples of this type, among many others (see letter 8).

TOWARDS THE GREAT NORTHERN HIGHLANDS: NEW EXPLORATIONS AND NEW BORDERS

The pacification and stabilization of Spanish life in the central plateau of New Galicia marked the beginning of a new era for the government. However, that does not mean that the impulse that had originally led the Spanish to explore and settle in that remote corner of the New Indies had been exhausted. Far from it, starting in the 1550s, we see several of the old private hosts from the times of the conquest get going again, not only to continue operating as armed groups hunting for wealth (as in the case of Juan Fernández de Híjar and his group in Guachinango), but above all in search of the best, which meant resuming the exploration of the unknown regions of the north, as we will see below. In fact, the first great result of this renewed impulse was the discovery not of a rich unknown kingdom nor of a new province to conquer, but simply of the mines of Zacatecas.

A very important point to consider to understand the reason for the appearance of a mine site as large as Zacatecas, in a place so desolate, devoid of resources and above all so far from the vital territory of Nueva Galicia, is that the discovery of the first veins of that famous royal was not the product of a simple mining prospection, but of an expedition to explore new territories, armed in every way, which marks a fundamental difference. The beginning of this company was, in fact, neither coincidental nor spontaneous. It was a well thought out initiative carried out by an old conquering group, extremely experienced in matters of New Galicia: Ibarra-Oñate. As we saw before, this particular host

³⁸ Ibid.; Hillerkuss, *Documentalia del sur de Jalisco*, p. 105.

He participated directly in the founding of the primitive town of Guadalajara, in its original locations in Nochistlán and Tlacotlán, an area where the most important of its members also obtained encomiendas. Like the one led by Juan Fernández de Híjar, this group maintained a notable internal cohesion over the years, retaining most of its privileges in the area and, above all, group control of it. So much so that it would even be worth noting that the people of this group did not participate in the mining boom of Guachinango, busy, as they were, in the exploitation of the mining area of Barranca Grande, near Tepeaca, which was owned mainly by Cristóbal from Oñate.³⁹ The fact is that, having mines at their disposal and for no other reason, therefore, than to explore the territories beyond the Sierra Madre Occidental, at the beginning of 1546, two of the main captains of the host, Diego and Miguel de Ibarra, launch a new expedition for that purpose. The company was assembled in the old way, that is, under the figure of a company in which, on the one hand, the aforementioned Ibarra would participate and on the other hand several captains recently arrived from New Spain, among whom Juanes de Tolosa stood out, a character close to Martín Cortés, second Marquis of Valle, of whom he would become brother-in-law a little later; as well as Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos, another captain belonging to Cortés's entourage.⁴¹

Like its internal organization, the properly exploratory nature of this expedition is determined by its itinerary. As in the old days, it was simply chosen to follow a straight and as linear course as possible towards the north, which, starting from Guadalajara and Tepeaca, led the expedition members to cross the southern end of the Sierra Madre Occidental, to lead directly - mind on the plains of the northern Mexican highlands. From there, it was enough to maintain a more or less fixed north-northeast direction to finally reach, after around 250 kilometers of travel, calculated as the crow flies, the mountains of Zacatecas. At that point, the linear progression northward stopped. It was not a very large expedition, nor abundant in resources, so factors such as the distance traveled, the immensity of the barren and almost unpopulated territories that stretched in front of them, the danger of Indian war and, of course, the presence of silver veins

³⁹ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, p. 289.

⁴⁰ Tolosa would later marry Leonor Cortés Moctezuma, daughter of the conqueror and Isabel Moctezuma. Porras Muñoz, *The city government*, p. 223.

⁴¹ José Enciso Contreras and Ana Hilda Reyes Veyna, Juanes de Tolosa, discoverer of the Zacatecas mines. Information on merits and services (Zacatecas: Superior Court of Justice of the State of Zacatecas, 2002), especially pp. 48-53.

apparently rich in the place made the majority of the expedition members decide not to go further north, but to return to Guadalajara to reorganize and return later. Only Diego de Ibarra stayed at the site of the first veins, to plant a strong house there and form a royal estate that would ensure the beginning of its exploitation and the possession of the site against any other Spaniard to show up there. 42

As we know, after that events rushed at full speed. In less than a decade, Zacatecas became the largest Spanish settlement in New Galicia, with more than three hundred permanent residents and a total population that easily exceeded a thousand people. 43 All this caused a complete transformation of the geography of the province. Until that moment, the life of the nascent Neo-Galician society had been maintained on the highlands of the Neovolcanic Axis and the coastal strip of the Pacific, while now, much of its activity was suddenly transferred to a totally different environment: the great northern Mexican plateau. For this reason, many of the first efforts had to be devoted to the opening of a road that linked what would be the provincial capital with the nascent mining royal, which, in less than five years, was already functional. Zacatecas and the road to Guadalajara thus became the first major extension of Neo-Galician geography after the expedition of 1529-1530. But that did not emerge as an open space with free transit, but rather strictly delimited and dominated by the groups of conquerors who were the protagonists of its discovery and settlement. Not for nothing, in 1550, Miguel de Ibarra took the initiative to personally finance the construction of the first bridge to facilitate the passage of mules over the bottom of the Rio Grande ravine and to organize, himself, the first system of convoys towards the mines. Of course, in exchange for these largesse, Miguel and Diego de Ibarra very quickly gained control of that route, not only in terms of transportation, but also from a military point of view, a situation that made them two of the most powerful captains of the frontier.

Parallel to the mining boom and the great flow of metallic wealth that it caused, the geographical position of Zacatecas and its quality as a large population center, abundantly supplied, turned that real into a kind of bridgehead for the exploration of the unknown immensities that

42 Guillermo Porras Muñoz, «Diego de Ibarra and New Spain, Studies of Historia Novohispana 17 (1968): 49-78.

43 AGI, Guadalajara 51, Lebron Quiñones oidor of Nueva Galicia to the prince, September 1554.

44 AGI, Accounting 841, Accounts of the Caja de Zacatecas 1544-1574-

They opened beyond that place. The great north continued to exert a great power of attraction on the conquerors and the possibility of embarking on its exploration did not go unnoticed by the old private hosts from the times of the conquest and who continued in office. One of them was headed by Diego Hernández de Proaño, who, as we saw, had long ago tried to explore the far north on his own, based on his capacity as encomendero of the towns of Tepeque and Jalpa. In 1552, when he was already a rich miner in Zacatecas, 45 Proaño entered into company with Ginés Vázquez del Mercado, a captain recently arrived from the center of New Spain, 46 to organize together a new expedition of exploration and conquest towards the north. In 1552, with the authorization of the oidor Martínez de la Marcha, Proaño and Vázquez del Mercado then left Guadalajara to direct their steps in a straight northwest line, crossing the southern part of the Sierra Madre Occidental, until reaching the vicinity of the place where the town of Durango would later be built.⁴⁷

In the end, that expedition failed due to the Indian war, who even mortally wounded Vázquez del Mercado. 48 But, regardless of its outcome, what is interesting is to see how this expedition reached an area already so far away from Guadalajara and Zacatecas, or any other establishment in Nueva Galicia, that the jurisdictional link with that province would not take long to dissolve. This began to take shape in 1554, when Diego de Ibarra, who was already one of the greatest magnates and war captains of the province, organized a new expedition from Zacatecas in search of the unknown north, led by his young nephew Francisco de Ibarra. The itinerary of this new company takes Ibarra towards the same territories previously explored by Vázquez del

45 It had its own mines and also had its own metal mill and foundry mill: José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization in Nueva Galicia during the 16th century* (Guadalajara: INAH / El Colegio de Jalisco / Autonomous University of Zacatecas, 1993), p. 124.

46 Ginés Vázquez del Mercado was nephew and heir of the conquistador Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia and beneficiary of the Tlapa encomienda, in what is now the state of Warrior. He had married his cousin Inés Vázquez de Tapia, legitimate daughter of his uncle Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia, receiving the encomienda of Tlapa as a dowry, Porras Muñoz, *The government of Mexico City*, p. 459. About the Tlapa encomienda, Peter Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519-1821* (Mexico: UNAM, 1986), pp. 330-333.

47 Saravia, *Notes for the history of Nueva Vizcaya*, pp. 85-89.

48 Oakah Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya. Heartland of the Spanish frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), p. 12.

Mercado, but unlike that, its greater availability of people and resources allows it to make a series of small foundations in the northwest of Zacatecas, in places that seemed promising due to their pastures and waters, or their silver veins. Thus, Fresnillo, Sain, Chalchihuites and San Martín and other places emerged that would even come to enjoy a certain fame. But what would truly distinguish them was that together they would mark the first border area of Nueva Galicia on the northern side. This came to fruition in 1562, when this time with the determined support of his father-in-law, the viceroy Luis de Velasco, Diego de Ibarra organized a second expedition, much larger than the previous one, towards the territories located beyond the aforementioned foundations, always with his nephew, Francisco de Ibarra at the head. In the end, this company would lead to the founding of a new governorate, bordering that of Nueva Galicia on the northwest side, which was baptized as Nueva Vizcaya.⁴⁹

Until that moment, New Galicia had never had any northern boundary itself and it is therefore very significant that it was, precisely, the activity of the same conquering groups that gave it its existence that began to give definitive shape to its territorial environment. In fact, the appearance of New Vizcaya would also mean that two of the great provinces that Nuño de Guzmán had proclaimed as part of his conquest, Aztatlán and Chiametla, would be segregated from Neo-Galician jurisdiction. Let us remember that with the destruction of the primitive town of Espíritu Santo de Chiametla, in 1535, the territories located between the mouth of the Grande de Santiago River and the province of Culiacán became an almost impregnable war zone. Not having appeared there any new colonial establishment, the two provinces ended up being considered as outside the royal obedience and it was requested that they be once again subject to the right of conquest. This became a legal reality when, in 1560, Pedro de Morones, judge of Nueva Galicia, and Captain Alonso Valiente obtained from the Crown a capitulation for the conquest and pacification of all that territory.⁵⁰ The capitulation opened the door for them to access the

49 Royal commission entrusting Francisco de Ibarra with the discovery of the territories located beyond the mines of San Martín and Avino and naming it governor and captain general of the places he discovered: Luis de Velasco, Mexico, July 24, 1562, in AGI, Mexico 19, reproduced in John Lloyd Mehan, *Francisco de Ibarra and the Nueva Vizcaya* (Mexico, UJED / Government of Chihuahua / Secretariat of Education and Culture, 2005), pp. 132-134.

50 Dr. Morones to the King, Guadalajara January 2, 1561, AGI, Guadalajara 51, no. 63, cited in Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *Church and State in Nueva Vizcaya: 1562-1821* (Mexico: UNAM, 1980), p. 13. From then on, that entire region

the statute of conquerors is still in force, ⁵¹ but by trying to exalt themselves in this way, they ended up causing irreparable territorial damage to the government of New Galicia. The *oidor* died suddenly when the preparations for the expedition were still in progress and Valiente was no longer able to continue with the enterprise, with which the capitulation automatically expired, ⁵²

Officially, Chiametla was once again a land of conquest and this was taken advantage of by Francisco de Ibarra, thanks to Viceroy Velasco, who transmitted the powers previously granted to Morones and Valiente. He then crossed the Sierra Madre Occidental from Durango, subjugated the Chiametla Indians with blood and fire and created a town there called San Sebastián; He proclaimed the rebel province as pacified and conquered and incorporated it into his new governorate. ⁵³ This fact was confirmed on September 17, 1567, when the Crown granted Ibarra the title of governor and captain general of the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Copala and Chiametla. ⁵⁴ This was how the set of territories that extended practically from the mouth of the Acaponeta River to the province of Culiacán, originally explored and in principle conquered by Nuño de Guzmán, officially ceased to belong to the jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia, passing to be a coastal province of Nueva Vizcaya.

As long as the exploring and conquering impulse that had taken the Spaniards to the most remote parts of the New Indies was not exhausted, and the conquering groups continued to preserve their old patterns of action, the geography of the nascent Neo-Galician colonial society would continue to expand. This happened towards the outside of Nueva Galicia and the same dynamic worked towards

It was officially and generically called the province of Chiametla, with the toponym *Aztatlán* almost falling into disuse.

⁵¹ The prohibition of the use of the term *conquistador* was already present in the Order for new discoveries, sent in 1556 as a Reserved Instruction by the emperor to the Marquis of Cañete, viceroy of Peru: Ruggiero Romano, *Les mécanismes de la conquête coloniale: les conquérants*, series *Questions d'histoire* 24 (Paris: Flammarion, 1972), p. 69. However, it can be said that the term *conquistador* continued to be used in official documentation until the promulgation of the Ordinances on New Discoveries of 1573. See in this regard Ismael Sánchez Bella, "Las Ordenanzas of Felipe II on new discoveries (1573). Consolidation of the policy of peaceful penetration", *Annals of the University of Chile*, 5th series, no. 20 (1989): 533-549.

⁵² Porras Muñoz, *Church and State*, p. 13.

⁵³ For more information about this conquest, Salvador Álvarez, "Chiametla: a forgotten province of the 16th century", *Trace* 22 (December 1992), pp. 5-23.

⁵⁴ Porras Muñoz, *Church and State*, p. 16.

the interior of the governorate itself, whose territory continued to expand and be delineated along the same lines. However, as we have seen, no foundation would be able to last without first being transformed into a place of settlement, and that was a process in which the old private hosts of the conquest also played a primary role. A privileged example of the above is provided to us by the much-cited Diego de Ibarra. This war captain, and head of army in two governorates at the same time, at the same time financed conquest expeditions and served as a settler, landowner, miner and strong man in several areas at the same time. He was, for example, one of the initiators of mining in San Martín (royal founded during his expeditions of 1554),⁵⁵ and he did the same in Sombrerete, whose future fame was barely sketched.⁵⁶ Another of his activities as a settler in that border area between Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya was the creation of his well-known haciendas of Trujillo and Valparaíso, on the Aguanaval River, where it is said that Ibarra shoeed 33,000 calves annually.⁵⁷ Likewise, under his influence other powerful captains arrived in the area, such as Alonso López de Lois, founder of the famous Asiento de Lois hacienda, and Rodrigo de Río de Losa, owner of the no less famous Hacienda de Santiago, one of the most important in all that part of New Galicia, until the 19th century.⁵⁸

But Diego de Ibarra's activity as a war captain and frontier strongman would not stop there. If at one time he had become a protector and strong man of the road from Zacatecas to Guadalajara, he did the same with the road from Zacatecas to Mexico, only this time working in company with another old acquaintance of his: Cristóbal de Oñate. Of course, that alliance was not coincidental. Beyond their mutual personal closeness, Oñate and Ibarra were linked by very old ties. Both belonged to houses of small Basque sword nobility, linked to the great Castilian nobility (the Velasco), and already in the Indies, those same ties also allowed them to get closer through family, war and trade ties with the highest levels of New Spain. Thus, for example, another of the prominent members of his host, Juanes de Tolosa (who was the son-in-law of the Marquis of Valle, Hernán Cortés), married his daughter, Isabel

⁵⁵ Memory of the Haciendas of grinding mines and currents recorded in the book of the Cabildo of San Martín, Del Hoyo, 1990, p.

34. ⁵⁶ Porras Muñoz, «Diego de Ibarra and New Spain», p. 23.

⁵⁷ Ibid. The Valparaíso hacienda was already in the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya: Jones, Nueva Vizcaya, p. 77.

⁵⁸ Charles Foin, «Un pacificateur du nord du Mexique: Rodrigo del Río de Losa (1536-1606?)», *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 14 (1978): 200-203.

Cortés Tolosa, with Juan de Oñate, son of Cristóbal;⁵⁹ while, for his part, Diego de Ibarra married, in 1556, Doña Ana de Castilla, daughter of the viceroy Luis de Velasco. This means that this conquering group managed to link up with a good part of the conquering and encomendero oligarchy of New Spain, with the high peninsular nobility and, as if that were not enough, with the first circles of the colonial administration of New Spain. It is not strange then to find them, a little later, in association with large New Spain merchants, and to see them thus transformed into miners-traders and at the same time military protectors of the path along which their own metals and merchandise traveled.

It is known, for example, that in 1552, Ibarra and Oñate already had a populated ranch on the first stretch of the road to Mexico, just south of Zacatecas, and that by that same time, Ibarra had already populated another ranch on the site in where, a little further on, the town of Lagos would be founded. Thanks to this military protection, the site became populated and this influenced the Governor's Court to appoint a mayor for that entire part of the governorate, which was known as the mayor's office of the Llanos.⁶⁰ During those same years, Ibarra founded the ranch that would later lead to the formation of the mining camp called Asiento de Ibarra, and another one, called Rodeo de Ibarra.⁶¹ Let us note that, in a context of land of war such as that of the northern highlands of the mid-16th century, the action of founding and populating ranches in places so far from any Spanish establishment (the ranches mentioned were more than 200 kilometers from Zacatecas), was an activity that had very little to do with livestock, in the sense of raising and selling livestock. These were essentially military establishments, located in places where, in the absence of any other immediate source of subsistence, the presence of stationary herds of wild cattle allowed the Spanish captains to settle and establish a strong house. This meant not only building a shelter, in the military sense of the term, but also stationing contingents of cowboy-soldiers there; responsible for controlling, marking and killing livestock; Meanwhile, an incipient agriculture began to develop there. In addition to populating the place and thereby consolidating the ownership of those lands,⁶² the presence of those

⁵⁹ Enciso Contreras and Reyes Veyna, *Juanes de Tolosa*, pp. 60-61.

⁶⁰ On the founding of the mayor's office: Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions in Nueva Galicia. The mayor's office of Los Lagos 1563-1750* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 2008), pp. 68-70.

⁶¹ Asiento de Ibarra was located in a place near the current Ciénega Grande, Aguascalientes, and Rodeo de Ibarra is very close to the site of the future hacienda from San Cayetano, today the state of Jalisco.

⁶² The legislation of the time indicated that the presence of these people on horseback was

cowboy-soldiers assured Ibarra and Oñate that all pedestrians and merchants who ventured through those parts had no choice but to resort to their protection, thus further underpinning the power of those war captains.

Later, the growth of Zacatecas and the expansion of traffic that reached there would cause other men of war to reach that border and there would be no shortage of those who tried to compete with characters like Ibarra and Oñate, in areas such as the protection of the roads and the war with the Indians. However, the men of the first generation enjoyed advantages that the upstarts would sometimes take decades to acquire: inputs and labor from their encomiendas and Indian tribute, silver mines to cover any expenses, commercial and political ties, in addition to the not inconsiderable experience of the border and, above all, the long-standing loyalty of its main men-at-arms. The fact is, then, that for a long time yet, the true strong men of that border, and those who would most influence its territorial formation, would continue to emerge above all from the ranks of the old private hosts from the times of the conquest. After the Ibarra-Oñate, the most active and important conquering group of this type was headed by Diego Hernández de Proaño. The reported failure of his 1552 expedition did not deter this character and during the following years he continued to finance various exploration expeditions, although smaller than the previous one, mainly towards the north and east of Zacatecas. It was precisely in one of them that the famous salt mines of Peñol Blanco were discovered, for example, at the end of the 1560s, the fruits of which were so important for the benefit of silver that they very quickly began to be administered on behalf of the Crown. However, that did not prevent the first appointment as administrator from falling precisely to its discoverer, Diego Hernández de Proaño.⁶³ In fact, the commissioning of the salt mines was the work of that same person, who sent 400 Indians from repartimiento, most of them taken from their old encomiendas in Jalpa and Tlaltenango, to start the work.⁶⁴ It was, evidently, also thanks to his influence that Bernardino Vázquez del Mercado (son of his ill-fated

essential requirement for the recognition of a property of this type, anywhere in New Spain and even more so in the north: François Chevalier, *The formation of the latifundios in México. Land and society in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Mexico: FCE, 1975), especially appendix 2 and p. 382.

⁶³ AGI, Accounting 841, Accounts understanding of Zacatecas, Reales Cajas de Zacatecas catecas, Guadiana and New Kingdom of Galicia.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

partner, Ginés Vázquez del Mercado) was named mayor of the new jurisdiction.
 65 Everything also seems to indicate that it was during the course of those same expeditions, financed by Proaño, that the Mazapil mines were discovered, as proven by the fact that, despite being located more than 200 kilometers north of the Salinas and many others from Zacatecas, fell, from their very beginnings, in the jurisdiction of Vázquez del Mercado. 66

Such was the military influence that Hernández de Proaño achieved during those years, that he even rivaled Diego de Ibarra. This became evident when, in 1563, by order of the Governing Court, Proaño's old partner, Hernando Martel, founded a new Spanish town, which would be called Santa María de los Lagos and whose first plots of land he located just one side of the room that Diego de Ibarra had had in that place for a long time, without the aforementioned being able to reverse the fact. 67 As the new strong man of that area, Martel attracted as new settlers of the brand new town several former captains and encomenderos of Nueva Galicia, close to him and Proaño, several of whom also tried to access the status of settlers, through to request land grants, to populate new ranches, with their strong houses, both in the surroundings of the town and in somewhat more distant areas. One of the luckiest in this endeavor was Juan de Jaso the Elder, a former soldier of Cortés, who arrived in New Galicia at the same time as Proaño and Martel. He settled a ranch in what is now known as the Comanja mountain range, east of the town of Lagos and not far from the road to Mexico, where he later also found mines, which registered in Zacatecas.

68 Later, the town of Lagos and the mines of the Comanja mountain range would become two of the reference points on which the jurisdictional limits between New Galicia and New Spain would end up being set.

The above was important because we remember that, originally, the Neo-Galician Governing Court had claimed all of the territories located north of Querétaro as its own. Among their main arguments to claim such a thing was that the first explorations and the first encomienda grants given in those parts had been the work of Nuño de Guzmán, and therefore all of this belonged to the jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia. The authorities of the governorate of New Spain responded to this, in terms

65 AGI, Guadalajara 6.

66 *Ibid.*

67 Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions*, p. 75.

68 González Leal, *Secret relation of conquerors*, pp. 57 and 60.

very similar, under the argument that Querétaro and the set of the vast and undefined northern territories populated by the Otomi had originally belonged to the jurisdiction of the great encomienda of Jilotepec, granted by Cortés to Juan de Jaramillo.⁶⁹ Later, when the Traffic on the road to Zacatecas began, the New Spain authorities placed a mayor in Jilotepec, with supposed jurisdiction over the vast and imprecise territory occupied by that old encomienda, which, in their ideology, reached practically to Zacatecas.⁷⁰ In the long run, more pragmatic criteria would be imposed for the determination of the respective jurisdictions over the northern highlands, so that the Spanish establishments founded by people from New Spain would pass to that jurisdiction and the reciprocal would operate for those formed by settlers arriving from New Galicia.

The disputes and jurisdictional readjustments between the governorates of New Galicia and New Spain would continue for a long time, but that would no longer substantially modify the territorial structure of New Galicia: everything would always oscillate around the territories originally explored and populated by the conquering groups of the first generation. Thus, for example, in 1575 the town of Asunción de Aguascalientes was created, with the participation of settlers from the town of Lagos.⁷¹ This fact caused the new foundation to remain under the jurisdiction of the mayor of Lagos, extending then the boundary between the two governorates on a strip of indeterminate width but about seventy kilometers long to the north, but always within territories known for a long time, immediately on the road from Guadalajara to Zacatecas.⁷² Around 1565-1570, The first deposits of the future Real de Charcas began to be exploited, very close to Peñol Blanco and about two hundred kilometers north of Aguascalientes. This caused the neo-Galician eastern boundary to extend another 180 kilometers to the north, but as in the previous case, always on territories explored long ago, in this case by the people of Proaño. This boundary did not begin to be established a little more precisely until the 1590s, with the founding of the royal estate of San Luis de Potosí, located about one hundred kilometers south of Charcas, the

⁶⁹ Gerhard, *Historical Geography*.

⁷⁰ For a broad and documented discussion of the process of jurisdictional disputes between New Galicia and New Spain: Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions*, pp. 68-71.

⁷¹ Mario Gómez Mata, *The mayor's office of Lagos. Conquest and colonization of Pechetitlán (Lagos de Moreno: author's edition, 1999)*, p. 67.

⁷² Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 64-65.

which, because it was populated by people from New Spain, passed to that jurisdiction.

To the east, the jurisdiction of Charcas and Peñol Blanco only had the unknown territories of the Sierra Madre Oriental, while to the west were the territories bordering Nueva Vizcaya, originally traveled by Vázquez del Mercado and Ibarra. To the north of Charcas, about 170 kilometers away, was the last Spanish bastion of New Galicia, which was Mazapil, and from there, continuing for another hundred kilometers always in a straight line towards the north, the town of Saltillo was reached, already belonging to Nueva Vizcaya. Towards the east, for its part, the Sierra Madre Oriental appeared once again and its territories empty of Spaniards, some of whom would later fall into the jurisdiction of the New Kingdom of León. In the end, we then see how the limits of New Galicia extended very exactly to the last areas explored by the conquering groups of the first generation: it was this set of movements that marked, from the beginning, its territorial expansion and structure, at the same time as its limits. Beyond were other lands, other regions and provinces, many of which had in common with those belonging to New Galicia in having been explored and conquered by the Spanish, also from very early times, but with the difference that these exploits were executed by other conquering groups, different from those who arrived in New Galicia during Guzmán's time or, in any case, shortly after his departure.

EPILOGUE: A GOVERNMENT

AND THREE LARGE TERRITORIAL SETTINGS

In the end, the vicissitudes of their respective conquests and colonial settlements ended up bringing together under the name and jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia three large territorial units, distant and, above all, irreducibly different from each other, not only because of their origins and geomorphological characteristics, but also because of the type of colonial society that would be possible to develop in each of them: Culiacán and the entire coastal area, central Nueva Galicia and the northern highlands of Zacatecas. Nothing, not geography by itself, much less the needs, the will, some type of vision for the future, or simply the culture of the conquerors could have predetermined the appearance of that singular socio-territorial entity that over time gave rise to be called New Galicia. Its creation was the product of a larger process: that of the great expansion, first spatially and then territorially, of the Castilians in the New World. Within this larger process, the founding of new towns,

European-style cities, provinces and governorates were nothing more than a consequence of the conquerors' need to remain and settle in the distant and very diverse territories, to where their exploring impulse had taken them.

Of these three large territorial units, it was the province of Culiacán, the most distant of all, that reached a certain stability the quickest and where the pacification of the local Indians, without being easy, was the least bloody. Its secret was its early settlement, which allowed the Spanish to establish themselves in a state of relative balance with respect to the local aboriginal populations. In fact, in terms of resources, Culiacán had everything necessary to ensure the development of a relatively successful colonial society: water, land suitable for agriculture, silver veins and, in addition to all this, it also had an early system of indigenous taxation through the *encomienda* and *repartimiento*.⁷³ However, its remoteness determined that the arrival of new groups of Spaniards or friendly indigenous people from the center of New Spain was very reduced or almost non-existent and everything would indicate, According to what is known today in this regard, this translated into a very short demographic growth for the colonial establishments throughout the 16th century, while the aboriginal population declined, as in the rest of the continent. The above produced a society of slow and leisurely rhythms, so much so that, in 1601, that is, seventy years after the founding of the town of San Miguel, Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar described the life of his people as follows: population:

The people of this town can be compared to the first family that Adam and his children had because they do not think or understand that there are other people in the world and so it is in the suit and first dress that Nuño de Guzmán and his people put there, no They don't care about news or knowing if there is war or peace in the world, or if a fleet is coming or going, no one wastes paper in the town, but only the notary.⁷⁴

Territorially, Culiacán also remained practically immobile throughout the 16th century. Except for the passage there of expeditions such as those of Coronado in 1549, or that of Francisco de Ibarra in 1563, exploration was forgotten by its Spanish neighbors. No significant company of that type was organized from that province in the 16th century and, therefore, no

⁷³ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 129; Antonio Nakayama.

⁷⁴ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León*, Historical collection of facsimile works series 1 (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1966), p. fifty.

A new important jurisdiction was incorporated into Nueva Galicia from Culiacán during that entire period.

In contrast to Culiacán, the large Zacatecan territorial complex was perhaps the one that offered the fewest resources to the conquerors. The climate, the geomorphology, the aboriginal societies; Everything was different, more precarious, dispersed and difficult for the newly arrived Europeans to control and domesticate. And yet, the links between the colonial society settled there and the rest of New Galicia, New Spain, and even the world were infinitely more intense than those of Culiacán, for example. The origin of this difference is well known. From its very birth, Zacatecas experienced a constant flow of arrival of people and goods, which would constantly revitalize its social and economic life and would never be interrupted, at least during the colonial period. However, the sometimes spectacular figures that this transit and trade produced throughout the colonial centuries should not be overestimated in terms of what they meant for the colonial settlement of that area. We cannot forget that long-distance trade towards Zacatecas and towards the north in general was essentially oriented towards the exchange of low-weight and high-priced goods, that is, local silver against mostly luxury objects coming from distant regions, either outside the center and south of New Spain or overseas. This is a traffic that certainly stimulated local economic life, but which, of course, could not modify the major structural elements to which the nascent colonial society was subject. Among them were the distance from the large population centers of New Spain, the rebellious nature of the local aboriginal societies, the consequent lack of local labor, the small size and demographic precariousness of the colonial society itself and the dispersion of territorial resources, especially those linked to the development of a European-type agricultural life.

All of the above led to the creation of a regional geography in which important Spanish establishments were few, very far apart, and growing very slowly. In fact, the existing works on the demographic evolution of the colonial north show us that, for a long time, this type of foundations depended entirely on the immigration flows arriving from the center of New Spain, to maintain stable or grow their population. It could even be said that this was a structural characteristic of the settlement in the north of New Spain in general.⁷⁵ In turn, the

⁷⁵ A solid general model for the settlement of a large part of the north of New Spain, little used until today, is found in Chantal Cramaussel, *Populate the border. The province of Santa Bárbara during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Zamora:

Distance, dispersion and demographic weakness itself led to the appearance of very early trends towards local self-sufficiency, through a slow, but at the same time constant, introduction of agricultural lands into production, wherever they existed. The first way in this process was the creation of ranches populated in different parts of the geography of northern Neo-Galician, many of which later ended up being transformed into large agricultural and livestock farms. The result was then a human geography dominated by a range, in reality, very little varied of establishments: a couple of large mining centers well supplied from abroad (Zacatecas, Sombrerete...), some smaller mining centers (Mazapil, San Martín, Comanja...), a few towns with an agricultural vocation (Fresnillo, Jerez, Aguascalientes, Lagos...) and above all, a high number of agricultural-livestock farms, distributed throughout the four corners of that part of the government.

With the passage of time, the settlement around some of the towns, cities and other mining centers mentioned would give rise to the emergence of territorial groups sufficiently homogeneous and structured to be considered historical regions. However, this process was not carried out by the towns and mining centers themselves, but by the haciendas that in all these cases were founded in their surroundings. Like the rest of the north of New Spain, the northern highlands of Nueva Galicia were distinguished by being a very weakly urbanized area, where, with the very notable exception of the city of Zacatecas, 76 urban plants (in the strictest sense of the term) of the main Spanish and royal towns of local mines were very small.⁷⁶ On the other hand, in most of the territory we see the hacienda develop, along with the ranches and ranches internal and external to it, as the element geographically dominant, both due to its number and occupied territorial extension as well as its demographic and economic weight. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the appearance of well-characterized historical regions, populated and essentially composed of farms. An example of this is the aforementioned region on the Aguanaval River, bordering Nueva Vizcaya, or the old mayor's office of Lagos, which was part of

The College of Michoacán, 2006).

76 Zacatecas obtained the title of city in 1585. Peter J. Bakewell, *Mining and Society in colonial Mexico: Zacatecas (1546-1700)* (Mexico: FCE, 1976), p. 388.

77 We have discussed this topic at length in Salvador Álvarez, "The rural town in the north of New Spain: reflections on a theme", in *History and art in a rural town: San Bartolomé today Valle de Allende, Chihuahua*, coord. by Clara Bargellini, series *Studies and sources of art in Mexico* 61 (Mexico: UNAM-Institute of Aesthetic Research, 1998), pp. 275-311.

what today is still known as the Altos de Jalisco, and another case would be the region around the town of Aguascalientes. It is not for nothing that some of the best and most beautiful examples of what has been called the classic Mexican hacienda (so maligned in certain historiography, but so omnipresent in New Spain and Mexican geography) flourished, precisely, in those regions.⁷⁸

Of the three territorial groups that made up the old New Galicia, the central area of New Galicia was, by far, the one with the greatest weight both demographically and economically, and above all, the one with the most varied and complex population. A brief note on the evolution of local indigenous societies could give us an idea of the above. During the second half of the 16th century, the tribute system developed and grew with respect to what was previously mentioned, so that more and more Indian towns were progressively incorporated into it. Thus, for example, in the appraisals of 1558-1559, 89 town centers were included (not counting the subjects), of which 61 were in the central mountainous neo-Galician plateau and the rest beyond the Rio Grande ravine. Thirty-five years later, in 1593, there were already 188 town centers assessed, of which 143 were located south of the ravine. Curiously, this increase in the number of tributary head towns occurred in a context of general decline in the indigenous population, attested to by the appraisals themselves, where we see how practically all towns were assessed downwards during the aforementioned period.

All of the above is clearly the product of an intense process of incorporation of indigenous societies into Spanish life through tribute, which entailed profound mutations. Many towns disappeared, while others were created and still others split into two or three portions, always through reduction. We cannot go into the detail of this issue here, but some global figures may give an idea of what was happening. In 1570, for example, of the 89 towns assessed, 42 were towns headed

⁷⁸ For further references on the haciendas in the north of Nueva Galicia, the following works can be consulted, among many others: Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, *Haciendas and indigenous communities in the south of Zacatecas: colonial society and economy (1600-1820)*, series Scientific Collection 181 (Mexico: INAH, 1989); Jesús Gómez Serrano, *Ciénega de Mata. Development and decline of linked property in Mexico* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes / El Colegio de Jalisco, 1998); Ramón Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara cattle ranch. New Spanish regional study, 1760-1805* (Seville: School of Hispanic American Studies, 1977); Cuauhtémoc Esparza Sánchez, *History of livestock farming in Zacatecas, 1531-1911* (Zacatecas: UAZ-Department of History, 1988).

of the Crown, 79 and of them 32 were halfway between the Crown and their respective encomenderos.⁸⁰ In 1593, however, there were already 99 encomendero towns out of the 188 assessed capitals. That is to say, if on the one hand it is true that numerous towns were incorporated into the jurisdiction of the Crown through the corregimiento, this did not necessarily imply a concomitant decrease in the number of encomiendas, as has often been assumed; On the contrary, the number increases in both cases.

The demographic decline that affected the indigenous population of the province seems to have continued, at least, until the first third of the 17th century,⁸¹ when the population curve began to rebound, at least in some areas of the central plateau of New Galicia and, in especially, in Guadalajara itself.⁸² However, as Thomas Calvo showed, throughout the 17th century the rise in population, not only in that city, but especially in its very large surrounding region, was closely related to the constant arrival of population indigenous to a very extensive area around it.⁸³ Not for nothing did that region also become the largest recipient of distribution labor in the entire governorate, but, in addition to that, the fact is that a good part of the newly arrived indigenous population ended up settling in the region.⁸⁵ In the end, it was thanks to all these factors together that the Spanish settlement in Nueva Galicia and especially in the Guadalajara region finally managed to consolidate itself. However, it is worth remembering that this is a process whose consequences also extended to the indigenous population itself. During that same period, for example, some of the Indian towns in the Guadalajara region became military, even among the largest settlements in the province, as was the case of Tlajomulco,

⁷⁹ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, pp. 342-344.

⁸⁰ AGI, cont 859.

⁸¹ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia (1620)* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1980). See especially the introductory study by François Chevalier, pp. 19-64.

⁸² Thomas Calvo, "Demography and economy. The situation in New Galicia in the 17th century", *Mexican History* 41, no. 4 (April-June 1992): 579-613.

⁸³ Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region in the 17th century. Population and economy* (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), especially pp. 136-173.

⁸⁴ Moisés González Navarro, *Indian divisions in Nueva Galicia*, series Scientific 1 (Mexico: National Museum of History/INAH, 1953).

⁸⁵ Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, pp. 136-173.

which at that time was also an important supplier of various artisan products.⁸⁶

What was happening with the Guadalajara region at the beginning of the 17th century would be, in many ways, an image of what would happen in many other areas of the Neo-Galician center, with the difference that the rest of the territory would remain very weakly urbanized during the following centuries. Like Zacatecas, or perhaps even to a greater extent than Zacatecas, Guadalajara was an exceptional figure in its immediate area of influence. More than the appearance of new Spanish towns *per se*, what we see there during the 17th century is, rather, the progressive expansion and multiplication of agricultural and livestock farms and later also of sugarcane and mining farms, which developed and they grow in close proximity and economic imbrication with the old Indian towns of the province. Some of them would little by little lose their character as Indian towns, to become towns of mestizos and Spaniards, in a process that would intensify during the 18th century, a period during which we will finally see the appearance of some new Spanish towns, properly speaking, in various corners of the province.

Through a long and very complex itinerary, we finally found, in the cases noted above, a very clear sequence. We see how the precarious Spanish establishments of the period of the conquest must have functioned first as outposts, true isolated enclaves in hostile lands, so that, only after numerous transformations, some of them ended up becoming true settlement areas, sustained by the arrival of new Spanish colonizers and friendly Indians from the center of New Spain, and also by the incorporation of local aboriginal populations into the life of these establishments. It was only the long-term consolidation of these processes that allowed the slow and progressive transformation of these settlement areas into what we could call authentic historical regions. Of course, the moments, rhythms and particularities of this very general sequence were very different in the different geographical contexts of the immense New Galicia of the 16th century. However, a very important fact to consider is that this type of sequence is typical only of those regions where the Spanish encountered village societies with low population density and a relatively dispersed settlement pattern. On the other hand, in regions of high culture and high demographic density, such as those of nuclear Mesoamerica,

⁸⁶ Thomas Calvo, "Demography and economy", pp. 580-581.

This type of sequence does not operate, or develops in very different ways, to the extent that there is a previous settlement there, the indigenous, capable of fully sustaining the nascent local Spanish society, even in times of greatest demographic debacle, as happened in the peaceful center of New Spain. These are, therefore, two types of colonial society that are entirely and essentially different, in their origins and forms of evolution and development: something of which only the much despised regional history is capable of accounting.

THE CHICHIMECA WAR

Salvador Álvarez, El Colegio de Michoacán

When talking about the so-called Chichimeca War, it is inevitable to evoke the figure of Philip Wayne Powell. His well-known work outlined, in its most important features, what remains the dominant historiographic image on the subject of the wars between Spanish and Indians in general in New Spain and in particular, in the northern regions. One of the secrets of his success was that he knew how to place at the forefront of the historiographical scene a character until then little considered, but potentially very attractive: the nomadic warrior of the north, who had been able to succeed in that in which the Sedentary civilized Mesoamericans had failed, that is, to resist and even put the Spanish invader on the defensive. For Powell, the explanation for the success of these warriors was, paradoxically, in their characteristics as entirely primitive societies. It all began with the discovery of silver in Zacatecas, when the plains of the great northern arid plateau, which constituted the natural habitat of these barbarians, were invaded by an endless procession of caravans of chariots, horsemen, tamemes and flocks heading toward the new lands. you go mines. Given this, the nomads, hunter-gatherers, with a warrior culture, always accustomed to harassing their sedentary neighbors and rejecting any invader of their hunting territories, would have simply reacted in the way that was culturally typical and their own, war. :

Even their religious practices, primitive as they were, influenced tenacity, ty with which he fought the white and Indian invaders of his hunting territories. His preparation since he was a child, his food, his type of shelters, his relationships with the neighboring tribes, their concept of white men and sedentary Indians. rivers, their games and other amusements, all this became a determining factor in the type of war (and resistance) that opposed the sedentary peoples from the south.¹

¹ Philip Wayne Powell, *The Chichimeca War (1550-1600)* (Mexico: FCE, 1975), pp. 47-48.

Following this explanation, actually closer to Ethology than to History, it is then related how the attack on convoys and pedestrians and then the harassment and assault on Spanish establishments came to acquire for the Chichimecas a look close to the practice of hunting-gathering. They simply now obtained infinitely juicier prizes: large mammals such as cows, pigs and horses, once unknown to them, but good to eat; clothing to replace the raw skins of animals and withstand the cold and heat of the desert, iron instruments that replaced stone in all uses, shiny objects that they liked and even captives to swell their meager bands. Then, in the face of Spanish repressive actions, the Chichimeca warriors would have reacted, in accordance with their nature, with even greater ferocity and cruelty. The war took root and the Chichimecas ended up making robbery from the Spanish a way of life. In the end, the Chichimeca, converted into a gratuitous and unstoppable scourge, forced the conquerors to use war with fire and blood as a remedy, opening a growing spiral of violence, which would not end until the moment when, due to the combined action of war captains and evangelizers, it would have been possible to bring the barbarians into line, sedentarizing them precisely so that they would cease to be barbarians.

In Mexico, Powell's theses continue to be very well accepted. Although different authors have expanded and nuanced it over time, the knowledge of Neo-Galician and Zacatecan society of that period has changed very little the analysis of the war itself. An example of the above is the work of José Francisco Román Gutiérrez who, based on renewed documentation, elaborated on aspects of the government and the general organization of local Spanish society.² However, there is one point on which Román Gutiérrez and other later authors give carte blanche to Powell's interpretation and it is in the idea that their nomadic culture pushed these Indians to spontaneously wage war on all the sedentary people, just by invading their territories:

Contrary to what the Franciscans could expect in the evolution of natural law, the Chichimecas, as exploration progressed in northern Mexico and the Spanish presence began to be felt more insistently in the territories where these groups lived, accentuated their hostility to defend them, and the attacks grew in scope, restricting the presence not only of the religious, but of all those who came in search of

² José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization in Nueva Galicia during the 16th century* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco/UAZ/INAH, 1993).

mining deposits or were part of the current linked to the extraction of silver.³

Behind this type of interpretation of the wars with the Chichimecas, there is one of the oldest and most classic dichotomies of historical-social thought, inherited from the 19th century, that which opposes nomads and sedentary people, which in turn does not. It is but one aspect of an even older one, a legacy of classical antiquity: the one that opposes barbarians and civilized people. As we will see, much of the analysis of the so-called Chichimeca war has been conditioned by the use of this schematic dichotomy, which has ended up becoming a true interpretive straitjacket. But to get a little closer to this point, let's stop at one of the aspects of this theme, which was a direct source of inspiration for much of what has been said about the so-called Chichimeca war: we are referring to the theory of cultural areas, in its application to northern Mexico.

In 1943, that is, just when Powell was presenting his doctoral thesis on the Chichimeca War, the Third Round Table Meeting on Anthropological Problems of Mexico and Central America took place in Mexico. There authors such as Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, Ralph L. Beals and, of course, Paul Kirchhoff discussed the character and interrelationships between the cultural areas originating from that part of the world. Kirchhoff, in particular, postulated that at the time of contact the inhabitants of Arid America (that is, the central and northern Mexican highlands) were among the most culturally archaic in all of North America. Diagnostic features of this archaism were the use of elements such as the simple unreinforced arch; the complete absence of settlements and consequently extreme nomadism; the almost non-existent elaboration of their dresses, almost always consisting of raw skins; the consequent nakedness; In addition to the rudeness of their food, consisting of mesquite and prickly pear bread, raw vegetables and small animals that are barely roasted or not cooked at all. For Kirchhoff, cultural distance

³ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 318.

⁴ See, for example, Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 3 (August 1993): 338-369.
Philip Wayne Powell, "Military administration of the Chichimeca warfare in New Spain, 1550-1595" (PhD thesis, Berkeley, University of California), 1941. Paul Kirchhoff, "The hunter-gatherers of northern Mexico", in *Northern Mexico and the Southern United States. Third round table meeting on the anthropological problems of Mexico and Central America*, ed. by Mexican Society of Anthropology (Mexico: Stylo, 1944), pp. 133-149. 6

The existing difference between these extreme hunter-gatherers and the refined sedentary Mesoamericans established such profound differences in terms of their types of material life that they ended up becoming an impenetrable cultural barrier between them. On each side of the barrier there were then separate cultural areas, each with its own history, common to all its inhabitants, but irreducibly different from the one opposite." Kirchhoff explained, for example, how some groups of hunter-gatherers close to the Mesoamerican border had come to adopt elements isolated from it, such as certain intoxicating drinks and even a simplified version of the ball game, but he insisted that this would not have been enough to break with their cultural archaism, if anything to temper it. On the other hand, the groups located in more remote areas, alien to these influences, preserved a practically pure hunter-gatherer way of life. The classic example of the latter, for Kirchhoff, were the Zacatecos, classified by him as one of the most archaic groups in Arid America.¹⁰

Kirchhoff did not base his theses on the hunter-gatherers of Arid America or on first-hand documentation or field research, almost non-existent for that part of the north at the time. It was nourished by works such as that of Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, *Influence of salt in the geographical distribution of the indigenous groups of Mexico*, which was its main reference;¹¹ or classic compilations such as those by Orozco y Berra, García Cubas, García Icazbalceta, Bolton, Chamberlain and others, also using published collections of archival documents and works of chroniclers and missionaries accessible in their time. Of course, none of these works would have been sufficient to generate an archaeoanthropological synthesis of the cultural characteristics of the mentioned groups: everything went through the interpretive filter

¹⁰ Paul Kirchhoff, "Mesoamerica. Its geographical limits, ethnic composition and cultural characters", supplement, *Tlatoani* 3 (1960): 11. Original edition: *Acta Americana* 1 (1943): 92-107.

¹¹ Paul Kirchhoff, "Relationships between the hunter-gatherer area of northern Mexico and surrounding areas," in *Northern Mexico and the Southern United States. Third round table meeting on the anthropological problems of Mexico and Central America*, ed. by Mexican Society of Anthropology (Mexico: Stylo, 1944), pp. 255-256.

⁹ Kirchhoff, "The hunter-gatherers", p. 142.

¹⁰ Kirchhoff, "Relationships between the hunter-gatherer area", pp. 255-256. ¹¹ Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, *Influence of salt on the geographical distribution of the indigenous groups of Mexico* (Mexico: Printing Office of the National Museum of Archaeology, History and Ethnography, 1928).

of the authors who used them. Powell did not attempt, by any means, to innovate in this area, but simply adopted the filters through which the Mexicanists of those years, and especially Kirchhoff, had reread the colonial sources. On the other hand, he did introduce some adaptations tailored to his own disquisitions, recasting the nomadic hunter-gatherer into an even broader and more homogenizing category that is that of the Chichimeca. Thus appeared those that Powell called the "tribeños of the north", whose four great nations (Pames, Otomies, Guachichiles and Zacatecos) all shared, without the need to delve into particular details of their material life, the basic cultural traits of the hunter-gatherer, nomad, among them his hostility towards the sedentary in general; and they were differentiated only by their regions of origin, their languages, their tactics or their degree of ferocity.¹²

With the success of Powell's work, the conversion of the northern war Indians into Chichimecas and therefore into ipso facto nomads has become a historiographical commonplace so deep-rooted that there has rarely been an attempt to verify whether such a definition coincides really, or not, with what the documentary sources offer. As we will see, the situation is less simple than it seems and in most cases the answer would have to be no. This will mean rethinking some of the theses about the causes, temporality, evolution and geography of the so-called Chichimeca war, which today are little explanatory, especially if they are questioned from a broader temporal and geographical perspective than the one adopted by Powell, as the one that corresponds to the formation of a province as vast as Nueva Galicia.

THE CHICHIMECA WAR SEEN FROM THE NEW CENTRAL GALICIA

To better understand who the Chichimecas finally were and how the famous war to which they gave their name was born, it would be worth making a couple of preliminary clarifications. In the introduction to *The Chichimeca War*, Powell made the following statement: "During the early years of the [1540s] a new province 'of the Chichimecas' [sic] officially came into existence as cattle and missionaries advanced westward from Querétaro, towards the North of Michoacán and towards the northwest from Guadalajara."¹³ The above is, of course, strictly false. As has been explained extensively in other sections of this work, the Chichimecas entered the historical scene

¹² Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, pp. 43-67.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

New Spain long before that, that is, from the moment in which the great region located beyond the Nuestra Señora River (today Lerma) was baptized as the Province of the Teúles-Chichimecas. From there began what Nuño de Guzmán very explicitly and significantly called at that time "the first land of enemies," those enemies being, of course, the Chichimecas.¹⁴

Certainly, for the Spanish that Province of the Teúles-Chichimecas was already a land of war even before they entered it. But, despite their current fame, it must be said that the Chichimecas were neither the first nor necessarily the most ferocious brave Indians that the Spanish encountered in American lands. Leaving aside the famous Caribs and other groups from the islands and eastern coasts of the New World, with whom the Spanish fought terrible wars, let us remember that in the case of New Spain it was populations of advanced farmers of pure Mesoamerican stock that previously that the Chichimecas themselves played the role of brave, ferocious and untamed Indians: in provinces such as the Zacatula Mutines, inhabited by populations of Mayan, Mixtec and Zapotec speaking and culture; or in the Gold Riots or Colima Riots, occupied by Mesoamerican farmers, origin of a variant of Nahuatl, the Spanish found populations that easily rivaled the Chichimecas in ferocity and bravery.

The above are examples that the threshold between the regions of brave Indians of war and Indians of peace never coincided with the borders of Kirchhoff's Mesoamerica, but was, in any case, much further south: roughly along the lines that divided the regions occupied by societies of advanced agricultural civilization and very high demographic density, whose deep structures allowed them to absorb to some extent the shock of the conquest, from those occupied by village, Mesoamerican societies, or not, but endowed with more dispersed settlement patterns and whose structures were incapable of withstanding the same shock without too many ruptures and tensions. There, in the mere presence of the conquering hosts, violence and war ensued immediately and lasted for a very long time: it is an abyss into which very different societies were dragged, which is why many different classes of Indians also existed. bravos

In the context of the American conquests, the spontaneous warlike violence of the Indians towards the Spaniards, in reality, never existed and for a simple reason: the conquest was, in essence and first and foremost, an act of war. The passage of a conquering host through any region of geography

¹⁴ Ibid., «Letter to His Majesty from the president of the Court of Mexico», p. 25.

Americana was never an innocuous fact with consequences for the societies that had to suffer it. If the beginning of microbial unification already entailed disastrous consequences for aboriginal societies, whatever their size, the package consisting of pestilence plus war became for many of them a burden too difficult to bear.¹⁵ But leaving epidemics and the fall of the population as the tragic background of this entire situation, there were other factors that contributed in perhaps more rapid and immediate ways to the establishment of war violence between the Spanish and the Indians. The permanent presence of large numbers of friendly Mesoamerican Indians, within the ranks of the conquest hosts, determined that wherever there were no large concentrated indigenous settlements, the conquerors always had the advantage of numbers in the face to face. That, added to the bloody type of warfare that the Spanish practiced, ended up making them almost unstoppable wherever they went. The looting and destruction of goods for the consumption of the troops, the taking of captives for their qualification as *tamemes*, that is, porters or, at the time, as washers of gold sands, or as slaves for sale, were permanent practices in the conquest expeditions and that lasted long beyond that period.¹⁶

In such a context, one might wonder if it would have been possible that wherever the Spaniards marched they would encounter something other than war, flight and reprisals. The fact is that, as this type of conquest advanced and took root in each part of the New World, war and violence ended up being transmitted from one region to another, like cascading dominoes. It is not surprising then that the very magnificent lord found "his" Province of the Teúles-Chichimecas already in war before his conquest, and that once that ordeal was over the primitive organization of the new province, called New Galicia, acquired a military character.¹⁷ During his stay as governor, Guzmán entrusted more than 120 Indian towns; Many of them were found in remote and rugged areas, difficult to access, not really conquered: they were the so-called *encomiendas* of

¹⁵ Alfred W. Crosby, *The Transoceanic Exchange. Biological and cultural consequences from 1492*, General History series 16 (Mexico, UNAM-IIH, 1991). 16

Berthe Jean-Pierre, «The gold mines of the Marquis of the Valley of Tehuantepec, 1540-1547», in *Studies in the history of New Spain. From Seville to Manila*, series Collection of studies for the history of Jalisco 3 (Mexico: University of Guadalajara / Cemca, 1994), pp. 15-24.

¹⁷ Silvio Zavala, "Nuño de Guzmán and the slavery of the Indians," *Mexican History* 1, no. 3 (January-March 1952): 411-428.

war. In them the *encomendero* simply acquired the exclusive right to appear periodically in "his" area to forcibly extract taxes from "his *encomenderos*", or to capture them and take them to work in Spanish establishments: it was a practice that only in the formal was different from the capture of slaves and that we will see reproduced in Chichimeca lands in various contexts and moments.

A tragic climax was reached with the so-called Mixtón War and the devastating intervention, in 1541, of the multitudinous army commanded by Viceroy Mendoza, 18 with its several hundred Spanish cavalry and infantry and something like 50,000 Indian auxiliaries from the center of New Spain. Unstoppable simply due to its size, this war machine literally crushed and uprooted the Indian villages in the main area of the conflict and then turned on the rest of the governorate, pacifying it in the bloodiest way. In this way, five years later, Nueva Galicia, at least in its central part, could finally be considered more or less pacified. The Neo-Galician Chichimeca did not disappear, since the Indians of that province never really stopped being considered as such, but what was determined then was the withdrawal of the war Chichimeca towards remote and inaccessible areas, where, however, it continued subsisting for a long time yet. The Texcoquines, from the mountains and coastal marshes of the current states of Nayarit and Jalisco,¹⁹ as well as the entire inhabitants of the old province of Chiametla,²⁰ are two examples of wartime Chichimecas who remained outside the control of the Spanish. However, the most dangerous region plagued by brave Indians in old Nueva Galicia was precisely that of the Sierra Madre Occidental massif, beyond the Rio Grande or Santiago, to the east and northeast of central Nueva Galicia. To the north was the so-called province of Guaynamota, home to several nations of Chichimecos, including the Tecuales and Cuanos, and a little further south the region of the Tepeque River, home of the Chichimecas Caxcanes and Zacatecos. But beyond their particular identities, the important thing is to say that all of them, both the civilized inhabitants of Jalisco and the

18 See, in this work, "The first regionalization (1530-1570)", by Salvador Álvarez.

¹⁹ Jesús Amaya Topete, *Ameca: Mexican proto-foundation: history of property in the Ameca valley Jalisco and circumvecindad* (Mexico: Lumen, 1951), appendix, pp. 177-184; Peter Gerhard, *The north frontier of New Spain* (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 141-143.

20 Salvador Álvarez, «Chiametla: a forgotten province of the 16th century», *Trace* 22 (December 1992): 5-23.

anthropophagous from the coasts and mountains, entered for the Spanish within the same category: Chichimecas. twenty-one

In reality it would be possible to say that, in the strictest sense of the term, the Chichimeca war was not one, but many, and that in reality they began a long time before the founding of Zacatecas, in regions extremely remote from the northern arid plateau; something in which the nomadic hunter-gatherer à la Powell or Kirchhoff had nothing to do with, therefore. But if, following historiographical custom, we insisted on naming as the Chichimeca war only the one that had Zacatecas as its center and took place in the area crossed by the road between those mines and Mexico City, it would then be necessary to say that there also it began long before the opening of the mines and its geography far exceeded the region crossed by what would be called the Camino de la Plata. Let us remember that, in reality, the Zacatecas road was a derivation of the one that led from Mexico to New Galicia, or to Guadalajara, to be more precise. Since the 1530s, traffic along the route increased, while herds of cattle multiplied explosively.²² This attracted figures such as Hernando de Santillana, Juan Núñez Cedeño or Hernán Gómez de Santillán,²⁴ who populated places of stay and acquired Otomi encomiendas to become some of the first cattle lords of the territories north of Anáhuac. Meanwhile, both pedestrians and ranchers-encomenderos continued to carry out frequent war raids to capture pieces of slaves for work on the ranches themselves, for use as *tamemes* or for sale in Mexico City and other places.

²¹ Salvador Álvarez, «Of distant kingdoms and infidel tributaries: the Indian of Nueva Vizcaya in the 16th century», in *Moving frontiers: colonial classifications and sociocultural dynamics in the American borders*, coord. by Christophe Giudicelli (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán / Cemca / French Embassy in Mexico, 2010).

²² François Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia in Mexico. Land and society in the 16th and 18th centuries* (Mexico: FCE, 1975), pp. 126-129.

²³ Peter Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519-1821* (Mexico: UNAM, 1986), pp. 392-393; about Núñez Cedeño: Peter Boyd-Bowmann, *Geobiographical index of more than 56 thousand inhabitants of Hispanic America*, vol. 1, 1493-1519 (Mexico: FCE/UNAM, 1985), p. 43, no. 1251, and p. 79, no. 2310.

²⁴ Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Government and society in New Spain: The Second Audience and Antonio de Mendoza* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Gobierno de Michoacán, 1991), p. 185.

The process continued over the next three decades, so that, by 1551, that is, at a time when the Camino de la Plata was just beginning to take shape, the region had already been ravaged by more than a decade of war. The sedentary Indians of the area complained of the destruction of their crop fields and of being displaced from their lands due to the destructive presence of herds of more than 30,000 heads of cattle, belonging to 32 ranchers settled in the jurisdiction.²⁵ Further to the northwest the situation soon became even more serious. At the beginning of the 1530s, Viceroy Mendoza granted a commission to Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, a former participant in the expedition of the Teúles-Chichimecas, the Indians of Acámbaro and Apaseo;²⁶ and granted him several cattle sites, with which he populated several ranches, such as that of Chamácuaro, north of Acámbaro.²⁷ Then, to the west, the ranches of Conguripo and Coína (already very close to Lake Chapala) appeared, belonging to Juan del Camino, encomendero of Cuitzeo; and another ranch was that of Pénjamo, belonging to the encomendero of that same town, Juan de Villaseñor y Orozco.²⁸ Also in the Yuriria area, at least seven stays were granted during that period.²⁹ In the same way, between 1542 and 1550 at least 24 more grants were granted for sites of ranches, only between Apaseo and Chumacero.

30 The above shows us that the Spanish were very present in the region of the Nueva Galicia road, long before the opening of the

²⁵ Ibid., p. 171; Joaquín García Icazbalceta, "Beef cattle in Mexico", in *Works of Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Various tracts* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1880), volume 2, no. 2 P. 454.

²⁶ Ruiz Medrano, *Government and society in New Spain*, p. 169; Fernando González Dávila, «Situation of the appropriation and use of land in the bajío in the middle of the 16th century. Essay on cartographic interpretation, 1540-1560», in *Borders in motion. Expansion in northern territories of New Spain*, coord. by Omar Moncada (Mexico: UNAM-Instituto de Geografía, 1999), p. twenty.

²⁷ Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 131.

²⁸ Ibid., appendix, p. 129; Mariano González Leal, *Secret relationship of conquerors. Reports from the personal archive of Emperor Carlos I that is preserved in the Escorial library in the years 1539-1542* (Guanajuato: University of Guanajuato-Taller de Ciencias Humanísticas, 1979), p. 53.

²⁹ Ariane Baroni Boissonas, *The formation of the agrarian structure in the colonial Bajío, XVI-XVII centuries*, Cuadernos de la Casa Chata series (Mexico: CIESAS, 1990), pp. 45-47.

³⁰ Rosalía Aguilar Zamora and José Tomás Falcón Gutiérrez, «"Walking with the herd on your back." The founding of Indian villages and towns in the valley of the Chichimecas», *Takwá* 9 (spring 2006): p. 54.

Zacatecas mines. But beyond its pure presence, the fact that, together with their stays, these captains will hold war commissions of the type of Those described above automatically converted it into a slave-trading region. Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra immediately stood out for sending large quantities of slaves from the vicinity of his ranches in Acámbaro and Apaseo to his mines in Taxco.³¹ It would not be strange to find out that, as in other war orders, some or the majority of those slaves were their own *encomendados*,³² and it is also known that other *encomenderos-estancieros* in that area also followed their example.³³ Chichimec slaves continued to arrive in significant numbers to Taxco and other places in central New Spain; In that area, the miners complained that the application of the New Laws would cause a drop in silver production due to lack of labor.³⁴ This removal of slaves had its consequences, of course. The violence increased so much on the road to Guadalajara that in 1535 the viceregal authorities had to ask Cristóbal de Oñate, at that time interim governor of Nueva Galicia, to travel with soldiers and Indians who were friends of his governorship to bring him to heel. to the Chichimecas of those parts.³⁵

The above shows us that, in the strict sense of the term, the war that broke out between the Indians and the Spanish after the founding of the Zacatecas mines, on the new road to those mines, was nothing more than the continuation and extension of that which had been raging for almost two decades on the road to Guadalajara. Given the short distance between the two routes (no more than a hundred kilometers on their central routes), it is clear that the indispensable entries in search of *tamemes* and slaves organized by the pedestrians of both had necessarily an effect

31 For the case of Cortés, see, for example, Berta Ulloa Ortiz, "Cortés esclavista," *Historia Mexicana* 16, no. 2 (October-December 1966): 240.

32 About Pérez de Bocanegra: Silvio Zavala, *The personal service of the Indians in New Spain*, vol. 1, 1521-1550 (Mexico: El Colegio de México / El Colegio Nacional, 1984), pp. 205 and 231.

33 Isauro Rionda Arreguín, *Chapters of Guanajuato colonial history* (Guanajuato: University of Guanajuato-Center for Humanistic Research, 1997). Zavala,

³⁴ *The personal service of the Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 205, 224 and 231.

35 Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *The Primigenia Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia (1548-1572): response to Juan de Ovando's questionnaire by the oidor Miguel de Contreras y Guevara* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Michoacán/Instituto Cultural Ignacio Dávila Garibi / National Chamber of Commerce of Guadalajara, 1994), p. 289.

cumulative. It was this prior state of war and not a spontaneous reaction on the part of the local Chichimecas, as Powell claimed, that explains why Zacatecas was, from its very birth, a war route.

What, in any case, did have to do with money was the rapid deepening of that war violence. Thus, for example, in 1551, fearful that silver shipments would not be interrupted, Viceroy Velasco commissioned Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra to command a company of soldiers, supported by 2,000 Indian friends from Michoacán and Others were taken by the local *encomenderos*, 36 "to arrest and punish the brave Chichimecas and other Indians who are roaming around, stealing and killing on the road that goes from this city to the Zacatecas." 37 Something that very well defines the profound ambiguity of the institutional efforts and legal discourses developed around this war is found when we see how, in that case, the viceregal authorities warned Bocanegra to make an effort to attract the Chichimecas through gentleness and reason, offering them protection and amnesty for their past misdeeds, and most curious and revealing of all: ordering him to always feed "the tamemes that are taken" and that this be done "without the Indians being harassed." do them no harm." 38 Of course, these authorities were not unaware that in the north, or anywhere else, no Indian would voluntarily volunteer as tameme. They knew well that for this they had to first run around and capture them, then tie them by the neck and feet, and finally place the mecapal and the load on them. Once loaded, you had to know how to force them to walk endless stretches under the torture of the weight, always avoiding their escape. All of the above had a single objective: to facilitate the persecution of the Chichimecas to their own lairs, to there disrupt and subdue them:

And if, by chance, the Chichimecas and Guachichiles Indians insist on their shamelessness and rebellion and do not want to come to the royal obedience and dominion of His Majesty and put themselves in defense and resistance to not allow themselves to be captured, the said Mr. Herrera will it must attack and continue with the said people of war until they are undone and disrupted and arrested and punished in accordance with the Royal Commission. 39

36 Philip Wayne Powell, *War and peace on the North Mexican Frontier: a documentary record*, Chimalistac collection 32 (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1971), document 1, pp. 11-12.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

38 *Ibid.*, p. eleven.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

The strategy seemed logical, but we know well that it did not work. Perhaps, with a little imagination, it would have been possible to think that famous captains such as Diego de Ibarra, Cristóbal de Oñate, Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, Alonso de Castilla, Pedro Gomar Reynoso, Rodrigo del Río de Losa, the very famous Pedro de Ahumada and Miguel Caldera and others like him managed to corner the Chichimecas, controlling the territories to which they were linked as archaic hunter-gatherers, harassing and punishing them right there until they were taught and made to accept the yoke that was offered to them. Part of the explanation for the failure of these famous war captains for so many years, in trying to corner the Chichimecas in their supposed lands, may be given by a brief account of how the Spaniards encountered that situation, barbarian nation that Kirchhoff considered among the most archaic of the northern highlands: the Zacatecos.

The first important consideration is that the choice of the real name of mines was not accidental. In reality, the Zacatecos were old acquaintances of the Spaniards of New Galicia and it simply happened that in order to reach the site that was located in the depths of a vast region, until then unexplored, but that the conquerors had long ago identified as home of two nations of Chichimecos considered by their own conquerors as extremely close to each other: the Caxcanes and the Zacatecos. In reality, the emergence of the Zacateco in the history of New Galicia dates back to a few years before. The first document to describe with some clarity who these Indians were and what their geographical distribution is the Anonymous Report of the Uprising of the Indians of New Galicia, that is, the so-called Mixtón War, written in 1542. It refers to that the "beginning of the uprising was for not paying the taxes due to particular lords of towns who reside in that province"; and he added that those who had led the uprising were people from Juchipila, Apozol and Jalpa, among other towns, because their people were Caxcans and Chichimecas and more powerful than there are in that province.⁴⁰ A little

40 José Luis Razo Zaragoza, comp., *Chronicles of the conquest of the kingdom of New Galicia in the territory of New Spain* (Guadalajara: IJAH / Guadalajara City Council / INAH, 1963), «Relation of the conquest of New Galicia, last year of 1542. Anonymous third of the Jalisciense Institute of Anthropology and History», p. 331. We must clarify here that in the work of Brother Antonio Tello there are references that could be added to those previously mentioned, however it is a work that due to its characteristics we consider that it cannot be used as a primary source: Antonio Tello, *Crónica miscelánea de la holy province of Xalisco* (1653) (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / INAH/IJAH, 1973).

Later the author also reveals who those Chichimecas were who They populated the region along with the Caxcanes: «The entire bank of this river and ravine It is populated by Indians called Zacatecos, who are great archers and in this time that the Adelantado passed were not lifted because they were subject to Tonalá. The latter is an important reference, as it allows us to understand better the context in which these Indians first appear. Tonalá had been encomienda around 1535 to Juan Sánchez Belmonte by the then interim governor Cristóbal de Oñate, who had added as part of the privilege that the aforementioned Belmonte would also be in charge of "400 Indian houses "the first thing to be pacified" in that ravine, as indicated in the title.⁴²

What Belmonte received then was a typical war commission, located in this case right on the edge of the great ravine of the Nuestra Señora river or Santiago, where the Anonymous Report of 1542 precisely placed the zacatecos. The right was granted not over a town of Indians, that is, over a population center compact enough to be considered do as such, but on a series of hamlets or small Indian ranches scattered throughout the ravine, and to which the encomendero should submit as taxes by their own means, before being able to benefit from them.

Beginning especially with the Mixtón War, the nickname Zacateco was systematically attributed to the inhabitants of the small rancherías and loose houses, scattered throughout the Sierra Madre mountains south of the site of the future mines. One of the best examples of the above is that of the encomiendas of Diego Hernández de Proaño, who in 1535 received Tlaltenango as the head town, and associated with it, along with a group of nine nearby subject towns.⁴³ The second is that of Toribio de Bolaños, who was assigned Jalpa along with another twenty subject towns, also close to the main one.⁴⁴ Given the context of war in which the area was located, these captains were difficult to enforce their encomienda rights during those years. However, later, in 1550, when the ashes of the so-called Mixtón War were beginning to cool and the mining center of Zacatecas (discovered in 1546) was becoming populated, Toribio de Bolaños managed to obtain, in exchange for the parcels he had possessed before the war without enjoying them, the Court granted him custody

41 Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicles of the conquest*, "Relation of the conquest of Nueva Galicia", p. 333.

42 Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, p. 287.

43 Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 79; Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *The Primigenia Audiencia*, p. 288.

44 Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 79; Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *The Primigenia Audiencia*, p. 288.

of several subject towns of Nochistlán, cataloged this time unequivocally as Zacatecos: Gavila, Camachan, Cuacastle and Chola. Four. Five

It is very significant that all the Zacateco towns that appear in this documentation were cataloged as subjects of Caxcan towns. This is an indicator of the existence of very close cultural ties between these two groups; Some linguistic elements could be added to the documentary references. Although the information we have is scarce, we could highlight how among the Zacateco towns given to Bolaños some names have consonances that seem to be taken from Nahuatl, such as Cuacastle, Asquestán or Nochistique, for example, but others seem to come from a different language: Gavila, Arabaltica, Pocotique, Bicolique, etc. We know from different sources, including the Geographical Relations of 1580 belonging to Tlaltenango and Nochistlán, that all the people of that region originally spoke the Caxcana language, which, as emphasized in the same source, was different from Nahuatl.⁴⁶ This refutes the identification that has sometimes been made of Caxcán with Nahuatl and instead gives us an account of the existence of very close cultural relations between the so-called Zacatecos and Caxcanes. This allows us to better understand the overlapping distribution that can be found between Zacatecan and Caxcan settlements in Nueva Galicia of that period and, above all, the complex and very extensive geography of the settlements properly called Zacatecas. These extended from the northern bank of the Santiago River to beyond Tlaltenango, and to the northwest to the area of the Tepeque River, where the aforementioned encomienda of Toribio de Bolaños was located.

Little by little the Zacatecos, or at least a part of them, were integrated, at least to a certain extent, into the life of New Galicia. Since they were farmers, tributes were asked from them, so that we see in the accounts of the royal tributes of Nueva Galicia from 1557 to 1560 the collection of the same from a series of Zacateco ranches near Tlaltenango (most likely north of that town), called Cacantichan, Ycot, Tachicultuicatalocoyahuca, Taltiquinalo and Yecotoyca, which paid taxes during those years in corn (100 bushels each), chickens and turkeys; products that were acquired by the Zacatecas tribute buyer to feed the residents of those mines.⁴⁷ Another case of sedentary Zacatecos and also farmers

⁴⁵ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, pp. 93-95. ⁴⁶

René Acuña, ed., *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia (Mexico: UNAM, 1988)*, pp. 145-162.

⁴⁷ AGI, Accounting 860, *Accounts of the Real Caja de Zacatecas, 1560, Appraisal of*

living in relative peace with the Spanish is that of those who Diego de Ibarra had settled around 1550 on his estates in Valparaíso and Trujillo. Although these, in reality, had been placed there by force in the form of a reduction. However, it is known that, despite this, Ibarra had managed to get those Zacatecos to work on his grain ranches.⁴⁸

As we know, the Zacatecas mines were settled extremely quickly. According to the census ordered by the oidor Hernán Martínez de la Marcha in 1550, that is, just four years after the discovery, there were already more than 300 Spanish residents there, of which 34 were already miners and there were 80 metal mills.⁴⁹ It is important to emphasize then that, at that time, the main sources of labor to keep all of this functioning were located just to the south: that is, either in the territories of Zacatecos and Caxcanes, or further away, in Nueva itself. Central Galicia. In the document itself it is mentioned how the first miners solved the problem, when it is mentioned that at that time there were already 230 slave houses in the real, many of whom were certainly Zacatecos. Legally, the presence of Indian slaves in those mines at that time should not be surprising. At the outset, it is necessary to say that on those borders the ordinances issued prohibiting the slavery of the Indians were never carried out. So much so that in 1540 the Court of Mexico was forced to report that although all the mines in the province were worked by slaves, these would have been rescued, that is, those that the chiefs had as slaves>> and that Christians had simply acquired.⁵⁰ But even more than that. In the north, the capture of Indian slaves continued to be such a widespread situation that the viceregal authorities ended up legalizing it in 1545, with the issuance of a certificate authorizing that the rebel Indians, captured in war, could be sentenced to forced labor in the mines for periods of time. determined, ⁵¹ which was equivalent to perpetual slavery. Furthermore, this provision turned the famous Royal Decree of February 27, 1549 into a dead letter beforehand, which

the towns of Cacantichan, Ycot, Tachicultuicatalocoyahuca, Taltiquinalo and Yecotoyca of Zacatecas.

48 Acuña, Geographical relations, «Relation of the town of San Martín and Llerena and Sombrerete Mines February 6, 1585 by Rodrigo Belcazar Mayor Mayor clerk Gutierre de Segura Witnesses Miguel de Castro, Hernando de la Fuente Martín Pérez, p. 250.

49 Federico Sescosse, "Zacatecas in 1550", *Arts of Mexico*, no. 194-195, year 22 (1975): 5-7.

50 Zavala, *The personal service of the Indians*, vol. 1 p. 224.

51 *Ibid.*, vol. 1 p. 240.

"suppressed" the personal services of Indians and their use as *tamemes*,⁵² so that, in reality, Indian slaves continued to be employed completely normally and legally in Nueva Galicia for several more decades.

Let us remember that the founders of Zacatecas were all of them either *encomenderos* in the region of the Zacatecos and the Caxcanes, or people very close to figures who were. For example, Diego de Ibarra, the main founder of the mines, was not an *encomendero* in the Zacatecos area, but he was a mayor of Nochistlán, while his uncle and benefactor Miguel de Ibarra was a mayor of Zapotlanejo;⁵³ this is a similar case. that of Cristóbal de Oñate, who had his main *encomienda* in Xalisco, but his brother Juan de Oñate⁵⁴ had El Teúl Cuistlán.⁵⁵ Another founder was Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos, who was administrator of the Peñol Blanco salt mines owned by Diego Hernández de Proaño, who, as we have already seen, was for some time one of the main Zacatecos *encomenderos*.⁵⁶ A little later they were joined in Zacatecas by other *encomenderos* and war captains from the Zacatecos and Caxcanes region such as Juan de Zaldívar Oñate (Tepatitlán, Atlemacapuli and Acatlán),⁵⁷ Juan Delgado (El Teúl),⁵⁸ Hernán and Juan Flores (Juchipila),⁵⁹ Martín Alonso (Ocotique and Jocotlán),⁶⁰ Diego Vázquez de Buendía (Nochistlán) and Francisco Delgadillo (Apozol de Juchipila and Atistaque), and Andrés Villanueva⁶¹ (Ocotic). It would be necessary to add, of course, the already mentioned Diego Hernández de Proaño and Toribio de Bolaños, with their *encomiendas* of Zacatecos from Tlaltenango and Jalpa, respectively.

What the previous list shows us is that, with the exception of the service people who were sent to Zacatecas from the center of New Spain by

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 96.

⁵³ Amaya Topete, Ameca, appendix, p. 192.

⁵⁴ AGI, Accounting 861, Accounts of the Real Caja de Zacatecas, Tax appraisals, 1579, appraisal of Xalisco; Diego-Fernández Sotelo, The Primigenia Audiencia, p. 299.

⁵⁵ Gerhard, The north frontier, p. 136; Amaya Topete, Ameca, appendix, p. 166.

⁵⁶ AGI, Accounting 841, Accounts understanding of Zacatecas, Reales Cajas de Zacatecas catecas, Guadiana and New Kingdom of Galicia.

⁵⁷ González Leal, Secret relationship of conquerors, p. 88; Amaya Topete, Ameca, appendix, pp. 122 and 192; Diego-Fernández Sotelo, The Primigenia Audiencia, p.

286; Gerhard, The north frontier, pp. 136-137 and p. 101.

⁵⁸ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, La primigenia Audiencia, p. 284; González Leal, Secret Relation of Conquerors, p. 88.

⁵⁹ Amaya Topete, Ameca, appendix, p. 63.

⁶⁰ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, The Primigenia Audiencia, p. 287.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁶² Benítez, The founders, p. 109.

characters like Martín Cortés, Juanes de Tolosa and Hernán Pérez de Boca Negra, the majority of the labor in the mines in those first years could not have been other than Zacateca. Certainly thinking about that circumstance, in that same year of 1550 Toribio de Bolaños addressed the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia requesting the recognition of old rights granted by Coronado over the Zacatecos of Tepeque (the current Bolaños River), which he alleged which also assured him the exclusive right over both the exploration and the removal of Indians from that entire area.⁶³ He also demanded confirmation of his encomienda rights over towns in the Nochistlán region such as Gavila, Camachan, Cuacastle and Chola.⁶⁴ The result of this initiative was a small war between encomenderos over Zacatecan labor. Diego de Proaño and Juanes de Tolosa, each one in turn, accused Bolaños before the Court of having captured and displaced groups of Zacatecas Indians, coming from that region, to later place them in a reduction near the Zacatecas road. Proaño even accused Bolaños of having entered into complicity with the war Indians who harassed the convoys that passed along the road between Guadalajara and Zacatecas.⁶⁵ In response, Bolaños accused his two adversaries of being the ones who had caused the problems with the Indians, thanks to the incursions they had carried out in the region in dispute.⁶⁶

If it were necessary to date the emergence of the war Zacatecos in the life of the Zacatecas mines, we could well place 1550 as the reference year. However, in that case it would be necessary to point out that on the Zacateco side the war did not begin, at all, on the road to Mexico or even on the road to Guadalajara, but rather deep in the mountains of Tepeque, which means that in that case, perhaps less than anywhere else, the war was the product of a spontaneous reaction on the part of the aborigines. We can even note that, in the end, this small war between encomenderos over the Zacatecos of Tepeque would end up affecting the internal balance of the nascent Zacatecan society. Powerful figures such as Diego and Miguel de Ibarra, as well as Cristóbal de Oñate, managed to exploit this situation to establish themselves with their armed men on the road and organize on their own both the defense of

⁶³ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 76.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95. This Chola should not be confused with the one that existed then in the province of Compostela.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Thomas Hillerkuss, comp., *Biographical Dictionary of the New Spanish West: 16th Century (Zacatecas: Cuéllar/UAZ-Centro de Docencia Superior, 1997)*, vol. 1, pp. 172-173.

the convoys as well as the preparation of the most dangerous and difficult passages of the same.⁶⁷ Of course his actions were not free. To the monopoly of many of the most accessible and richest deposits in Zacatecas, which they already possessed as founders of that real, was now added the control of the supply of a large part of the inputs that reached the mines and at the same time. At the same time they ensured that this region continued to be a constant source of Zacatecan labor for them.⁶⁸ Curiously, this is the same region where two centuries later the famous Colotlán border would be established.⁶⁹ It is still significant that then an area, so difficult to control over time, meant for the Zacatecas miners of those years a source of labor in quantities as respectable as the figures of tributaries that those encomenderos claimed. Let us simply mention in this regard the case of Diego Flores de la Torre and Juan Flores, encomenderos of Juchipila, who initially claimed 600 tributaries and later brought their accounts up to 14,000 tributaries.⁷⁰

As in other latitudes and moments, violence having ignited once in one region, it was soon transmitted to other neighboring ones. That same year of 1550, for example, Juan Delgado, encomendero of El Teúl and a man close to Diego de Ibarra, undertook a war entry into the region of the river Tepeque, with the argument of having found evidence of cannibalism by the local Indians, whom he punished by capturing numerous slaves.⁷² A few months later, we found Zacatecos identified as from the same Tepeque River attacking and looting the town of Tlaltenango, and this was nothing more than the prelude to a generalized war throughout the territory located between Zacatecas and Guadalajara.⁷³ By early 1552, violence reached

⁶⁷ Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, pp. 45-46.

⁶⁸ As is well known, Diego de Ibarra and Cristóbal de Oñate thereafter became two of the most powerful miners and landowners in New Spain. Unfortunately there is no good biography of Cristóbal de Oñate, for more information about the second: Guillermo Porras Muñoz, "Diego de Ibarra y la Nueva España", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 2 (1968): 49-78.

⁶⁹ María del Carmen Velázquez, *Colotlán: double border against the barbarians*, Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia, historical series, 3 (Mexico: UNAM, 1961).

⁷⁰ Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 63.

⁷¹ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, p. 284. Later he would become a partner of Diego de Ibarra for the exploitation of the Peñol Blanco mines: AGI, Contaduría 841, Accounts comprehension of Zacatecas, 1573.

⁷² Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 97.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

now to the very leaks of Zacatecas, where two ranches belonging to Diego de Ibarra and Cristóbal de Oñate were taken by assault by the Zacatecos, who put their Spanish stewards to flight, then killing or dispersing all the livestock. That same year, a convoy from Mexico, financed by Ibarra and Oñate as well, was assaulted and several of the drivers were murdered.

As we had evoked, we could well say that the confrontations in which the Zacatecos, Pames, Otomís and Guachichiles were involved, just to mention these groups, were not a unitary war, but a series of wars, particular and different from each other, to the extent that each one was unleashed in separate regions, as well as at times and for singular causes, not directly linked to each other, except for the fact that they were all waged against conquerors, who appear as the true efficient cause of all these processes. In this context, Zacatecas with its mines should then only be seen as a place of confluence between all these wars and not its foundation as the sole explanation for everything that happened. Something that could symbolize the above is the arrival to the mines of characters like Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, who brought his own Chichimeca slaves (in his case, Otomís, Pames and Guachichiles), captured in regions very far from the mines and under very different from those that the Zacatecos had experienced; product, in other words, of different wars.

However, in the end, Bocanegra had 25 slave houses built for those Indians, which were most likely very close to those that housed the Zacatecos. of Diego de Ibarra or Cristóbal de Oñate:⁷⁴ symbol of the

time. As is typical of ancient mining economies, as time passed, Zacatecas' needs for food, various inputs and labor necessarily grew much faster than the mining product itself, given the inevitable downward trend in mining yields. minerals. ⁷⁵ The miners themselves knew this from the first crisis of the real in 1552, when many even thought about emigrating to try their luck in minerals such as Etzatlán, discovered in 1545. ⁷⁶ Although the exodus did not occur, in practice the population of the real, less in terms of its number of neighbors, it tended to stagnate: in 1572, as in 1550, three are mentioned again.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 123.

⁷⁵ For a clear and suggestive explanation of the topic: Ruggiero Romano, «Sens et limits de l' "industrie" minière en Amérique espagnole du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle», *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 59, no. 1 (1970): 129-143.

⁷⁶ Amaya Topete, *Ameca*, appendix, p. 58.

hundreds of neighbors in the real," while in 1581, according to the very cursory estimates of Luis Marbán, there were around five hundred Spaniards in total in Zacatecas.⁷⁸ However, what did grow over time was the production of silver: In 1559, 84,695 marks were recorded, a figure that rose to 165,910 marks in 1573.⁷⁹ However, the important thing is to emphasize that as time passed, these increases were only made possible thanks to a constant increase in the number of Indian workers, a large part of them always Chichimeca slaves. At the same time all this also translated into the arrival - from Mexico City, the province of Michoacán and many other places - of an increasing number of businessmen,⁸⁰ who, together With the goods they trafficked, they dragged an even greater number of loose and unlucky individuals, all of whom had reached the highest value, but for whom access to mining property was practically closed.

Many of these people found in participating in expeditions of exploration and conquest of the unknown territories beyond Zacatecas a new pedestal for their dreams and that served at the same time as an escape valve for the mines. Among the most important companies of this type were those of Diego Hernández de Proaño and Ginés Vázquez del Mercado in 1552, and especially the one financed by Diego de Ibarra and carried out by his nephew Francisco of the same surname, in 1554. Interestingly, Powell, in his desire to make the war with the Indians the center of everything that happened in Zacatecas and to transform captains and rulers into agents of civilization, made this expedition a company of evangelization and pacification aimed at the Zacatecas and attributed the initiative not to Diego de Ibarra, who bore all the expenses, but directly to Viceroy Velasco.⁸¹ But as the participants in that company themselves informed the Crown, that was an expedition of discovery, whose objective was the discovery of a rich kingdom called

⁷⁷ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, p. 158; AGI, Guadalajara 55, exp. 5.

⁷⁸ Silvio Zavala, *The personal service of the Indians in New Spain*, vol. 3, 1576-1599 (Mexico: El Colegio de México / El Colegio Nacional, 1987), p. 301; Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España* (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1939-1942), volume 15, no. 851, pp. 50-54.

⁷⁹ Peter J. Bakewell, *Mining and society in colonial Mexico. Zacatecas 1546-1700* (Mexico: FCE, 1976), p. 330.

⁸⁰ José Contreras, *Epistolario de Zacatecas (1549-1599)*, Elías Amador series (Zacatecas: Zacatecas City Council, 1996), «Letter to his majesty from the royal officials of Nueva Galicia, Zacatecas, April 15, 1556, pp. 52-53.

⁸¹ Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, pp. 72-73.

Copala.⁸² And as had happened with so many other enterprises of its type, far from pacifying the Indians, the expedition contributed to spreading war violence. In his story, Ibarra makes it clear how, as he passed, the Indians from newly discovered places, such as Nieves, Avino or Mezquital, simply fled and if pursued attacked the Spaniards. The evangelizing aspect to which Powell refers is even clarified there, which occurred when, after chasing 200 Indians who were fleeing, the Spanish managed to catch them, which allowed them to baptize them and make them promise that from now on they would remain at peace with the Spaniards:⁸³ a useless act, since from then on that region would be permanently at war.

In the end, the new expeditions mentioned and others, such as those of Diego Hernández de Proaño towards the Peñol Blanco and Mazapil salt flats, had the main effect in the scope of the war simply to make its geography more extensive and complex. As in the past, at the pace and following the trail of new discoveries, like an epidemic, violence also spread deep into the northern arid plateau. The almost simultaneity that exists in the history of colonization in America and especially in that of northern New Spain, between the opening of new territories to the Spanish presence and the spread of wars, forces us to reconsider schemes such as the one that attributes a defensive character to wars like the one the Spanish fought with the Chichimecas. More than an expression of a practical fact, defensive war was a concept with legal connotations derived from the theory of just war. Let us remember that according to the most accepted legal doctrine at that time, the American Indians, in their condition as rational entities and as a consequence of the lordship that the kings of Spain exercised over the New World, were recognized as full vassals of the Crown and therefore the territories on which they lived were its heritage. For Matías de la Paz, in *On the dominion of the kings of Spain over the Indians*, as a fundamental reference on the matter, the Indians were obliged to recognize that lordship and to accept along with it the divine word, as well as the presence of the Spaniards themselves, in their lands, even if that lordship had been imposed on them through war. The reason is that, having been waged against pagans by Christians motivated by zeal for the faith and to spread "the name of

⁸² AGI, Board of Trustees 21, doc. 4, Francisco de Ibarra, Relation of the discoveries and conquest by Governor Francisco de Ibarra, 1554.

⁸³ Atanasio G. Saravia, Notes for the history of Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexican Library series 66 (Mexico: UNAM, 1978), vol. 1 p. 101-103.

of the Redeemer", that war was just, and it was also defensive when it was fought to pacify the Indians and secure the Spanish. 84

In the case of the Chichimecas, the most important arguments to declare As just, the wars against them were always apostasy and its necessary complement, heresy; and both were simply configured from the moment in which the Indians refused to settle in the places designated to indoctrinate them, or fled from them. The idea of apostasy in that case derived from the assumption that if they fled, it was a return to their diabolical rites and ancestral vices. For this reason, even for the jurists most favorable to the Indians, they always made it clear that apostasy was a legitimate cause for the imposition of the punishments and penalties typical of captivity by war. 85 We will never know how many Chichimecas were legally reduced to slavery during the long decades of that war, but what we do know is that to the long list of those legitimate captives it would be necessary to add another at least as large, which would be that of the captives illegitimate, or illegal: that is, those who escaped any registration and therefore any memory. As Mario Góngora defined it quite some time ago, in contexts of open borders and with poorly integrated economies, the appearance of groups of people without their own property or inheritances was inevitable (they just approached the border in search of it), dedicated to a wandering life, subsisting thanks to predation and pillage; and adds that in the American context, the main victims of this phenomenon were always the Indians. 86

On the other hand, it is necessary to consider that many of those who came to Zacatecas were not actually miners by trade in search of employment, but war people in search of possible new conquests, or at least to participate in campaigns against the barbarians. Characters such as Juan Sánchez Alanís, Rodrigo del Río de Losa and the famous Pedro de Ahumada, not to mention others, arrived in Zacatecas already at the head of important armies and with the firm decision to build their fortune in the war. In fact, Río de Losa succeeded so well that he became a powerful landowner, provincial governor, and one of the richest men in New Spain. 87 Another source of violence was internal tensions

84 Matías de Paz, *Of the dominion of the kings of Spain over the Indians* (1512), ed. by Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico: FCE, 1954), pp. 222, 255 and 259.

85 Francisco de Vitoria, *Leçons sur les indiens et sur le droit de guerre*, introduction and notes by Maurice Barbier (Geneva: Droz, 1966), pp. 87-91.

86 Mario Góngora, *Vagabundaje and border society in Chile (17th to 19th centuries)*, Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Socioeconomicos series 2 (Santiago: University of Chile-Faculty of Economic Sciences, 1966), p. 3.

87 Charles Foin, «A pacificateur du nord du Mexique: Rodrigo del Río de Losa

among the border Spaniards themselves, among other things, for the control of existing resources. An example of the above is the dispute over ecclesiastical tithes that occurred at the end of the 1550s between the Episcopal Councils of Michoacán and Nueva Galicia, when the former accused the latter of sending armed people to towns and estates in their territory, jurisdiction to collect that tribute by force and take it to Zacatecas.⁸⁸ The control of the loose, wandering and criminal Spaniards themselves was also a reason for militarization: it is not for nothing that justices and mayors with war powers proliferated and for the same reason, in 1560, the court of the Holy Brotherhood was established in Zacatecas, institution in charge of persecuting robbers, no longer Chichimecas, but Spaniards, who also swarmed.⁸⁹ One more variant was the persecution of non-Indian fugitives, such as the case that occurred in San Miguel, where a group of black slaves, having rebelled and fled to the region of the Chichimecas, he was persecuted and punished in the same way as was done with the Indians.⁹⁰

THE REPORT OF PEDRO DE AHUMADA SÁMANO AND THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR WITH FIRE AND BLOOD

Perhaps, from a historical point of view, the most complex task for the analysis of this war is to introduce some type of order in all the enormous documentation that has been brought to light, to try to evaluate, beyond grandiloquence and discursive devices, to what extent the Chichimecas came to represent a real threat to the survival of local Spanish society: as we will see, it is most likely that this would never have been the case. On the other hand, what is very clear is that the Spanish did feel very threatened. Even in the most descriptive texts of this war, we see how, even beyond the anger and incitement to punishment caused by the attacks of the Chichimecas, there was the fear that all that was nothing more than the prelude to a great invasion by hordes of barbarians even more numerous than the Chichimecas themselves and that it ended in a cataclysm. A clear example and also many elements of explanation of the reason for this almost eschatological fear are offered to us by a war captain who arrived in Zacatecas at the beginning of 1560, as

(1536-1606?)", *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 14, no. 1 (1978): 173-214.
Río de Losa was governor of Nueva Vizcaya.

88 Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 189.

89 José Enciso Contreras, *Cedulario de Zacatecas, 1554-1596* (Zacatecas: Zacatecas City Council / Oñati City Council / UAZ), no. 10, pp. 75-76. 90 Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, p. 78.

bearer of a particular mission: to stop, precisely, the much feared invasion. We are referring, of course, to Pedro de Ahumada Sámano, author of two of the best-known documents about the war with the Chichimecas: the "Relation... of the rebellion of the Zacatecas and Guachichile Indians"; and the complement of the previous one, which was the "Information about the rebellion of the Zacatecas and Guachichile Indians..." that was prepared at his request that same

year.⁹¹ Both texts originated from an expedition that that former administrator of the possessions of the Marquis of Valle, a war captain and at the same time a man of letters with skills as an arbitrator, carried out that same year of 1562. His objective was, in his own terms: "the pacification and punishment of the Zacatecos and guachichiles", authors of major thefts and damage in the deserted areas that extended from San Miguel to Zacatecas, that is, throughout the north of New Spain. Ahumada claimed to know where to begin, such an immense task, so, at the head of a host made up of 40 well-armed horsemen and 400 friendly Indians, he immediately headed towards what, according to him, housed the greatest threat ever experienced by man. New Spain: a large concentration of several thousand Zacatecos and Guachichiles, gathered in the rocky territories of Malpaís, north of the new mines of San Martín, who were preparing to throw themselves in immense numbers on the towns, cities and Spanish estates. It is clear that these fears were shared by the inhabitants and authorities of Zacatecas themselves, who immediately, for example, had more than 26,000 pesos to begin the persecution of the Indians.

⁹¹ «Report from Pedro de Ahumada to the most illustrious Lord Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy and captain general of New Spain, regarding what his Lordship orders to inform him of the rebellion of the Zacatecas and Guachichile Indians and the alteration that they caused throughout the kingdom of Galicia, especially in the mines of Zacatecas, San Martín and Avino, the damage they have done and where they live", in Robert H. Barlow and G. T. Smisor, eds., *Nombre de Dios Durango. Two Documents in Nahuatl concerning its foundation, Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services*, c. 1563, *Agreement of the Mexicans and the Michoacanos*, 1585 (Sacramento: The House of Tlaloc, 1943), pp. 53-63; «Information about the rebellion of the Zacateco and Guachichile Indians at the request of Pedro de Ahumada Samario, Mexico. March 20, 1562", in *Collection of unpublished documents for the History of Ibero-America*, ed. by Santiago Montoto (Madrid: Editorial Ibero-Africano-Americana, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 237-358.

⁹² Ahumada was also the author of a document entitled "Transfer of several chapters that Pedro de Ahumada wrote to the Audience of Mexico, on the good governance of New Spain", 1559, cited in Powell, *La Guerra Chichimeca*, p.

91, no. 7.

of Malpaís. 93 Ahumada himself points out that among the Spaniards themselves the confusion was very strong, thinking that they themselves, due to their weakness, were responsible for the situation, because after having suffered innumerable offenses and material damage for "more than a million pesos" they had not been able to teach the Indians a lesson, emboldening them and feeding their "boldness and shamelessness" to the point of having formed

a league among all the Indians and all those who are from the Zacatecas and Guachichiles nation entered into it, from the town of San Miguel to the mines of Zacatecas and to the mines of San Martín and Avino and to the Valley of Peñol Blanco and that of Guadiana (which is more than a hundred leagues of straight road) with all those who were on either side of the road, which is a large number of people - including those who were in the fields in their habit and wild life, as those who were in the opinion of friends and towns near the peace Indians, which were the Indians of Pénjamo and Ayo (who fall into this governorate), the Xicona, Atemajac and Morcinique and other rancherías that border the Caxcan peace towns of Teocaltiche and Nochistlán (which are in the New Kingdom of Galicia). Those from Coauite, Culiacán, Chola and many other rancherías that are in the region of the mines of Zacatecas entered ten or twelve leagues on the confines of Tlaltenango on the way to Guadalajara, where they also publicly raided, the rancherías of the other band of Zacatecas entered. , on the way from San Martín to the Río Grande [...] the rancherías of the region of San Martín and Malpaís entered [...] up to the Guadiana Valley that borders the Tepehuanes [...] those of Malpaís entered and those from Ilapoán [Las Poanas] with those from Avino and those from the Peñol Blanco Valley [...] these had attracted those from Mezquital to their side, who are more than two thousand very warlike archer slackers. Those from Avino and Peñol Blanco would be more than five hundred men of war.⁹⁴

Although extensive, the quote is important since it summarizes the perspective that Ahumada, and with him certainly many of the Spaniards, had forged about the nature and roots of the wars with the northern Indians. The first thing that stands out is the unique geography that is drawn. Summarizing it, we realize that the protagonists of that great league of chichimecas were not only the zacatecos and guachichiles of the Camino

93 After the payment was made from the Royal Treasury, the Crown had to issue a document to Viceroy Velasco so that he could find out exactly what the expenses incurred had been and only that amount would be covered: AGI, Guadalajara 230, 1.

1. 94 De Ahumada Sámano, "Relation of Pedro de Ahumada", p. 53.

Real: the thing was much more serious, since it involved the inhabitants of all the northern confines of New Spain, including the unknown territories to the north of New Galicia, as well as those located east of Zacatecas, up to the province of Pánuco and even beyond, to Florida. It was from these confines that, according to Ahumada, the enemy barbarians had arrived, whom he divided into three great nations. From south to north, the closest enemies of New Spain, those simply called Chichimecas by Ahumada, would have been the inhabitants of the territories of the eastern part of the Neovolcanic Axis and those of the Sierra Madre Oriental, beyond Ixmiquilpan and Meztlán. We can infer that among those pristine Chichimecas were the Pames and Guamares, although not only them, since, according to Ahumada, their territories extended to the region of Pánuco and from there "very far into the inland", perhaps to "the part of Florida", as was proven by the news that had reached those parts about them.⁹⁵ To the north of the previous ones were the Guachichiles, divided into three groups from south to north: first, those from beyond Gran Tunal, on the left hand side (east) of the Zacatecas road; then, those of the Peñol Blanco salt flats; and finally those of Mazapil and unknown territories beyond those mines. The third great nation of barbarians would be the Zacatecos, whose territories would have extended from the western part of the Neovolcanic Axis, where they bordered the Tarascos or Tecos of Xiconá, to continue northwards, the Santiago River over the Atemajac Valley, that is, in the Guadalajara area. From there, the Zacateco territory extended to the north, penetrating the massif of the Sierra Madre Occidental, until it met to the northwest with the region of the Tepeque River (today Bolaños) and to the north with that of the Caxcanes, then encompassing a large portion of the northern highlands, from the site of the Zacatecas mines to San Martín, finally ending in the Guadiana region, where they played with the Tepehuanes.⁹⁶

The report shows how, for Ahumada and in general for New Hispanics, it was perfectly clear that the territories of the Chichimecas were not restricted to the central part of the arid northern Mexican highlands, but extended much further, towards the mountainous regions that bordered it: the Neovolcanic Axis, the Eastern and Western Sierra Madres. And not only that, but Ahumada also made it clear that it was thought that these barbarian nations had ramifications that extended inland, no one knew how far, perhaps to Florida, that is, to its furthest reaches.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 60.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

Such a conjecture could not but renew that old panic that the people of New Spain had been experiencing since the time of the Conquest and in New Galicia, especially since the times of the Mixtón, consisting of seeing themselves one day devastated by the Indians, like it was expressed at that time by such influential figures as Viceroy Mendoza himself, or Pedro Gómez de Maraver.⁹⁷ It is this ancient fear, combined with the content of Ahumada's report, that partly explains why, from then on, a policy of war with fire and blood against the Chichimecas took shape. It is, of course, one of the darkest episodes in the history of New Galicia and in general of New Spain of the 16th century, and whose interpretation still needs to be elaborated. At the time, Silvio Zavala observed, for example, that it seemed to him that the main objective behind Ahumada's project was to remove any brakes on the war and therefore on the enslavement of the Chichimecas, in which he himself would benefit.⁹⁸ No Zavala was not right, but along with that, one might wonder why in the end, the issue of war with fire and blood came to become a reason for consensus not only among the captains and border soldiers, but also in the higher ranks, spheres of the viceregal government, as exemplified by the active participation in its development by the Marquis of Falces and all the New Spain, New Zealand and Zacatecas authorities.

In its pages, Powell presents the war with fire and blood as a desperate response by the Spanish in the face of growing Chichimeca violence that would have paralyzed Zacatecan mining and commerce.⁹⁹ However, that is completely false. If we look at the silver production figures recorded in the Caja Real de Zacatecas during that period and also see Bakewell's analysis of its economy, we realize that during the period of the war with fire and blood, far from entering into paralysis, the Zacatecan mining economy began its great takeoff, production reached nearly 170,000 marks in 1575, its historical maximum of the century.¹⁰⁰ That is: the

97 On Mendoza, see, for example, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Collection of documents for the history of Mexico* (México: Porrúa, 1980), vol. 2, «Fragment of the visit made to Don Antonio de Mendoza. Interrogation by which the witnesses presented by Don Antonio de Mendoza must be examined», pp. 72-140; about Gómez de Maraver: Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, «Letter from Pedro Gómez de Maraver to SM, 1544», pp. 542-457.

98 Silvio Zavala, *The Indian slaves in New Spain* (Mexico: El Colegio Nacional, 1994), pp. 87-88.

99 Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, pp. 86-112.

100 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, in particular, pp. 47-63 (don't forget that the edition

The most critical period of war of fire and blood then coincides with that of the greatest mining boom in Zacatecas. Thus, it is clear that phenomena that Powell attributed to the war, such as increases in the nominal prices of goods arriving in Zacatecas, had less to do with transportation difficulties caused by Chichimec attacks than with the decrease in the relative price of goods, the silver. But even more important than that is that we see how the conflict with the Chichimecas deepens in its violence and expands geographically just when the labor needs in Zacatecas become greater; something that gives war with fire and blood the character of a policy that is the product of a mixture of fear, necessity and economic gain, which may not be glorious, but is undoubtedly more logical.

The proportion of Chichimecas within the workforce in Zacatecas in different periods of its history is, of course, unknown to us. As we saw in the beginnings of the mines, most of the work was provided by them, although over time their proportion must have decreased. Little by little, Indians of different origins arrived, especially from New Spain, with which neighborhoods were even created in Zacatecas, such as those of peaceful Mexicans, Tarascans and Otomies (not all of them were). But it is clear that for entire decades the local economy depended heavily on the work of barbarians. However, that is only one facet of a much more general and important phenomenon: that of their always strong numerical presence, whether fighting against the Spanish or working for them. What is known about them through the sources could hardly be compatible with what anthropological science tells us about what the numbers and population densities of purely nomadic hunter-gatherer societies could have been. As Elman R. Service pointed out, authentic nomadism is not a cultural trait per se that could be freely adopted by a given society, for example, as a rejection of a sedentary lifestyle. Far from it, it is a structural element typical of economies where, in the absence of any form of agriculture or intensification of food production and without means of storing it (this is fundamental: true nomads do not even accumulate, nor store), subsistence depended only on purely extractive activities, in very defined and closed environments.

original is from 1971). For an analysis of the trends in Zacatecan mining production of that period based on figures from the local Caja Real: Salvador Álvarez, «Mining and settlement in the north of New Spain. The cases of Zacatecas and Parí», *Proceedings of the first Congress of Comparative Regional History* (Ciudad Juárez: UACJ, 1990), especially the graph on pp. 110-113.

In the case of pure hunter-gatherer societies located in arid environments, such as the central Mexican highlands, true nomadism would have to have been a product of the need to permanently change location in order not to exhaust the meager affordable consumer goods. That is, for very small societies, constrained to closed territorialities, with scarce and above all fixed resources (technology is a zero factor here), nomadism would not derive from a cultural option, but from an adaptive need, the result of its inescapable dependence on a limited environment.¹⁰¹ Under these conditions, population densities could only be strictly proportional to the spontaneous resources of those restricted areas and therefore very low. Murdock has calculated, for example, for situations similar to those described by Kirchhoff, a maximum of 0.1 inhabitants per square kilometer under ideal circumstances.¹⁰² This would mean that only to support the approximately 3,000 warriors who according to Ahumada would have gathered in Malpaís in 1562, and even assuming that they were people alone, without women or children (which is impossible), an area of around of 30,000 square kilometers: just under the surface of the current state of Puebla. We would then have to ask ourselves how enough Zacatecos could emerge from an environment like Malpaís, and under the living conditions that Powell attributes to them, to carry out incessant attacks over an enormous area and at the same time having to resist the removal of slaves, death by war and epidemics for more than half a century. Of course, it would have been impossible. As we pointed out before, unfortunately we may never know the total figures of the Chichimeca population. But where there do seem to be much more tangible elements to consider within historical sources is regarding the geography of these groups or nations. In the specific case of the Zacatecos, the coincidence between what Ahumada points out and what was found in early sources regarding their primitive distribution is extraordinary. According to the already mentioned war reports, titles and appraisals of encomienda and early tributes, the southern edge of the Zacatecas territories would have been as far from the northern highlands as the northern bank of the Santiago River. But even more than that, let us observe that Ahumada attributed to the Zacatecos an even more extensive territory, occupying the entire southern bank of that river, far beyond the Chapala lagoon; this we consider

¹⁰¹ Elman R. Service, *The Hunters*, New Labor Collection series (Barcelona: Labor, 1979), pp. 20-35.

¹⁰² George P. Murdock y Suzanne F. Wilson, «Settlement patterns and community organization: Cross-cultural codes 3», *Ethnology* 11, núm. 3 (1972): 254-259.

possible, but subject to verification. Be that as it may, what the sources present to us in this case is a cultural group well identified at the time under the patronymic of Zacatecos, occupying a very extensive territory, which not only was not restricted to a particular environment, but included a highly diverse range of landscapes and ecosystems, which in turn offered very varied possibilities of use. These could have included the practice of agriculture in the very diverse areas irrigated by permanent streams, which ran from the summits and ravines of the interior of mountain ranges such as Tepeque, today Bolaños, passing through the high sotomontane valleys of the limits between the Sierra Madre and the northern highlands such as Tlaltenango, Valparaíso, Saín, or Guadiana. In fact, the practice of relatively stable and even somewhat intense agriculture by some Zacateco groups is well documented. It appears, for example, in the aforementioned tax assessments of Tlaltenango, which identified its subject towns as places of Zacatecas, which delivered product to their collector arriving from Zacatecas. Now, we have descriptions of the practice, also by Zacatecos, of an incipient agriculture, complementary to hunting and fruit gathering in more arid environments. It is the Memorial of the Indians of Nombre de Dios, a document contemporary to the Ahumada expedition:

Those from the part of San Martín e Avino made some crops, although few, and they had their own ranches and raised their children and although at times they went out to the deserted areas to enjoy the fruit season, they lived most of the time of the year in their nature. but they always walked with their wives and children, and they are all of one language and nation. 103

What we see then is how, among the diverse natural environments occupied by these groups, the integration to varying degrees of cultivation with hunting and gathering of wild plants was always possible. Thus, groups well identified as Zacatecos are described as developing essentially extractive practices, such as hunting or collecting wild plants in the most arid areas. Again the Memorial of Nombre de Dios: «Savages walk naked. They have no law, no houses, no contracts, nor do they till the land nor do they work other than harvesting, and they sustain themselves from it and from the wild fruits and roots of the land. "Its main maintenance is the prickly pears and mesquite." 104

103 Memorial of the Indians of Nombre de Dios..., p. 58.

104 Ibid., p. 57.

Perhaps the identification between the Zacateco farmers or incipient farmers of the mountains, the lower mountain valleys, and even the alluvial riverbanks of the northern highlands with those Zacateco nomadic hunter-gatherers of the desert could raise doubts. To support the identification between the Zacatecos that we could call from the mountains and those from the desert as belonging to the same cultural group, we can cite two documents: the first is the already mentioned Anonymous report of the uprising of the Indians of New Galicia, of 1542, where it was pointed out that during that conflict the Spaniards precisely distinguished the Caxcanes, and therefore also the Zacatecos, 105 because "they wear their hair up to their headband and on their right foot a dog's leather shoe." 106 Three decades later, in 1575, Brother Guillermo de Santa María, author of the famous work entitled *War of the Chichimecas*, which for a long time was attributed to Gonzalo de las Casas or Gil González Dávila, observed that one of the features that best distinguished to the Zacatecos (in this case, not those of the mountains of Tepeque, the Mixtón and the Santiago River ravine, but those who attacked Zacatecas and the Camino Real) were those "dog leggings that they all wore on their knees." 107 The fact that these two texts from different times and created under different circumstances, refer to a common element of body adornment as an identifying feature, in this case of the Zacatecos, is quite significant. As Chantal Cramaussel has pointed out, throughout decades of contacts with the northern Indians, the colonizers came to develop pragmatic and quite specific classifications of the characteristics of the great nations or groups of northern Indians, based on the knowledge of their languages and the observation of significant features such as those mentioned. The author also shows how this classificatory system was integrated into the daily knowledge of the northern colonizers and how it is also distinguished from other forms of identification used for individual groups at much more local levels, which are more vague and difficult to interpret. 108

What these sources tell us about is then about societies that occupied very diverse ecological niches, spread from the mountains to the desert, without

105 We have already discussed the identification between these two groups above.

106 First anonymous relationship..., p. 332.

107 Guillermo de Santa María, *War of the Chichimecas* (Mexico 1575-Zirosto 1580) (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad de Guanajuato, 1999), p. 100.

108 Chantal Cramaussel, «How the Spaniards classified the Indians. Nations and encomiendas in central Nueva Vizcaya», in *Nomads and sedentaries in northern Mexico. Tribute to Beatriz Braniff*, ed. by Marie Areti Hers Stutz et al. (Mexico: UNAM, 2000), pp. 275-304.

that this would necessarily break their unity as cultural and linguistic groups. Now, if we asked ourselves where the main nuclei of those groups were located, everything would indicate, according to the sources, that their number was greater in the mountainous regions. For example, according to Ahumada, the heart of the Zacateco territory was in the mountains of the Tepeque River, where under the command of a chief called Chapuli, 15,000 warriors would be waiting to attack the Spanish.¹⁰⁹ But that is a reference to be taken with the greatest caution, since, as we saw, for Ahumada the origin and true cradle of the marauding Indians was not found within the deserts of Gran Tunal, Malpaís, or Peñol. Blanco, nor in the mountains of the Tepeque river or in those beyond Mazapil, and not even in the old province of Pánuco; but much further away, in the unexplored and unknown confines of the New World. For this reason, in his text this captain always mentions that to attack or to escape from the Spanish, the war Indians entered and left the "Tierra Adentro." That was their secret and the reason for so much failure when pursuing them and what allowed them to continue arriving in uninterrupted waves to harass the Spanish. For this reason he proposed two measures to contain them: go to wage war on them in their lairs in the Inner Land, as he himself tried, and on the other hand place defensive towns, but not on the Camino Real, but on those points that marked their entrances and exits towards the Inland Land, precisely.

Ahumada's geography was then an extremely complex geography, of which a literal and directly ethnographic reading only leads to confusion. Powell, for example, partially and out of context selects several of Ahumada's statements about the presence of a large number of Zacatecos in the Malpaís region, to interpret, in his own way, that this would be one of their regions, originally. This is an example of the strong interferences that can occur when feeding a historiographical scheme like Powell's with another like Kirchhoff's, coming from other disciplines, in this case anthropology and archeology, daughters of the theory of cultural areas, and which by its very nature is not intended for historical verification. Thus, for example, Kirchhoff, based precisely on Ahumada's text, argued that one of the basic cultural traits of the Zacateco nomads would have been the consumption of prickly pear and mesquite bread, whose virtues

¹⁰⁹ From Ahumada Sámano, "Relation of Pedro de Ahumada", p.

56. no *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60.

m Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, p. 88.

Food sources would have allowed them to survive in an unfavorable environment despite the archaism of their material culture. In terms of the definition of their cultural area, Arid America, such an explanation could have sufficed at that time. The problem comes when Powell tries to take up what Kirchhoff said about the cultural characteristics of the Zacatecos, but evidently he runs into the problem that no source speaks of Gran Tunal as a region especially abundant in Zacatecos, it is rather Guachichil territory. He then solves the matter by simply presenting Malpaís as a favorable region for nomadic hunter-gatherers due to its abundance of yuccas and rabbits. With that matter resolved and given that the region was at a "comfortable distance" [sic] from Zacatecas, he concludes that this must have been the place of origin and at the same time the great lair from which, in successive hordes, the Zacatecos would have detached themselves during decades to ravage Zacatecas and the Camino Real. 112

In the end, no one explains to us why the Zacatecos should have been more numerous than anywhere else and had their birthplace right in one of the most unfavorable environments of the northern highlands, where the configuration of the terrain and the climate prevent even the presence of large plant formations of the Gran Tunal type, where, not for nothing, Kirchhoff placed his Zacatecos. 113 Suddenly, faced with this authentic interpretative drift, where in the end it turns out that the Chichimecas do not find a place, not even in their own geography, a text like Ahumada's, read more as a whole and from its own arguments, could be much more explanatory. What we are then told there, only about the fact that the great Chichimec nations extended over territories much more extensive and varied than the northern plateau alone, allows us to better understand how it was that these individuals ended up becoming that kind of evanescent enemy, almost ubiquitous, impossible to corner even when pursued again and again throughout the northern deserts. The explanation was very simple: those were not all of his lands, but only part of them.

In fact, the above-mentioned explanation is all the more interesting since it has been possible to see that very similar patterns of territoriality and use of resources have been recorded in different historical sources for other large nations of Chichimecas, several of them neighbors of the Zacatecos, like the Guachichiles, the Tepehuanes and Tepehuanes-Salineros; and a little further north, the Tarahumaras, Conchos and Conchos-Tobosos. 114 That is, more than a

112 Ibid., p. 88.

113 Kirchhoff, "The hunter-gatherers", pp. 523-536.

114 We have developed this topic more fully in the following writings:

Zacatecan singularity, the above should be seen as a characteristic of a large part of the northern aboriginal societies from before contact. If this were so, it would then be necessary to try to understand how societies could function whose members, at least as historical sources present them to us, were apparently capable of alternatively inhabiting natural and ecological environments as different as the that made up the domains of those great nations of Chichimecas, without necessarily causing them to lose a certain linguistic and cultural unity that identified them. It would be interesting to know, for example, to what extent the most arid and inhospitable places of the northern highlands would have constituted temporary refuges for some of them, occupied during times of harvesting various fruits, while perhaps for some other of their cultural relatives they were would have become a more or less permanent and specialized habitat. Perhaps one day the archeology of northern Mexico will be able to provide us with answers to all of this, although, in our opinion, to do so it would first be necessary to rethink many of the rigid dichotomies and separations that have been established between nomads and sedentary people. In fact, there has been progress in that regard. For some time now, various anthropologists and archaeologists have observed how in societies close to hunting and gathering, but knowledgeable about agriculture, the use of resources from diverse environments, the combination between hunting-gathering and agriculture, in addition to The development of food storage techniques has resulted in very significant increases in the population densities of various populations. 115

Salvador Álvarez, "Of Zacatecos and Tepehuanes: two extensive partialities of northern Chichimecas", in *La Sierra Tepehuana. Settlements and population movements*, coord. by Chantal Cramaussel (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006), pp. 97-129; Álvarez, "Of distant kingdoms and infidel tributaries", pp. 185-230; Salvador Álvarez, "Peace farmers and war hunter-gatherers: the Tobosos of the Conchos River basin in Nueva Vizcaya", in *Nomads and sedentaries in northern Mexico. Tribute to Beatriz Braniff*, ed. by Marie Areti Hers et al. (Mexico: UNAM, 2000), pp. 305-354-

- 115 Alain Testart, "The significance of food storage among hunter-gatherers: residence patterns, population densities, and social inequalities," *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 5 (October 1982); Richard W. Casteel, "Two static maximum population-density models for hunter-gatherers: a first approximation," *World Archeology* 4, no. 1 (June 1972): 19-40. For a more recent work along the same lines: Ermengol Gassiot Balbè, "Production and change in hunter-gatherer social formations," *Bulletin of American Anthropology* 38 (2002): 5-95.

The picture drawn above becomes even more complicated if we observe that many of the Chichimecas to whom we refer, in this case Zacatecos-Caxcanes (but this is also the case of numerous Tepehuanes, Conchos, Tarahumaras and apparently Guachichiles), in fact they were closer to the status of the village farmer than to that of the hunter-gatherer-incipient farmer. This would place us in the need to also rethink the problem of separations between village farmers and incipient farmers. Be that as it may, what is clear is that in all these cases they were highly mobile and ductile societies, but for which the status of nomads is simply not correct. This could be a very important distinction for the analysis of the wars between the Spanish and the Indians, since the practice of agriculture, even if it was very incipient, and even if it was combined with hunting and gathering, was in any way necessarily linked to that people with certain territories. For this reason, the constant arrival of groups of slave hunters, or in their case of encomenderos or distributing judges, dedicated to the removal of people for the service of the Spanish, regardless of what type of work it was, or for the extraction of agricultural products, even in minute quantities, evidently entailed brutal consequences for this type of society and therefore gave rise to violent reactions. This would then mean that the same factors that ensured the mobility and ductility of these societies also determined their very low absorption capacity and tolerance towards colonial society.

The ease of moving from the field of agriculture to hunting-gathering and vice versa could certainly have been one of the keys to the capacity for resistance that these societies showed against the Spanish attacks; On the other hand, that same mobility and the ruptures associated with it could end up becoming a factor in its slow destruction. It seems clear that in times of war adaptive specializations, and with it the differences between local groups and roots in fixed territories, tended to fade in the interest of mobility. This could explain what different documents report about Chichimecas identified as being from the mountains, who suddenly disappear from their places of origin to reappear in distant regions, for example, on the arid plateau and vice versa. However, that does not mean that these ruptures and displacements did not entail disastrous consequences in the medium and long term for Aboriginal societies, especially if in the meantime war and epidemics, more quickly or more slowly depending on the case, were decimating them in number. In the end, all this meant that these societies reached a point of no return. Where that threshold was located is something we do not know, but it is clear that it existed. Consequently, no matter how flexible

that these societies could have been, throughout so many years of war, confrontation, flight, displacement and demographic bleeding, there must have necessarily come a time when they were no longer prevented from returning to their original state, to their places of origin, to their usual practices, which condemned them to disappear.

A PEACE THAT WAS NOT

As we know, in the literature on the Chichimec War the period 1580-1590 is generally spoken of as that of the final pacification of the barbarians, a "pacification by purchase," as Powell called it. The idea is that having finally achieved the lesson of the barbarians, they would have had no choice but to abandon their fierce attitudes and accept the help of the Spaniards, consisting of food, clothing and farming tools. Thus, resigned, they would have then voluntarily gone to gather in reductions destined to lead a life almost of retirement, consecrated no longer to war, but only to peacefully plant the land and to receive the good and civilizing example of Indians of peace arriving from the center of Nueva Spain.¹¹⁶

Let us remember that the creation of reductions or congregations of Indians was a procedure used in all the Indies since the mid-16th century, consisting of uprooting entire populations from their dispersed original settlements to reconcentrate them in new establishments, where under the tutelage of different civil authorities or ecclesiastical, will lead a stable life as tributaries and subjects of the Crown. It was a violent procedure, with radical consequences for all the populations that suffered it and which always resisted, including the peace Indians of both the center of New Spain¹¹⁷ and the viceroyalty of Peru.¹¹⁸ In border areas of brave Indians, the situation was, of course, much more turbulent and extremely gradual.

¹¹⁶ Powell, *The Chichimeca War*, pp. 213-231; Philip Wayne Powell, *Monthly Captain tizo: Miguel Caldera and the northern border. The pacification of the Chichimecas (1548-1597)* (Mexico: FCE, 1980).

¹¹⁷ Peter Gerhard, "Indian congregations in New Spain before 1570," *Mexican History* 26, no. 3 (January-March 1977): 347-395; Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, "Movements of the indigenous population in New Spain (16th century)," *Bulletin of American Anthropology* 30 (December 1994): 169-183.

¹¹⁸ Alejandro Málaga Medina, "The reductions in the viceroyalty of Peru (1532-1580)," *Magazine of American History* 80 (July-December 1975): 9-42; Francisco de Solano, "Policy of concentration of the indigenous population: objectives, process, problems, results," *Revista de Indias* 36, no. 145-146 (1976): 7-29.

People like the Chichimecas and other border barbarians from different American regions, not being dependent on the Spanish population, never accepted the reduction in towns spontaneously and therefore, in each of them, the creation of reductions ended up being a process that, in At times, it took entire centuries to really crystallize. 119

Although all Indians in general, because they were such, were considered free vassals of the Crown, in practice there were differences that ended up placing the peaceful Indians and the brave Indians in different places within the framework of the social hierarchies of the world. American colonial. As Solórzano and Pereyra said, due to his "humility and surrendered condition", the Indian, and in this case the peace Indian, belonged in Indian political thought to a category analogous to or directly derived from that of the European rustic or villager. 120 Let us remember that since classical antiquity, in European political thought, rusticity, the condition of *rusticus*, was one of the forms of poverty, but in its oldest and most original form: that linked to the inclination towards the land and dependence. Of the same. Therefore, the *rusticus* was not only the peasant in the sense of people who exploited the land in one way or another, but also one who was destined to directly pluck its fruits by means of their hands, for which his job and his condition were considered the lowest and most vile that existed. As Jacques Le Goff pointed out in one of the best syntheses on the subject, the profound ambiguity that surrounded the condition of the *rusticus* in medieval political thought arose from there, since on the one hand his condition was the most vile and lowest; On the other hand, as a *laboratore*, he fulfilled one of the three basic and irreplaceable functions for the functioning of the social body, the other two being that of the *bellatore*, the warrior, and that of the *oratore*, the religious. 121

119 María Laura Salinas, «Work, tribute, encomiendas and Indian towns in northeastern Argentina. 16th-19th centuries», *Ibero-American, new era*, year 9, no. 34 (2009): 21-42; Marcela Viviana Tejerina, «The Spanish government and the Jesuit reductions south of Buenos Aires: The case of the failure of "Our Lady of the Concepción de los Pampas" (1751-1753)», *Revista de Historia de América* 121 (January-December 1996): 131-142.

120 Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, *Indiana Politics*, Library of Spanish Authors series, numbers. 252-256 (Madrid: Atlas, 1972), book 2, chap. 2, nos. 7-9, p. 143 and book 2, chap. 5, no. 21, p. 166 and chap. 6, no. 24-27, p. 175.

121 Jacques Le Goff, "Les trois fonctions indo-européennes, l'historien et l'Europe féodale", *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 34, no. 6 (1979): 1196-1198, especially.

Basically, with a couple of nuances, all this old classification could be applied to the condition in general of the American Indian and, in our case in particular, to that of the Chichimeca with its no less ambiguous condition as a rational entity and subject of the Corona, as an Indian; but at the same time, incarnation of the extreme rusticus of European political thought, the poorest and simplest of the poor, linked no longer to the earth, but to uncultured nature and therefore close to bestiality, to a form of life without law, immersed in a state of profound barbarism that placed him in the eyes of Spanish society "as barbaric and inhuman people, alien to peaceful customs", and therefore, dangerous. 122

This condition of dangerous entity due to its extreme proximity to uncultivated nature ended up establishing a real separation between the social status of the peaceful Indian and that attributed to the Chichimeca and in general to the untamed Indian, even before institutions in principle created for protection of the aborigines, such as that of the Protector of Indians, instituted from very early times in New Galicia. 123 To understand the function of an institution like that, we must not forget that the Indian in general was protected not as such, but because of his miserable condition. 124 The protector existed only then as a response to the principle of poverty protection, which demanded free justice for the defenseless and miserable, meaning that his function was fundamentally that of a procurator, that is, a guardian in terms of justice. This required that the complaints be filed by the Indians themselves or by their direct guardians, such as missionaries or encomenderos; but in the case of the non-reduced Chichimecas, as in the case of the captive brave Indians or in their case, later, subjected to reductions, this type of protection was practically equal to zero." 125

The theme of the barbarism and danger of the Chichimeca remained a permanent element in the imagination of the Neo-Galician conquerors since the founding of the province. Leaving aside the chaotic period shortly after the Conquest and the so-called Mixtón war, let us remember how two years before the founding of Zacatecas, the bishop of Guadalajara, Pedro Gómez de Maraver, in a letter to the king argued about the reasons why which

122 Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Treatise on the just causes of the war against the Indians* (Rome, 1550) (Mexico: FCE, 1979), p. 85.

123 Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, pp. 153-155.

124 Paulino Castañeda Delgado, "The miserable condition of the Indian and his privileges," *Yearbook of American Studies* 28 (1971): 245-335.

125 For an analysis of the functions of this type of characters: Carlos Pérez Guartambel, *Indigenous Justice* (Cuenca, Ecuador: University of Cuenca-Facultad de Jurisprudence and Political and Social Sciences, 2006), pp. 67-69.

The war against the Chichimecas and especially the principle of their reduction to slavery as a reward for the Spaniards who fought against them, had to be considered fair, and therefore admitted, for two reasons: the first, that it was not convenient that those who "sustained the kingdom at their own expense [...] were constrained by poverty"; 126 and second, because the Chichimecas were "bestial, ungrateful, evil-inclined" people. 127

Having lost the *synderesis* of reason in the uprisings they commit, they not only depart from the dominion of Your Majesty but with great contempt for the evangelical law they deny the holy baptism received, they blaspheme the name of God our Lord, they burn and destroy their churches, they desecrate the images and sacred things, they mock the most holy sacrament, they martyr the religious ministers, they kill the Spaniards with various kinds of torments, they rise up with the earth and finally in everything they seek destruction and destruction in the spiritual and temporal. 128

The idea that the Chichimecas might one day be capable of "taking up the land," that is, of expelling the Spanish from the Indies, was not new: such had been the underlying reason for the intervention of Viceroy Mendoza during the battle of Mixtón and it was also, as we saw, the same type of fear that motivated the expedition and writings of Pedro de Ahumada. This was also one of the reasons for the convocation of the theological meetings of 1569, when Viceroy Enríquez declared that the fact that it had lasted too long indicated that this could no longer be a defensive war on the part of the Chichimecas, but rather an offensive one, intended to destroy the Spanish, so he considered it fair to legally and theologically discuss the legality of undertaking a war of fire and blood against them. 129 This was all the more necessary since the barbarians showed their perversity in the fact that, having been asked for peace many times, they had never accepted it and instead voluntarily disturbed the peace and traffic along the roads. 130 Also active in this sense was the issue of the natural danger of the Chichimecas, who, not having a place or a certain home, were only "wandering and always looking for opportunities."

126 Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *The debate on the Chichimeca war, 1531-1585: law and politics in New Spain* (San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de San Luis Potosí / El Colegio de Michoacán, 2000), p. 454.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 453.

128 *Ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

129 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

to cause deaths and damage. 131 It was then concluded that it was fair to teach them a lesson by "entering the lands where they roam" in the spirit of war. In the same vein, during the theological meeting of 1570, Brother Juan Focher added that the Chichimecas prisoners of just war would be true servants of their captors, although they would only be sentenced to 14 years of slavery and on the condition that their captors would take care of the salvation of their souls. 132 Then, during the third theological meeting of 1574, Archbishop Moya de Contreras preached in favor of war with fire and blood and requested that the captives in the war zone be given along with their women and children as slaves to the soldiers, with which even "a good work would be done for them in removing them from such an inhuman life and bringing them to the bosom of the holy mother Church and to better treatment than they have in their land." 133 There were, of course, contrary opinions within this entire debate, such as that of Fray Juan de Medina Rincón, bishop of Michoacán, who in 1582 described the constant reduction of the Chichimecas to slavery as the cause of the war. 134 On the other hand, Brother Juan de Salmerón argued, in 1583, that the non-termination of the war was due to the apathy of the authorities, who had not known how to put an end to "those damned and cruel people who are extremely cruel" and added that The lukewarm war that was waged against them "instead of destroying them added greater daring, greater courage and daring and skill to do greater damage." 135 Likewise, he asked for a ruling to also bring the war to the peace Indians who had apostatized by "not wanting to reduce themselves by soft and evangelical means." 136

It is likely that theological and legal objections about the justice of war somewhat moderated its intensity, but they could hardly alter either its logic or its evolution. Its objective could not be to simply stop the war, since the barbarians were dangerous per se, the Spanish could not remain defenseless against them. This was recognized even by the most severe censors of the actions of the Spanish in the war, such as the Dominicans, who were conditioned to find out whether it was not the Spaniards who first disturbed the Indians or whether they had any right to

131 Ibid., p. 226.

132 Alberto Carrillo Cázares, trans., "The opinion given by Fray Juan Focher, O. F. M., to Viceroy Martín Henríquez about the war against the Chichimecas" (Mexico, September 15, 1570), *Relations. Studies in History and Society* 21, no. 84 (Fall 2000): 242-243.

133 Carrillo Cázares, *The debate on war*, p. 341.

134 Ibid., p. 311.

135 Ibid., p. 317.

136 Ibid., p. 317.

war, they declared that the Spanish monarch, like any prince, "when he finds he has every right for himself, he will be able to wage war" on anyone who threatens him, in this case, the Chichimecas. 137

The focus of the debate stopped there. The question of the Chichimeca, their practices or even their guilt in the war appeared stealthily as part of the arguments put forward, but always in relation to the actions of the Spanish. Today we could conjecture about whether, for example, the Chichimecas really had practices as cruel as those attributed to them in many of the sources, and we may find that they very likely did. But that would add very little to the understanding of the subject: situations such as the enormous violence behind the reduction of an Indian and perhaps even worse of a Chichimeca to the condition of the *tameme*, or to that of the slave in mines, haciendas or salt mines, or the harshness of the punishments inflicted by the Spanish soldiers would balance any scale. But beyond these considerations, what might be worth reflecting a little on is the extent to which that discourse and feeling, at the same time, of fear of the barbarian, could operate as a real mechanism of deepening war violence in a context such as that of the New Galicia of the 16th century. For this we have a good element of comparison and contrast, which is precisely the situation of the neighboring province of Nueva Vizcaya, during the years of the war of fire and blood, in Nueva Galicia.

Armed with their jurisdictional independence as an independent government and eager, therefore, to preserve both exclusivity in the exploration of new territories and the resources of their province, the settlers-founders of Nueva Vizcaya always opposed *manu militari* to the presence of armed groups from New Galicia. 138 Although that was not what moved them to act in that way, one of the practical and very concrete effects of that dispute was to immediately prevent the war of fire and blood that was wreaking havoc on the Chichimecas a little further away, south would spread beyond the limits between the two governorates. This led to a curious situation where aborigines with very similar cultural characteristics ended up being subjected to completely different regimes, because while those from further south were declared enemies and were persecuted, those from the new governorate, on the other hand, ended up becoming tributaries, peaceful members of the Crown and subjects of its *encomenderos*. Such a situation could

137 *Ibid.*, pp. 699-700.

138 As happened during the raids of Pedro de Ahumada Sámano or Diego de Colio, during the 1560s: Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *Church and state in Nueva Vizcaya (1562-1821)* (Mexico: UNAM-IJ, 1980), p. 31.

more or less crystallize only because, being very few in number, the conquerors of Nueva Vizcaya had been forced to maintain a situation of relative peace with their brave Indians, adopting a policy consisting of keeping them in the vicinity of their own establishments - as was the case in Nombre de Dios or in Durango - and distribute them in parcels, but in reality forcing them to do very little: deliver some agricultural products and perhaps although it seems unlikely to us for that moment - take a few of them to work with their own farms. 139

The interest of this situation for the analysis of the Chichimeca war in New Galicia is that these tributaries were in every way similar in culture to the Neo-Galician Chichimecas. The most numerous were the Tepehuanes, but in fact, in the immediate vicinity of Durango, Nombre de Dios and other nearby places, there was also a not insignificant number of rancherías of Zacatecos, cultural brothers and immediate territorial neighbors of those who were persecuted and exterminated in New Galicia. 140 Thus, curiously, when speaking of the 15,000 warriors of the Mezquital, who Pedro de Ahumada Sámano had announced would invade Nueva Galicia, instilling so much fear, in reality they were the Tepehuanes of the Mezquital, and who were those who, right at that time, At that moment they began to be entrusted by the governors of New Vizcaya. 141 The number 15,000 was clearly symbolic; It would have been possible to find even many more warriors in that region, depending on the territorial extension considered, since the Tepehuanos were at that time one of the most widespread nations in northern New Spain. But the fact is that beyond an almost eschatological interpretation of the news, which was based on the news of the existence of large numbers of flechero Indians beyond the Mezquital, the much-mentioned invasion project that Ahumada propagated never existed. 142

Of course, the situation in Nueva Vizcaya was by no means idyllic. In 1575 the priest of Santa Bárbara, Juan de Miranda, pointed out in a report that the Indians of his priesthood were at peace at that time, but only because

139 For more information about what is stated here about Nueva Vizcaya, see Salvador Álvarez, "The New Vizcaya in the 16th century", in Miguel Vallebuena, coord., *History of Durango* (Durango: UJED, 2013), vol. 2, pp. 79-125.

140 José Luis Punzo, *The inhabitants of the Guadiana valley, 1563-1630: agricultural and livestock appropriation* (Mexico: UJED, 2009), pp. 38-45, 92, 131 et seq.

141 Chantal Cramaussel, *Populate the border. The province of Santa Bárbara in New Vizcaya during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006), pp. 185-243.

142 Ibid.; Punzo, *The inhabitants of the valley*, pp. 38-45, 92, 131 et seq.

They refused, simply and plainly, to serve on the Spanish estates and the Spaniards did not have the means to force them.¹⁴³ Later, the deadly *cocoliztles* of 1577 and 1584 and the efforts of the Spanish to force the Indians to work in mines and haciendas would provoke war crises, such as that of 1586, when those same Indians that Juan de Miranda singled out for refusing going to the mines they ended up burning the town of Santa Bárbara.¹⁴⁴ But even after that, the Novovizcayan colonizers managed to maintain a certain status quo, simply not launching into a war of too large dimensions against those Indians, as was happening in neighboring New Galicia. Although we know that slave hunting continued to exist in Nueva Vizcaya during that period, it was perhaps also the smaller proportions of this phenomenon that prevented it from leading to a more intense war, making it possible, in one way or another, that that balance could more or less be maintained until the end of the century. This situation was made very clear by Governor Rodrigo del Río de Losa (who, by the way, let us remember, had been a war captain against the Chichimecas in Nueva Galicia), when he informed the Crown in 1591 that the mining poverty of Nueva Vizcaya It was because the Spanish preferred to keep the Indians in peace by not forcing them into mining work and using them only for agricultural work.¹⁴⁵ Little by little, at the turn of the following century, the expansion of Spanish society and the pressures exerted on local aboriginal groups would give rise to the emergence of very strong instability and wars of increasing intensity until reaching catastrophic scenarios such as the famous Tepehuana rebellion of 1616.¹⁴⁶ However, this did not prevent that in the midst of that terribly chaotic, complex and war-ridden situation, the system

¹⁴³ Joaquín Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas and Luis Torres de Mendoza, Collection of unpublished documents, relating to the discovery, conquest and organization of the ancient Spanish possessions of America and Oceania, taken from the archives of the kingdom, and especially that of the Indies (Madrid: Manuel B. Quirós, 1966), «Relation made by Juan de Miranda, dergyman to Dr. Orozco, President of the Court of Guadalajara about the land and population that exists from the mines of San Martín to those of Santa Bárbara, which the latter then I was depopulated. Year of 1575», vol. 16, p. 565.

¹⁴⁴ Cramaussel, *Populate the border*, pp. 74-83.

¹⁴⁵ See Chantal Cramaussel, *Diego Pérez de Luján: the misadventures of a repentant slave hunter*, series Chihuahua: The eras and men 3 (Ciudad Juárez: UACJ/Gobierno de Chihuahua / Meridiano 107, 1991).

¹⁴⁶ AGI, Guadalajara 63, Rodrigo del Río al Rey, Durango, October 7, 1591.

¹⁴⁷ Cramaussel, *Populate the border*, pp. 43-81.

of *encomienda-repartimiento* of Nueva Vizcaya lasted under different forms until well into the 18th century.¹⁴⁸

It is worth saying that the Neo-Vizcayan *encomienda-repartimiento* system was based on the work of people from three of the great nations of northern Chichimecas: the Tepehuanos of the mountains, with their close relatives Tepehuanos-salineros of the desert; the conchos, with their close relatives the conchos-tobosos of the desert; and the Tarahumaras, who in turn were cultural relatives of the conchos. Viewed as a whole, these nations shared most of the traits noted above for the Zacatecos, so the comparison is valid. We are then faced with situations that, having originated in very similar and close contexts, led to completely contrasting results. The clearest difference between what happened in the two provinces is that the Chichimecas and especially those from the arid regions of Nueva Vizcaya, that is, the Conchos-Tobosos and the Tepehuanes-Salineros, just to name the main ones, ended up being much longer-lived historically - mind than their counterparts in New Galicia. The key variable in this case was always the degree of pressure, so to speak, that Spanish society exerted at a given time on local aboriginal societies and, in this case, what marked the difference between one region and another. It was the Chichimeca war.

Let us return, finally, to the problem of the situation of the Chichimecas of New Galicia at the end of the 16th century and at the turn of the following century, and to the question of whether or not the pacification of which so much has been said really existed. written. Although there is a very large historiographical gap for that topic and period, which would need to be filled, it can be said that, in reality, the assumption that the Chichimecas had truly been pacified raises many doubts. Everything indicates, on the contrary, that at that time the capture of Chichimec slaves and therefore the war continued to develop on a very important scale. As is well known, Chichimec slaves have always been sold in different New Spain cities, including, of course, Mexico; But many Chichimec slaves were also sent much further away: to Soconusco and Guatemala. There, for example, in 1579 Governor Ponce de León affirmed the need to have greater numbers of Chichimec slaves for work on the haciendas both in Guatemala itself and in those of Soconusco. He calculated that arriving in numbers of 500 per year they could be sold at a good price (30 pesos piece) to work for periods

¹⁴⁸ Chantal Cramaussel, «Encomiendas repartimientos y conquista en Nueva Vizcaya», *Historias* 25 (1991): 73-91.

up to eight or nine years old, since the settlers constantly claimed them. What's more, the Chichimecas who arrived were so numerous that Ponce de León even suggested that they be sent to the south accompanied by their wives and children, since with this the desolate region of Soconusco could be repopulated within two years.¹⁴⁹ This trade continued during the following decades, so that between 1602-1605 Brother Juan Ramírez, bishop of Guatemala, wrote a memorial in which he reported the importance that the Chichimec captives continued to have for the local economy. An investigation would shed much light on the origin, number and fate of these captives throughout New Spain, also illuminating the final fate of several old nations of Chichimecas.

All of the above casts enormous doubts about the so-called pacification process of the Chichimecas, at least as presented by current historiography. Certainly, as Powell pointed out, during the last two decades of the 16th century we see a series of new colonial establishments appear throughout the northern Mexican highlands, where, in effect, different indigenous groups are settled, including some coming from different nations of Chichimecas. However, if we look closely at the cases studied, it turns out that none of these foundations had the main purpose of housing Chichimecas specifically during war, and of course, in none of those places were the Chichimecas by far the majority. In the list established by Powell, for example, we see foundations such as San Luis Colotlán, Mazapil, Agua de Venado (Charcas), San Sebastián de Saltillo and Mexquitic, which were all establishments of Tlaxcalans. Let us remember, however, that in all these cases the Tlaxcalans were settled on lands that were given to them as their own, with their own government and whose development was independent of what happened to the Chichimec settlements that may exist around them. However, the rule seems to have been that these Chichimec settlements did not last more than a few years. An example of the above is that of San Miguel de Mexquitic, where Diego Muñoz Camargo, who by commission of the viceroy served as supplier and distributor of land, delivered it in 1591 to the newly arrived Tlaxcalans and the Chichimecas residents of the half of the square league that the town comprised respectively, 150

¹⁴⁹ William Sherman, *Forced native labor in sixteenth century Central America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), pp. 216-217.

¹⁵⁰ José Antonio Rivera Villanueva, ed., Unpublished documents for the study of the Tlaxcaltecas in San Luis Potosí, XVI-XVIII centuries (Tlaxcala: Government of Tlaxcala / Fideicomiso Colegio de Historia de Tlaxcala, 2009-2010), «Possession of lands of San Miguel de Mexquitic November 2, 1591», vol. 1, pp. 39-41.

However, at the turn of the following century, the Guachichil establishment had apparently ceased to exist. 151

More than an isolated case, the above seems to mark a trend, since we know from recent work that in the cases of the Tlaxcalan settlements of Agua del Venado, Colotlán, El Teúl and Mazapil, a few years after the Chichimecas of the Neighboring reductions were also missing. 152 What was happening? A very interesting case that could provide us with a first answer is that of the town of Aguascalientes and its surrounding region towards the southwest to the town of Teocaltiche. There Jesús Gómez Serrano gives an account of how, at the end of the 16th century, it is very clearly perceived that the Guachichiles had already entered into a profound demographic decline. Along with the war, the author tells us, the cocoliztles of 1564, 1576 and 1593 would have hit this group in such a way that by the turn of the following century they were virtually disappeared from the Spanish establishments in the region. 153

Unfortunately there is no good chronology of the epidemics and in particular of smallpox and cocoliztle in the northern 16th century, but the cocoliztle of 1576 mentioned by Gómez Serrano could well be the same one that was recorded for 1577 in Nueva Vizcaya. This would indicate the arrival of large and well-distributed epidemics during this period at the end of the 16th century for the entire north and that could have meant the final blow for several of the old Chichimec nations, already decimated by the war, particularly for the Guachichiles and the Zacatecos of the northern arid plateau. In any case, what is certain is that, in the face of such a demographic shock, their complicated and varied geographies were never the same again and that also forever affected the memory that could have been kept of those nations. For example, the disappearance from the northern highlands of a group once as active and feared as the Zacatecos certainly caused strong rearrangements among their cultural relatives in the mountainous regions, and this in the long run contributed to erasing their

151 Tania Libertad Zapata Ramírez, "Ethnicity and Guachichil ethnic identity in Tunal Grande, 1560-1620" (master's thesis in history, San Luis Potosí, El Colegio de San Luis, 2013), pp. 16-18.

152 An interesting analysis of this process can be found in José Antonio Rivera Villanueva, "The Tlaxcalan expansion towards the north of New Spain 1590-1700" (second research advance, Zamora, El Colegio de Michoacán, 2008, September 2).

153 Jesús Gómez Serrano, *The Chichimeca War, the founding of Aguascalientes and the extermination of the aboriginal population (1548-1620): an essay of interpretation* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco/Municipio de Aguascalientes, 2001), pp. 83-88.

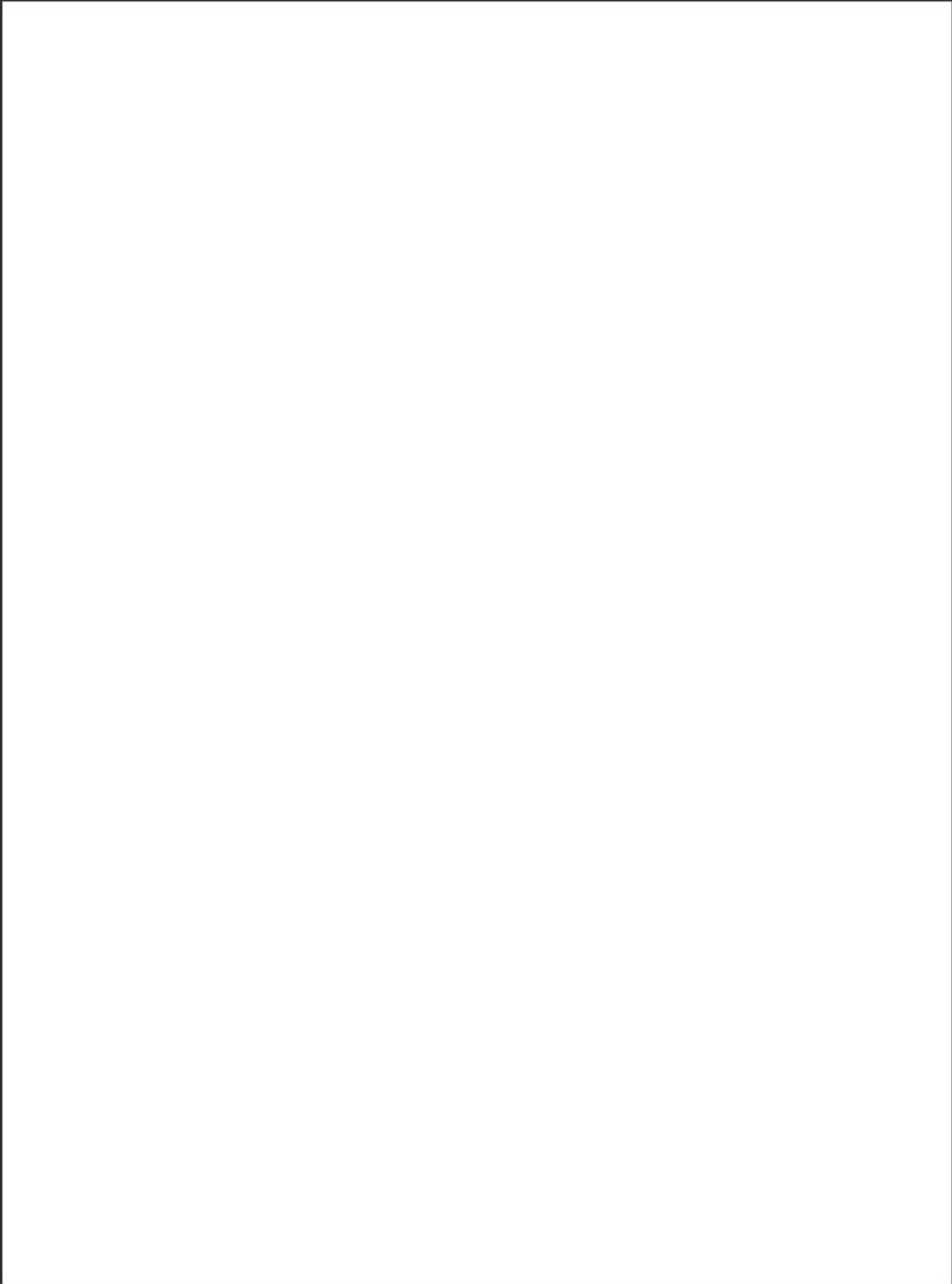
own footprint of places that at some point were part of its vast and complex territory. These rearrangements seem all the more enigmatic to us because we do not know, in reality, the original language of these groups or even the original patronymic of those groups (of course the Zacatecos do not call themselves that). One of those regions where the trace of those nations tends to be lost would certainly be that of the old Tepeque River (today Bolaños), once known as one of the great lairs of the Zacatecos. Due to its border position between the high peaks of the interior of the Sierra Madre Occidental massif and the region of the lower mountain valleys of Juchipila, Tlaltenango and from there with the northern highlands; The Tepeque River has remained for centuries as a region of contact between very diverse groups both inside the Sierra Madre and outside it, among them the famous and mysterious Tepecans, whose origin is unknown but who at some point have been thought that they were related to the Zacatecos or more probably with the Tepehuanos. 154

Everything would indicate then that in the same way that in times of war those Zacatecos and other Chichimecas neighbors of theirs were able to leave their modest cornfields, their shelters and their favorite places for hunting and gathering again and again to go and join the other landscapes and mix with other neighboring groups, always fleeing from the Spanish; In the end, decimated and too few in number, they ended up stopping fleeing and not returning. In any case, those who were installed in the modest reductions that were created at the end of the 16th century with them were also destined to disappear. As Chantal Cramaussel has already established in a study that should serve as an analytical model for this type of situation in the entire north, in the so-called reductions of Indians in those places, the indigenous mortality rates were always so high and those of Birth rates were so low that this type of establishment could only be sustained over time through the periodic incorporation of new contingents of Indians brought there by force. In some regions, such as the center of Nueva Vizcaya, it was only through a slow process that took many decades and sometimes even centuries to crystallize, that finally some of these foundations actually managed to become stable and autonomous. demographically, although more like mestizo or properly Spanish establishments. 155 While

154 For a summary of what little is known about the Tepecanos, see María Teresa Cabrero García and Carlos López C., *Civilización en el norte de México*, vol. 2 (Mexico: UNAM-IIA, 2002), pp. 42-46.

155 Cramaussel, *Populate the border*.

Therefore, the northern indigenous groups that managed to survive and endure over time were those that managed to remain relatively outside of Spanish society, within their own geographical spaces and thanks to a slow and random evolution. The question would then be: what finally happened to the Zacatecos after all that? We ignore it, but perhaps one day we will hear from them again.



THIRD PART

A SLOW
CONSTRUCTION OF
THE KINGDOM
(1570-1598)

IN THE SERVICE OF THE KING AND GOD: INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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The Castilian monarchy had two ways to ensure its dominance in the lands that its discovering captains managed to conquer: temporal power and spiritual power. For both to fulfill their mission, it was necessary to put in place a complex structure made up of different types of institutions that adapted to the needs of the New World.

The establishment of the institutional apparatus of temporal power and spiritual power, however, did not follow a previously designed project, but rather advanced as the needs of the newcomers and the interests of the Crown required it, although always on the bases that They governed the Castilian legal order, that is, in the model of jurisdictional monarchies, in which they were governed through justice. In that society that was conceived to be made up not of individuals, but of bodies or corporations very different from each other (guilds, councils, religious orders, military orders, etc.), the essential task of the king-judge was to maintain order by granting each subject what corresponded to him, according to the place he occupied in society.¹

Thus, the task of defining the institutions that would represent the monarch in his overseas possessions did not follow a pre-established script, but rather they arose as needs demanded and often their outlines were outlined against the specific demands of the new realities, with which the majority ended up becoming institutions that could have the same name, but different powers and tasks from those of their Iberian predecessors. On the other hand, the delimitation of the borders of temporal jurisdictions, such as those that corresponded to the spiritual government,

¹ A definition of the essential features of the Castilian monarchy can be found in Carlos Garriga, «Legal order and political power in the Ancient Regime», *Istor. Journal of International History* 4, no. 16 (spring 2004):

Nor did he have a previous project to serve as a guide. Thus, during the 1550s, Nueva Galicia was the name given to both the bishopric and the kingdom, which by then had Compostela as its capital, even though the territory that corresponded to each of these two jurisdictions was different. Both jurisdictions would end up moving to the city of Guadalajara by 1560.

At the time that Nuño de Guzmán advanced in his conquests north of the Río Grande (today Lerma-Santiago) and over the areas that are now Nayarit and Sinaloa, he assigned encomiendas and founded towns, as the first step towards the creation of authorities in the territories he won. After his departure for Spain, the years from 1541 to 1598² constituted the period of construction of the institutions that shaped the political body of New Galicia. It was during this period that the Council of the Indies decided to establish an audience as a governmental authority in the scope of temporal power that was originally destined for Compostela, but which ended up taking root in Guadalajara, and was in charge of organizing the concert of the provincial authorities, that is, the appointment and supervision of the corregidores and mayors. With regard to spiritual power, by virtue of the Royal Patronage the monarch was responsible for ensuring the evangelization of the Indians and to better fulfill this task he requested the pope to create a new bishopric. Although after the first years of intense missionary activity carried out by the Franciscans, the king would reach the decision to limit the activities of the friars, the earliest stage of the Neo-Galician Church was characterized by the founding of Franciscan convents, as well as by the late arrival of other religious orders such as the Dominicans (1603), Augustinians (1573) and Jesuits (1586) in parallel to the establishment of the first parishes of the secular clergy.

The construction of the Hispanic institutional apparatus in the north of New Spain was carried out at the same time that transformative measures arrived for the Indies with the application of the New Laws (1542), a series of provisions aimed at the protection of the natives, and to weaken the strength acquired by the encomenderos, as well as the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1563), whose mandates favored the secular clergy to attend to the spiritual needs of the faithful as proprietary priests and to represent the bishop in matters of ecclesiastical justice.

In New Galicia, *finis terrae* of the Spanish empire, the decade of 1540 also marked the start of a long war that transformed the demographic, economic and political landscape of the entire north of New Spain. The long-announced uprising, initiated by the Caxcanes and joined by other groups, was

² The end of the reign of Philip II is a comfortable date here. N. of the E.

result of the brutal clash produced since the first incursions of the conquerors and their hosts composed of a few Spanish soldiers and several thousand allied Indians. It was not only the violent irruption of the Mediterranean world, but also the overwhelming arrival of "civilized" and densely populated Mesoamerica to a universe that was culturally close but ecologically, demographically and socially different. To subdue the rebels, in 1541 tens of thousands of Tlaxcalans, Tarascans and Mexicans arrived in Nueva Galicia. With the Battle of Mixtón, the first stage of exploration and discovery of New Galicia ended, giving way to the Chichimeca War that lasted until the end of the 16th century. Throughout the six decades that go from the resistance of Tenamastle and his allies in the peñol of Nochistlán until the year 1600, two paths are traveled in parallel: the fight against the Indians of war through different strategies and the establishment of the institutions and authorities that would give shape to the kingdom of New Galicia.

ESTABLISHMENT OF GUADALAJARA IN ATEMAJAC

The institutions functioned driven by flesh and blood characters who faced concrete challenges and who had to reconcile local and individual interests with those of the monarchy in whose name they appropriated men and spaces. In the mountains and coasts on the other side of the Rio Grande ravine that constituted the *finis terrae* of the Spanish empire, it was the ambitions of Nuño de Guzmán and his immediate environment that outlined the first features of New Galicia.

The Iberian-Mediterranean urban tradition, whose results had been tested during the Reconquista, marked the establishment of towns and cities as a way to ensure control of the new lands. Hence the concern of the discoverers to leave settled populations as the explorations progressed. In his effort to consolidate his conquests, Nuño de Guzmán sought to create a network with five equidistant towns, four of them close to the coastline that by then had an abundant population and another inland. This is how San Miguel (1531) was born from north to south; the town of Espiritu Santo (1532) founded in a fertile valley in the area of the Crown would exchange for the

¹ Cf. Salvador Álvarez, «Conquest and entrustment in New Galicia during the first half of the 16th century: "barbarians" and "civilized" on the American borders», *Relations* 39, no. 116 (Fall 2008): 135-188.

² See the chapters preceding the present.

of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia; Chiametla and the Villa of Purification (1533) on the coast of the South Sea, to defend the border with the courtly conquests. The only inland foundation was Guadalajara (1532), in the Caxcan area.

For these foundations to prosper, it was necessary to ensure indigenous labor, fresh water, fertile land and protection against attacks by peoples not yet subdued, elements that Guzmán could not control and therefore the five towns had to face serious difficulties during the years. early years to the extent that some did not manage to survive. Chiametla soon disappeared; Compostela, established in Xalisco after the failed attempt at the town of Espíritu Santo, had to move to the Coatlán valley where it is currently located; The decline of San Miguel was continuous until it was moved, under the name of San Miguel de Culiacán, to its current site.

The first settlers of Guadalajara, for their part, followed a long journey that took them from one side of the Rio Grande to the other, before finding a definitive settlement in the Atemajac valley. The first foundation took place when Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán finished the campaign in the west and ordered Captain Juan de Oñate to establish a town near Nochistlán, where the Spanish had found one of the largest Caxcan towns. The order was obeyed on January 5, 1532 and Oñate himself received the title of mayor. The new town was named Guadalajara, which means "river that runs between stones" in Arabic, in honor of the peninsular Guadalajara, where Guzmán himself was originally from. However, the scarcity of water and the threat of rebellion by the Caxcanes made the neighbors think about moving to another place. Guzmán authorized the change to a site closer to Compostela, as long as the Santiago River was not crossed. In mid-1533, without heeding the warning of Guzmán, who had left for the Gulf of Mexico, the inhabitants of Guadalajara crossed the ravine and settled in Tonalá, on the other side of the river. Here, the lands were fertile, well irrigated, and the indigenous labor force was abundant, reasons why Nuño de Guzmán had reserved the Tonaltecas as one of his own encomiendas. For this reason, when the conquistador returned, a year later, he did not view the establishment favorably and Guadalajara had to withdraw. The new move took place in February 1535 when its inhabitants crossed the Santiago River ravine again to settle near Tlacotlán, again in Caxcan land. Since the threat of an uprising by the Caxcanes was still present, the new arrivals separated the Spanish town from the indigenous town of Tlacotlán and tried to protect it with fences of stones, stakes and branches, allowing passage only to the indigenous people who provided services to them (see map 1).

MAP 1. THE FOUNDATIONS OF GUADALAJARA



Source: Inegi vector data set, geostatistical framework 2009. Author: Celina G. Becerra Jiménez. Prepare: Geo. Judith Navarro Flores, ced. 8288383.

Although the Spanish Crown granted a coat of arms and city title to Guadalajara in 1539, the people of Guadalajara faced increasing difficulties: starting in 1538, the Caxcanes rebelled in reaction to the abuses and cruelties of the conquerors. Diego Pérez de la Torre, newly appointed governor

of the kingdom, died as a result of the wounds caused by the indigenous people of Hostotipaquillo and the entire region became a battlefield until the insurrection led to the Mixtón War in 1541, a conflict that threatened the security of the conquest to such an extent, that the help of troops coming from Mexico City was necessary. With the arrival of those reinforcements that the viceroy brought, the final attack on Mixtón only took a week, ending on December 16, 1541. Although the help of the viceroyalty authorities was crucial to save Nueva Galicia, their participation in this The conflict served as a precedent so that the viceroy could, from then on, intervene in the affairs of Nueva Galicia.

At the beginning of 1542, with the city almost destroyed in Tlacotlán, Cristóbal de Oñate gathered councilors and main figures to seek means of freeing the neighbors from the reach of the Indians. For the majority the decision was to move again to the south of the Santiago River, but some of those present feared directing their steps towards the Atemajac Valley, as it was land that belonged to Nuño de Guzmán, who had had to leave for Spain to present his defense before the king. Under these circumstances, the scene narrated by Brother Antonio Tello in the *Miscellaneous Chronicle* would have taken place, which has become part of the history of the founding of Guadalajara in its definitive site.

This is the determined intervention of Beatriz Hernández, a Spaniard married to one of those first residents of the city, Juan Sánchez de Olea, during the meeting called to decide the future of Guadalajara. Observing that the attendees hesitated, mainly out of fear of Guzmán's complaints at the time of his return, the woman asked for permission to give her vote and declared: «Gentlemen, the king is my rooster, and I am of the opinion that we go to the valley of Atemaxa, and if anything else is done, it will be in disservice to God and the king, and the rest is showing cowardice, what should Guzmán do to us since he has been the cause of the troubles that this town has been in? 5

Once the new location was agreed upon, the colonists proceeded to what would be the definitive establishment of Guadalajara in the Atemajac valley, to the west of the San Juan de Dios stream, in mid-February 1542, where 63 neighbors with their respective families formed the new nucleus, population with approximately 240 inhabitants. The advantage of this new location was that it was a transit point between Mexico, Compostela and Culiacán. By settling in

That site, the Spanish became neighbors of the town of Mezquitán, a

⁵ Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Holy Province of Xalisco*, second book (Guadalajara: Imprenta de La República Literaria de Cirilo L. de Guevara y Ca., 1891), vol. 2 P. 391.

settlement of pre-Hispanic origin located towards the north of the valley. Towards the south, Mexicaltzingo was being formed, a new town with Indians who had come with the forces of Viceroy Mendoza. Shortly after, the Franciscans sponsored the birth of another settlement that would bear the name of Analco, a Nahuatl word that refers to its location "on the other side of the river." These three towns would become the main source of labor, food and other services for the city and soon had their own authorities and lands in accordance with the provisions of the Laws of the Indies. In this way, Tecuexes, Cocas, Mexican Indians, some Tarascans and Spaniards formed the bulk of the population of the Atemajac Valley.

The beginnings were not easy. A year after the last move, there were only 20 Spanish residents left in Guadalajara. Both the threat of new attacks from the Chichimec nations as well as epidemics and labor shortages hampered the development of Hispanic settlements in the north. In fact, Indian uprisings continued until the end of the century. However, the valley crossed by the San Juan de Dios stream, south of the Rio Grande de Santiago ravine, would become the definitive seat of the city that had spent its first ten years itinerant. In 1543 the Franciscans moved their convent from the town of Tetlán to Guadalajara, the first houses began to be built and by 1548 the number of neighbors had increased to 35.

CREATION OF THE AUDIENCE

To attend to the organization of his overseas possessions and enforce the New Laws, in 1543 King Charles I sent a visiting judge to New Spain. The New Laws were a set of provisions that sought to protect the Indians from the abuses of their *encomenderos* and strengthen the authority of the representatives of the Crown. Interested in knowing the situation prevailing in the confines of the viceroyalty, the visitor decided to send one of the judges of the Court of Mexico to tour that territory and prepare a report. Based on the news gathered, the visitor proposed the creation of an audience and a bishopric as the best way to achieve the pacification of the Indians and strengthen royal authority in an area so far from the viceregal capital.

Although the Mixtón War had ended by then, the extensive plains that opened up north of the Rio Grande and its agricultural and nomadic population maintained fierce resistance against the Spanish. Even when discovery and colonization activities were experiencing a new impulse, the differences between the main interests in increasing the possessions of the monarch of Castile were becoming clearer. Friars and conquerors

They held divergent points of view regarding the means that should be used to subdue the ancient inhabitants of the region. The problem was not minor, it was a completely different world than the one that Cortés and his companions had found in the highlands, in Michoacán and south of the lake area of Chapala, in the province of Ávalos. The semi-desert north, baptized by the conquerors as the Llanos de los Chichimecas, was home to a true human mosaic due to its cultural and linguistic diversity. Although a good part of its inhabitants shared cultural traits with the Mesoamerican world, their number and settlement patterns, characterized by dispersion throughout a territory whose limits remained unknown, were very different from those of other regions, as well as the great variety of languages, nations and customs among them. This reality, which from the beginning caught the attention of the newcomers, increased the difficulties for the establishment of Hispanic families, colonizers, and institutions.

Despite all the obstacles, the first discoveries of silver veins, first in Guachinango (1544) and shortly after in Zacatecas (1546), once again fueled the interest of the Spanish to advance north and consolidate their dominance there. Although the first steps towards the creation of a royal audience began soon, the difficulties in establishing it and, above all, in defining its powers and territory were prolonged. The Audience of New Galicia began activities on February 13, 1548 in the city of Compostela. For its operation, it had the well-known ordinances and instructions that established that it

should be made up of four jurists who were granted the rank of major oidores-mayors as well as judges and rulers. The Courts of the New World were the judicial bodies with the greatest authority, with the double task of exercising justice to the monarch's subjects and making decisions on matters of government; but in this case, from its origin, a point of discrepancy appeared because, although the monarch affirmed by royal decree of March 19, 1548 the independence of New Galicia, the Council of the Indies established that the resolutions of its hearing could be appealed before the Court of Mexico.⁶

From then on, the neo-Galician people would have to constantly struggle to achieve institutions that could function without the tutelage of their peers.

⁶ Thomas Calvo, *Power, religion and society in the Guadalajara of the 17th century* (Mexico: Cemca / Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), p. 5; Rafael Diego-Fernández, *The Primigenia Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia, 1548-1572: Response to the questionnaire of Juan de Ovando by the oidor Miguel Contreras y Guevara* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Cultural Dávila Garibi, 1994), p. v.

Mexico City and without interference from the viceroy. The history of the Neo-Galician Court clearly shows the vicissitudes of this society in the northern reaches of the Indies. Both the efforts to find the best location for the headquarters, which took it from Compostela to Guadalajara, and the struggle to define its space of jurisdiction and to free it from the influence of the viceroy and the oidores of Mexico City constituted a good part of the concerns and efforts of the neo-Galician people throughout the 16th century.

From the first moment the viceroy and the oidores of Mexico resisted being excluded from Neo-Galician affairs and this point became the cause of constant disagreements and disputes throughout the viceroyalty, much more evident and bitter during the 16th century. The monarch's representatives in the viceregal capital maintained their opposition to the autonomy of the provinces conquered by Nuño de Guzmán and sought all possible means to prevent their strengthening as a kingdom. They disputed the territory through the creation of jurisdictions north of the Rio Grande de Santiago, as occurred with the Province of the Chichimecas, the founding of the town of León (1576) and the appointment of a mayor for the mines of Comanja; They achieved control of the Caja Real de Zacatecas to prevent Nueva Galicia from benefiting from the wealth of this mining center located in the heart of their region; They established a military jurisdiction directly subordinate to the viceroy on the borders of San Luis Colotlán and went so far as to lead an army to the gates of Guadalajara to impose their authority on the oidores of that city. The main weapon to achieve greater independence from the authorities of Mexico was the firmness of the Neo-Galician settlers, as well as that of their temporal and even ecclesiastical authorities who, when it came to defending their right to decide on the affairs of the kingdom, forgot its internal divisions.

In the same year of 1548, as soon as the Royal Court was established in Compostela, the residents of the towns of Ávalos and Colima, belonging to the kingdom of New Spain, requested to be placed under the jurisdiction of the new Court, alleging the great distance that it separated them from the capital of the viceroyalty. Their requests were joined by those of the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities of Compostela and Guadalajara, but Mexico City was not willing to give up those territories. Although Colima was annexed to the Audiencia of Guadalajara in 1574, it was for a short time.⁷

⁷ José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Conquests and government institutions in Colima of New Spain (1532-1600)* (Colima: Historical Archive of the Municipality of Colima / University of Colima / El Colegio de Michoacán, 2007), p. 161.

The first mayor-oidores of New Galicia were the jurists Lorenzo Lebron de Quiñones, Hernán Martínez de la Marcha, Miguel Contreras y Guevara and Juan Meléndez de Sepúlveda, who died during the trip and had to be replaced by Alonso de Ocegüera. In addition to taking the first steps to establish the Audiencia in Compostela and publish the ordinances, the founding oidores had to monitor the observance of the New Laws that limited the privileges of the encomenderos and regulate the employment of indigenous labor; For this reason, his presence caused deep discomfort among the descendants of the conquerors. In contrast, the first oidores-mayors had the support and sympathy of the Franciscans in carrying out their tasks in favor of the natives. Another activity that occupied their attention were the visits they had to make both in New Galicia and in neighboring New Spain, in which they attended to very diverse issues and learned first-hand about the problems faced, in each region, by both the Indian population and the Hispanic. The visit was a form of inspection, more or less secret, that the Crown could order at any time to check the performance of one of its representatives, especially when it suspected serious misconduct. For the Crown of Castile, the visit was an instrument that allowed the presence and authority of the monarch to be brought to all the corners and inhabitants of its kingdoms. With royal representation, the designated visitor had broad powers to hear complaints and dispense justice in cases of abuse by encomenderos, corregidores and other authorities. His powers even allowed him to dictate ordinances and, while touring towns, fields and places, the visitor gathered information on matters relevant to the various branches that made up the colonial administration: government, finance and justice.

The judge Martínez de la Marcha was sent to visit Nueva Galicia in 1550 to resolve issues related to government, finances, justice and war of the towns and places of the kingdom. In addition, he collected information about the place where it would be convenient to establish the headquarters of the Court and the bishopric. As a demonstration of the zeal that the first Neo-Galician rulers showed to prevent interference by foreign authorities in their jurisdiction, Martínez de la Marcha wrote the first Mining Ordinances of New Galicia, provincial provisions that were made in Zacatecas. The ordinances of this judge have been considered the most complete of their time due to their technical language.

8 John Parry, *The Audiencia of Nueva Galicia in the 16th century. Study on the Spanish colonial government* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Fideicomiso Teixidor, 1993), pp. 92-93.

and for including the entire range of mining activities: ownership, work regime and exploitation of minerals.⁹

Two years later, the oidor Miguel Contreras y Guevara received the order from the viceroy to visit Michoacán and the province of Ávalos to apply the New Laws. The task included carrying out new assessments or counts of the Indian population that had to pay the tribute, restoring usurped lands to their legitimate owners and other actions that affected the interests of encomenderos and large landowners. He spent about six months on this task until he had to suspend it due to the complaints of several Spanish figures close to the authorities of New Spain.¹⁰ However, the information that the oidor obtained from ecclesiastics and temporal authorities was of great value for the Council of the Indies and constituted one of the bases for the transformations of the Audiencia of Guadalajara starting in 1572.¹¹ In 1555 Alonso was the oidor of Ocegüera, commissioned by the viceroy Don Luis de Velasco to visit Michoacán and remedy the constant complaints of the Indian towns of that province. The common denominator of these visits was the indignation of the neighbors at the measures adopted.

For his part, Lorenzo Lebron de Quiñones, the first of the mayor-oidores-mayors who had arrived in Compostela, was part of a family of jurists and his father had been an oidor in Santo Domingo. Lebron de Quiñones was also a determined supporter of changing the headquarters of the Court and had one of his best-known tasks as a visit to New Spain. He left in October 1551 to fulfill the mandate of the same viceroy Don Luis de Velasco to visit the provinces of Colima, Motines and Zacatula. Throughout his journey he found a world where the Indians had no order or police, where anarchy reigned in the way of granting and organizing the corregimientos and paying the salaries of the corregidores, in addition to a Spanish settlement that he described as precarious in the town of Colima. To remedy this situation, he issued some Ordinances in order to put an end to what he described as a Town Council without order in that town.

To ensure settlement, he suggested to the viceroy to reorganize the corregimientos, assigning towns close to each other to neighbors who received a moderate salary, and removing the Indians from the encomenderos who had them illegally. All this without forgetting the evangelization of the natives for which he decided to build churches in the towns and took advantage of his good relations with

⁹ José Enciso Contreras, «The mining ordinances of 1550 for New Galicia», *Anuario Mexicano de Historia del Derecho* 8 (1996): 92-93.

¹⁰ Diego-Fernández, *La primigenia Audiencia*, pp. XIV.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiv.

the Franciscan order to request the construction of two convents. The convent of the town of Colima itself had its origin in these efforts.

Such long wanderings and journeys had consequences and the visitor Lebron de Quiñones did not escape them. He returned ill to Mexico City in 1553, but he still had the energy to, once recovered, write a detailed report to the monarch, entitled *Brief and summary account of the visit he made in New Spain*, at the same time that he carefully followed the appeals that the characters affected by their interests presented during their journey; and returned to Colima and Michoacán to finish the visit, imposing such severe punishments and fines against those who committed excesses in the collection of taxes and services from the Indians that they gave rise to a true wave of protests against them when the judge who was supposed to arrive arrived. He took residence with the neo-Galician oidores. In 1556 Lebron de Quiñones was sentenced, deprived of his property and taken to prison. When he managed to escape to Mexico, he sought the protection of the Franciscans and Viceroy Velasco, who commissioned him as visitor of Oaxaca and the Miztecs while the appeals he had presented to the Council of the Indies were resolved and which finally declared him acquitted. Deciding to return to his position in the New Galician Court, he died on the way.

On the other hand, disagreements between the oidores were frequent as there was no president whose authority could resolve conflicts. There was also no prosecutor until 1569 so, until then, the oidores were forced to act at the same time as prosecutors and as judges. Meanwhile, the Indians complained that the members of the court did not pay attention to their complaints due to the excessive taxes and the cruelties to which they were continually subjected. These and other points were denounced before the king both by the author of the visit that he ordered to be carried out to the Court of Compostela in 1551, and by the Franciscans, the City Council of the host city and other neighbors who came to complain so much about the institution as well as the abuses and evils of some of its members, especially Lebron and Contreras.¹² The latter distinguished himself for his campaign against the encomenderos and, like his counterparts, the charges against him merited his conviction, but he was also finally acquitted and returned to office.¹³

The choice of Compostela as the seat of the Audiencia was not successful: the city was located in a point isolated from the rest of New Galicia and exposed to attacks by rebellious Indians, by 1548 it had lost a good part of its population and lacked the human and material resources

¹² Ibid., pp. xxv.

¹³ Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, p. 188.

thinkable to guarantee its proper functioning. For this reason, very soon there were voices that were raised asking for a change of location. Already in 1549 the report of the oidor Martínez de la Marcha said, in summary, that Compostela "was unimportant" to be the seat of the Audiencia. A second report stated that Guadalajara was geographically better located than Compostela. On the opposite pole, the residents of the city of Compostela explained their reasons against it, based on the geographical location and the context of war, which made the transfer inopportune. Other reasons alleged by the Royal Court to justify its preference for Guadalajara were its most central location to favor the tasks of government, as well as the security of the kingdom and its expansion. Without a doubt one of the most important arguments was its proximity to the mining wealth of Zacatecas and other properties discovered to the north. Both the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities agreed on the convenience of the transfer. The reports on this topic that the oidores sent to the king had the support of the bishop, the Cathedral Chapter and the Guadalajara City Council. Unanimity of opinion was rare at that time among institutions very jealous of their powers. Finally, in the year 1560, the Spanish sovereign authorized, after repeated requests, the transfer of the Audiencia to Guadalajara.

Pedro de Morones, a lawyer who had taught in Mexico City, was the judge appointed to replace Martínez de la Marcha and to subject the first members of that court to a residency trial. It was he who found all three guilty, but especially Lebron de Quiñones. However, he soon left matters of justice to become a conquistador and together with the oidor Ocegüera, whose main task was to clarify the accounting matters of the Royal Treasury, he maintained a much more flexible position towards the work of the Indians. Both insisted on the request of their predecessors to move the Court to Guadalajara and in 1560 it was they who received the royal authorization that opened a new stage for this city, where construction activity was reactivated and the court increased its activity thanks to its best location. Little by little, miners and other residents would find it more convenient to go to Guadalajara instead of going to Mexico. fifteen

Between 1557 and 1563 the situation of the Indian towns in New Galicia experienced a marked decline due to the lack of defenders who opposed the interests of encomenderos and slaveholders. The activities of the oidor Morones,

14 José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization in New Galicia during the 16th century* (Guadalajara: INAH / El Colegio de Jalisco / Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 1993), pp. 212-214.

Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, pp. 132-133. fifteen

determined to find gold in the surroundings of Chiametla, necessarily translated into neglect of his judicial tasks, just when the number of litigations grew as a result of the move of the Court. Under the pretext that communication between Compostela and Culiacán, which had been interrupted by the abandonment of Chiametla, had to be restored, Morones obtained permission to undertake the conquest of that area. His expedition coincided with moments of growing disorder in Guanajuato and Comanja that attracted the intervention of the viceroy to the area, but also with the uprising of 1561 led by Guachichiles and Caxcanes who, desperate due to the increase in slave taking and other abuses, united forces and attacked towns and real estates until they isolated the two largest populations at that time: Zacatecas and the San Martín mines. While Morones insisted on his claims for new expeditions, the situation demanded the intervention of the viceroy to implement measures aimed at definitively subduing the Indians of the border. It was then that Don Luis de Velasco appointed Francisco de Ibarra, whom he had commissioned to undertake conquests in the north, governor of Nueva Vizcaya. The Nueva Vizcaya was an area where there was already a presence of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, in the person of one of the former conquerors and resident of Guadalajara, Diego de Colio, by then mayor of the San Martín mines and who refused to recognize to Ibarra. Nombre de Dios, a neo-Galician foundation of little importance in terms of number of inhabitants, became the center of a new conflict between the authorities of Mexico, who had sent Ibarra, and those of Guadalajara, until finally Nombre de Dios was lowered, jurisdiction of the government of New Spain and the Court of Mexico.¹⁶

After the death of Morones, which occurred in 1564, the Court of Guadalajara was made up of the attorneys Alarcón, Gómez de Mendiola, who arrived at the end of 1565, and the attorney Juan Bautista de Orozco, who held the position of *oidor* between 1565 and 1572. The latter's appointment had a certain smell of nepotism because his brother, Dr. Jerónimo de Orozco, had been a judge in the Court of Mexico since 1557, which meant that appeals to the younger brother's sentences had to be presented before the superior court, where they would be reviewed by a magistrate with whom he was united by fraternal ties." Such a situation was settled in 1572 when Dr. Orozco went to the Audiencia of Guadalajara.¹⁸

¹⁶ Cf. Chantal Cramaussel, "The Far North or the New Frontier," in this same work.
¹⁷ Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, p. 189.

¹⁸ Justina Sarabia Viejo, *Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, 1550-1564* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1978), p. 48.

Little by little, the Neo-Galician institution strengthened its authority by decisively defending its powers against those of the viceroy and other officials of Mexico and advanced in the process of transferring the encomiendas from the hands of the conquerors and their descendants to those of the Corona, although the protection of the Indians continued to decline, for fear of new conflicts such as those generated by the energetic attitude demonstrated by Lebron de Quiñones and his companions in their defense.

The presence of a commissioner sent by the viceroy Marquis of Falces to Zacatecas, in 1570, to investigate the disorder prevailing in the mines, which some neighbors had denounced, once again aroused the displeasure of the Audience of Guadalajara, which had not been warned, and therefore ordered the mayor of Real de Minas to expel him because he was an authority that had no jurisdiction in this territory. On this occasion the Council of the Indies supported the Marquis of Falces, reprimanded the Audiencia and ordered the judge Orozco to appear at the mines and give his point of view on the situation in what was then the largest settlement and richest in New Galicia.

THE PRESIDENTS, A NEW ERA

In 1568, Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almanza had arrived in Mexico, an experienced soldier and skilled administrator, who from his arrival directed his actions to concentrate the administrative and military powers of the entire viceroyalty in his person and to improve the organization of each jurisdiction. His project was to strengthen the Audiencias and unify the branches of government and war in the hands of the viceroy. Hence, the ordinances that had governed the New Galician Court for twenty years were repealed and the viceroy took on the task of gathering testimonies to achieve his purposes. As a result of these changes, the Court of Guadalajara received new territories by becoming an appeals court for Nueva Vizcaya, the province of Ávalos, Autlán, Etzatlán, Colima and Zacatula; For Enríquez, the provinces had to be structured following geographical and political considerations and not only the antecedents of the conquest.¹⁹ The viceroy's reports convinced the Council of the Indies that the best way to end the disputes and conflicts between the neo-Galician oidores-mayors was the appointment of a president in that Audience, while said court and the government of the kingdom were subject to the authority of the viceroy, following the model that

¹⁹ Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, pp. 148-150.

It operated in the viceroyalty of Peru, where the Courts of Charcas and Quito depended on Lima. twenty

In 1573, when the oidores of Guadalajara received the news that made them subordinates of the government of New Spain, they hurried, together with the newly appointed president Jerónimo de Orozco, to present to the Council of the Indies the inconveniences that these measures they carried for the kingdom. From their point of view, the depopulation of the territory would be inevitable because the newcomers would prefer to go to Mexico in search of public jobs and rewards for their services and, with this, there would be fewer troops to confront the insurgent Indians. Likewise, without the supervision of a governor residing in the kingdom, income for the Royal Treasury could decrease. President Orozco stressed that the inhabitants of Nueva Galicia would have to go and request land grants from authorities up to two hundred leagues from their places of origin.

Despite these considerations, the Court of Guadalajara lost a good part of its governmental powers, and although the salary of its members was increased, the institution only retained its character as a judicial body while the viceroy acquired full powers to appoint minor officials, and judges, supervise public works and authorize emergency expenses with funds from the royal coffers. This period of restructuring also included transformations in administrative tasks, as well as changes to the Guadalajara City Council and its relations with the

Court. The problems generated by Mexico City's efforts to govern Bernar such large and poorly communicated territories, which had been foreseen by the Neo-Galician authorities, did not take long to appear. Although the title of captain general for all of New Spain made the viceroy the superior authority in matters of war, circumstances forced the Neo-Galician president to assume command of men and weapons due to the situations presented by the Chichimeca war, and that they could not expect a response from Mexico. The proof that Enríquez de Almanza himself recognized this situation is that he himself granted the title of captain general of Nueva Galicia to President Orozco. Added to the emergencies of the Chichimeca war were new problems with the Indians who refused to comply with the orders of the Court for recognizing the viceroy as the only superior, which led Dr. Orozco to ask the Council of the Indies to remedy the situation. Although the interference of the viceregal authority in provincial affairs was constant during the

20 Fernando Muro Romero, *Las presidencias-gobernaciones en Indias (16th century)* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1975), pp. 61-62.

Orozco's presidency, the pressure that the neo-Galicians managed to exert and his determined stance in defense of a government of his own for the kingdom bore fruit. Added to these arguments was the monarch's distrust of the figure of powerful viceroys who centralized all powers and his greater inclination towards a system of balances between different authorities. The definition came in 1574 when Philip II issued a royal decree that determined the profile that New Galicia would maintain until its disappearance. The monarch's decision to end the confusion between the areas of government and justice was to exclude the viceroy from administrative affairs in Nueva Galicia to grant the governorship to the president of the Court, with which Dr. Orozco received the majority of the powers, which the oidores had lost in 1572. Furthermore, the Audiencia also became a chancellery with the right to use the royal seal, making it subordinate only to the Council of the Indies. Its structure was modified to be made up of a president and three oidores, a number that would later be raised to four.²¹ Viceroy Enríquez, always opposed to Guadalajara having powers in matters of war, had to accept the provisions to unify government and justice, in the hands of a president-governor but which, on the other hand, maintained the viceroy as the highest military authority of all the kingdoms.

In 1574, Dr. Orozco received from Enríquez de Almanza himself the task of appearing in Zacatecas to dispense justice, especially in matters related to the interests of the Royal Treasury that were affected by the frauds of the miners who, through various means, They avoided paying the fifth of the silver extracted. Once his mission was accomplished, he explained to the monarch the need to begin a general visit, with which it can be assumed that he observed the urgency of more drastic measures to give order to the royal mines, which by then concentrated the largest number of inhabitants in the entire viceroyalty after the capital. Inclined towards the policy of seeking non-war means to achieve peace with the Chichimecas, President Jerónimo de Orozco ordered the founding of new towns such as Aguascalientes.

Despite the changes and the definition of functions of the authorities of each kingdom, the interference of Mexico City had not ended. The most serious point of the confrontations between New Galician and New Spanish authorities took place in 1589 when the viceroy sent a troop to the town of Analco, in the Guadalajara area, in order to subdue two New Galician magistrates who had disobeyed the rule, which prohibited the marriage of judges with women from the jurisdiction where they performed their duties.

²¹ Ibid., p. 63.

Neo-Galician magistrates and neighbors prepared to fight and armed their own army. The intervention of Bishop Fray Domingo de Alzola and his diplomatic ability were the reasons that managed to prevent combat from taking place.

Throughout these difficult decades, the authorities of New Galicia knew how to rely on the monarch to achieve autonomy from their New Spanish counterparts. The Audiencia and the bishopric successfully resisted the interference of Mexico and the remoteness contributed to this situation by making it difficult for the viceroy to control New Galicia even militarily. The Audiencia gained presence in its territory and no authority in the Indies was successful between 1572 and 1600 in trying to hold the institution accountable for its actions. Only the Inquisition was able to maintain its jurisdiction in Nueva Galicia despite its opposition to the Audiencia.²²

MAJOR MAYORS AND CORREGIMENTOS

The control of its overseas territories posed multiple difficulties for the Crown. The Castilian monarchy was structured, like other European monarchies of that time, based on a legal system inherited from the last medieval centuries that conceived justice as the fundamental pillar for maintain order in a society that was made up of a set of different bodies or corporations, endowed with different rights and privileges. The model of these traditional monarchies can then be defined as a government of judges where the sovereign was, above all, the highest court of justice. However, in the New World it was not enough to bring justice to all the inhabitants, but it was also necessary to present to them the image of a distant monarch, whom they would never get to know directly. In the first moments of the Conquest, it was captain generals and governors who carried out the tasks of justice and governance on behalf of the king, which they later shared with the first councils of the towns and cities that were founded. As the discoveries progressed, Hernán Cortés had to appoint lieutenants with the title of governors or mayors for the territories that were incorporated. This is how the oldest mayoralties such as Colima, Pánuco, Zacatula and that of the Zapotecs were created. It can be said that in those first moments the mayor's office constituted a provincial magistrate with powers

²² Calvo, *Power, religion and society*, p. 5-7.

very broad areas of justice and government over very extensive and vaguely delimited territories.

The Crown soon warned of the danger of letting the first conquistadors become a group of powerful lords of lands and men in the newly discovered regions and became determined to prevent the strength of the great *encomenderos* from continuing to grow. For this reason, he began to appoint *corregidores* for each town to ensure the interests of the king and for the protection of the Indians, whose tasks included ensuring that the *encomendero* fulfilled his obligations of good treatment and evangelization of the natives and avoiding all types of abuse. The first Court of Mexico appointed *corregidores* for the parcels that passed to His Majesty due to the death of the holder. Among the oldest New Spanish towns were those of Amula, Tuxcacuesco, Xilotlán, the towns of Ávalos (headed first in Atoyac and then in Zacoalco), Cihuatlán and Ameca. From some of these provinces were later born that survived the entire viceregal period, as in the case of the towns of Avalos and Etzatlán.²³

The complaints of the friars and the defenders of the rights of the natives had influenced the issuing of provisions in 1542, known as the New Laws, aimed at protecting the Indian population, whose alarming decline was already evident. These regulations limited the rights of the *encomenderos* and established that upon death they could not inherit to their descendants the towns that they had in their service, which must remain as tributaries of the king. The *encomenderos* opposed both the New Laws and the presence of the *corregidores* in their domains, and many obtained permission to extend it for two, three or more lives, but in 1550 it was ordered by royal decree²⁴ that all *encomiendas*, both of individuals as well as of the Crown, they had to have a *corregidor* and five years later a new order extended the presence of these magistrates even further: «That in all the Spanish towns that exist in them [the West Indies], *corregidores*, men approved in Christianity and goodness and sane.»²⁵

In the New World, the question of the virtues that should characterize the representatives of the Crown had a double meaning, since they were the ones who embodied the presence of the sovereign since by dispensing justice in his name they made him present to the inhabitants of towns, villages and cities. Jurists and legislation established the virtues that should be sought in men who

²³ Romero de Solís, *Conquests and institutions*, p. 248.

²⁴ R. of 1., law 3, tit. 2, book. 5.

²⁵ Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Indian Politics* (Madrid, 1647), lib. 5, chap. 2, ff. 3.

They had to carry out such a delicate task: honesty, loyalty, charity, good judgment, in addition to others that were equally or more difficult to find among the Spaniards who were in the Indies at that time. To ensure their good performance, salaries were assigned, which ranged between 320 and 300 pesos, but before reaching the middle of the century there were cuts and even the proportion between the value of the taxes of each place and the mayor's salary was lost. respective. 26

In the distant lands of the northern border, it was the conquerors Nuño de Guzmán and Francisco de Ibarra who created the first mayoralties and corregimientos. Starting in 1548, when the Audiencia of New Galicia was created, the practice of appointing magistrates for the towns belonging to the Crown and mayors for both the Spanish towns and the royal mines was maintained. Following this scheme, in 1563 the king was informed that Nueva Galicia included thirty townships grouped into three districts (Compostela, Guadalajara and Zacatecas), as well as three major mayoralties: that of the town of Compostela, that of San Miguel de Culiacán and that of the Xocotlán Mines. 27

The advance of explorations towards the north and the organization of space caused the number of districts to change rapidly in those years and by 1570 the Court of Guadalajara annually appointed 15 mayors and 45 magistrates to govern a territory that stretched from the Lerma River. to the Piaxtla river. 28 The former received between 500 and 600 pesos in salary, while the latter received between 200 and 300 pesos; In all cases these amounts were extracted from the tribute paid by the Indians of each district. By then, more than 50 encomiendas remained, most of which originated from those that Nuño de Guzmán had granted (see map 2).29

Although in Castile the mayoralties and the townships had been born as two different institutions, when they were transplanted to the Indies they underwent transformations according to the needs of each region. In New Galicia they became the two forms of royal representation for the administration of justice and the representation of the monarch at the local level in each of the districts into which the kingdom was divided. In a territory where there were few encomiendas and the exploration and organization of space did not follow previously established guidelines but were defined as required by the progress of the war against the Chichimecas and the eventual discoveries of veins.

26 Romero de Solís, *Conquests and Institutions*, p. 252.

27 Sarabia Viejo, *Don Luis de Velasco*, pp. 76-77.

28 Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, p. 181.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

of silver, the Neo-Galician government appointed mayors and magistrates and assigned them their powers as it deemed necessary, without worrying about maintaining a clear difference between the two types of magistrates, in such a way that both came to have very similar powers, to such a degree that the authorities themselves became confused and referred to the same province as the mayor's office and as the *corregimiento* interchangeably.

MAP 2. NEW GALICIA AT THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY



Author: Celina G. Becerra Jiménez. Preparation: LGEO Judith Navarro Flores. WGS84 coordinate system.

Perhaps the most notable difference between both institutions referred to their territorial extension since, in general, the mayor's offices included several towns or villages, as well as ranches and work of Spaniards, while the *corregimientos*, almost all of which originated in a town of Indians, were limited to the space corresponding to a community or a head and its subjects.³⁰

³⁰ Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions of Nueva Galicia. The mayor's office of Santa María de los Lagós, 1563-1750* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), pp. 214-218.

As can be seen in Teocaltiche district that also included the smaller communities of Guejotitán and Ostatán. Spanish settlements could be included in both types of districts because the land grants (*estancias* and *caballerías*) that were granted as rewards to conquerors and first settlers gave rise to localities that were known with names that indicated the activity originally undertaken by the owners: ranches when they were dedicated to livestock and work when they were primarily dedicated to cultivating the land. Ranches and work were the immediate antecedent of the haciendas that in the 17th and 18th centuries would become centers of population and agricultural production, as a result of the accumulation of several land grants in the hands of one owner, where agriculture was combined with livestock raising and even the manufacturing of other products (textiles, soap, etc.). The inhabitants of ranches and laborers could be Spanish, mestizos, mulattos or laboring Indians, but they were all under the authority of the corresponding mayor or corregidor.

As most of the *encomiendas* progressively disappeared, at the end of the 16th century, the titles of *corregidor* lost the character they had initially had to become a way of recognizing the most outstanding conquerors and meritocrats and a way to give back to their descendants. Some townships became suffragans of a greater mayor's office where the scarcity of the Indian population did not allow sufficient amounts of taxes to be collected to cover the salary of the holder. In any case, the reasons for annexing a township to a nearby mayor's office were not always clear. At first it was about combining a tributary population so that the head of the district could collect a sufficient amount to complete his annual salary, but later the criteria changed in such a way that, although originally they had been conceived to ensure that the king met the fundamental task of ensuring justice in all its possessions, mayoralities and *corregimientos* in a short time became instances to provide economic income to their holders and began to be distributed among the conquerors and worthy ones who had not been able to obtain *encomiendas*. At the beginning of the 17th century, when the decline in the Indian population reached catastrophic levels, it was already common to grant townships as coastal aid so that the mayors could supplement their salaries with the taxes collected from the Indians in the towns.

31 Indians residing on the ranches, where they were part of the workforce. They were not part of a republic and therefore did not have the right to land nor were they subject to the authorities of an Indian council.

Although they never lost their character of representing real justice, from the first colonial decades, these offices of the provincial government were seen by the newcomers as a means of enrichment, which opened opportunities for extortion and exploitation of the population, and the most used way to access them were contacts with the authorities in charge of issuing appointments.³² In this way, the authorities of Compostela and then Guadalajara had an effective instrument to control the entire kingdom and drain profits from any region to their own pockets. Depending on the number of tributaries and the economy of each area, the neo-Galician districts yielded good results for their owners. An example of them was Sierra de Pinos in 1634, when Diego Fernández de Córdoba, aspiring to the office of general depository and recipient of chamber sentences of Nueva Galicia, requested to exchange this office for that of mayor of Sierra de Pinos by five years. The governor consulted the Council of the Indies, which responded that the requested exchange should not be granted.³³ Frequent accusations from visitors and other authorities indicate that the magistrates paid very little attention to the matters of justice in their respective districts: <<The magistrates did not attend in their places. Many of them could be excused without harm, especially the lieutenants, since there are some and they are no longer useful for collecting salaries, because they are in Guadalajara or wherever it seems best without ever seeing the towns where they are lieutenants. 3. 4

As in New Spain, the mayor's office formed the basis of the provincial government system. By 1621, of the thirty existing jurisdictions, only seven were independent townships: San Cristóbal de la Barranca, Tala, Tequila, Sentispac, Colimilla and Matatlán, Tlajomulco, Tonalá and Zacatecas. The latter has a special character, both because it is an urban district and because of the importance of its mining production and its royal appointment. 35

³² Romero de Solís, *Conquests and institutions*, p. 146.

³³ Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, "The mayor's office of Sierra de Pinos or how to integrate the Indies into the Crown", in *Sierra de Pinos on its horizons. History, space and society (16th-20th centuries)*, coord. by Thomas Calvo and Martín Escobedo (Zacatecas: Taberna Librería / Instituto Municipal de Cultura de Pinos / Instituto Zacatecano de Cultura, 2011), p. fifty.

³⁴ General Archive of the Indies (AGI), Guadalajara 5, Santiago del Riego a Felipe II, Guadalajara, March 6, 1576, cited in Mariano García-Abásolo, "Resulted from a visit to Nueva Galicia in 1576", *Yearbook of American Studies* 36 (1979).

³⁵ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, ed. and study by François Chevalier (Guadalajara: Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980), p. 111-167.

Another peculiarity is that the township of Tonalá had as an addition that of San Pedro Tlaquepaque. On the other hand, until the first decades of the 17th century the districts underwent changes in their composition. Thus it is observed that, although in his tour of 1621 Lázaro de Arregui does not mention Cajititlán, 36 Tlacotlán, Cuquío and Teocaltiche as independent towns, the colonial documentation shows that each of these towns was the head of its province with an appointed corregidor, each year by the Court (see table 1).

TABLE 1. TOWNSHIP AND MAJOR MAYOR OFFICES OF NEW GALICIA

1570		1621	
QUALIFICATION	SALARY	QUALIFICATION	
Anasco township	150 pesos		
Tlajomulco township	200 pesos	Tlajomulco township	
Tonalá District	142 pesos		
San Pedro District	122 pesos		
Atemajac township	130 pesos		
Corregimiento of Coyutlán and Zalatlitlán	100 pesos		
Amatlán District	150 pesos	Corregimiento of Amatlán and Colmilla	
Tequila District	150 pesos	Tequila District	
Nochistlán District	110 pesos		
District of Mezquituta and Moyagua	180 pesos		
District of Comatlán and Cuzcatlán	100 pesos		
Mexicacan District	140 pesos	Tacotlán	Mayor's Office
Cuitzeo District	160 pesos		
Poncitlán District	150 pesos	Poncitlán	Mayor's Office
Corregimiento of Capala and Quilitán	100 pesos		
Lieutenancy of Mochititlique and Oxtotitpac	100 pesos	Mayor of the Oxtotitpac mines	
Tenientazgo Tenientazgo de Tlajomulco	100 pesos		
Lieutenancy Cuitzeo Lieutenancy	150 pesos		
Tlaltenango Tenientazgo Corregimiento	100 pesos		
Ahuacatlán District	120 pesos	Mayor's Office of Ahuacatlán	
Xala	130 pesos		
Juchipila township	100 pesos	Juchipila	Mayor's Office
Sentispac township	200 pesos	Sentispac	township
Acatís and Pantoque District	100 pesos		
District of Ixtapa and Jalpocotlán	100 pesos		
Santiago Temichoque Corregimiento	100 pesos		
Santiago Ixtapa District	120 pesos	Town hall by Temichoque	
District of San Miguel Otepezintla	100 pesos		
Acaponeta District	100 pesos	Acaponeta	Mayor's Office

³⁶ AIPEJ, Government Books, vol. 1, f. 138v.

1570		1621	
QUALIFICATION	SALARY	QUALIFICATION	
Cullacan District	200 pesos	Cullacan	Province
Tacolimbo township	150 pesos		
Navito and Abrito township	100 pesos		
Bayla district	100 pesos		
Tecurimento District	100 pesos		
Ahilarito District	100 pesos		
Guainuchiles District	200 pesos		
Ysquabito and Pescadero Corregimiento	150 pesos		
Cogota District	150 pesos		
Chilobito township	150 pesos		
Bizcayno township	100 pesos		
District of Tacubento and the Fishermen	100 pesos		
Ayone district	100 pesos		
District of Chostias and Quatometo	150 pesos		
Piloto and Molato district	100 pesos		
Opono township	150 pesos		
Corregimiento of Zapotlán and Cintla	100 pesos		
		Tala District	
		District of	San Cristóbal de la Baranca
		District of	the City of Zacatecas
Town hall	from the mines of Zacatecas		
Mayor	of the San Martín mines		
Mayor's	Office of the Tepeque Mines	Mayor	of the Chimaltlan mines
Mayor's	Office of the Xicotlán mines and Guajacatlán	Town hall	from the mines of Santo Domingo or Xicotlán
Mayor's	Office of the Guachirango mines	Guachirango	Mayor's Office
Town hall	from the province of Compostela and mines of the Holy Spirit	Mayor	of the province of Compostela
Town hall	from the Acuyapilco mines		
Town hall	from the province of Cullacán	Cullacan	Province
Town hall	from the town of Jesús de la Frontera	Tulancingo	Mayor's Office
Town hall	of the mines that are populated [Comanja]		
Town hall	of the salt marshes of this kingdom and Fresnillo mines	Mayor's	Office of the Fresnillo mines
Mayor	of the Mazapil mines	Mayor	of the Mazapil mines
Town hall	of the Llanos and the Villa de Santa María de los Lagos	Town hall	from Lagos
		Mayor's	Office of Sierra de Pinos
		Mayor's	Office of the town of Purificación
		Province	from Guadalupe
		Mayor	of the Ramos mines
		Mayor's	Office of Mines de Sontrenate and town of Llanera

Sources: "Response of the oidor Contreras and Guevara to Juan de Ovando's questionnaire", in *La primal audience*, by Diego-Fernández, pp. 171-174; Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of the New Galicia*.

The Castilian mayors did not have an established residence, because in order to effectively carry out the task of delivering justice to all places and people they had to visit each of the towns and localities. As occurred with other features of the institution, this itinerant character did not pass to the Indies in the same sense; especially in regions where Indian uprisings continued to be a threat, the incumbents were obliged to tour their district at the head of one or more groups of armed men, to go wherever necessary. Furthermore, the magistrate had to keep moving throughout his jurisdiction to visit annually, to find out and rule on the abuses and humiliations that had occurred against the Indian republics and any other subject of the king. It is striking that, despite having these obligations outlined, the head of a district was only obliged to remain there for a third of the year, without specifying a location and, still at the end of the 16th century, the objectives were still far from being defined. settlements that would become capitals. 37 Consequently, both mayoralties and townships are mentioned with variations in their names as a reflection of the evolution they experienced during the first years of their existence.

Over the years, most of the townships were expanded and became major mayoralties. This was the case of La Barca, which was born when the corregidores of Cuitzeo and Poncitlán disappeared; although there were others, such as Colimilla and Matatlán, in the current region of Tepatitlán, whose corregidores survived until 1621; and more complex cases also occurred, such as that of Cuquío, a town that had a magistrate who administered the royal towns in 1570, who, at the beginning of the 17th century, received the title of mayor, although years later the jurisdiction was again called *corregimiento*. This process continued to generate confusion about the districts and their authorities. As an example that a similar process also occurred in New Spain, there is the case of Autlán, whose mayor was appointed mayor of Puerto de la Navidad, which had acquired importance around 1550. From then on, the province of Autlán was definitively separated from Colima and shortly after it became the mayor's office. 38

The economy, demographics and other regional variables influenced the outline of the different jurisdictions. At least this is reflected in the information gathered in 1585 by the authorities of each place. The Geographical Relations indicate that for that date:

37 Diego-Fernández, *La primigenia Audiencia*, p. 259.

38 Romero de Solís, *Conquests and institutions*, p. 163.

- Compostela was a major municipality whose neighbors were the towns of Ahuacatlán and Xala and to the north it reached the province of Chiametla, belonging to Nueva Vizcaya. 39
- There were districts with a composite name, such as the mayor's office and the towns of Poncitlán and Cuitzeo.
- The mayor's office of Minas de Tepeque and the Juchipila valley had the district of Nochistlán as suffragan....
- In the province of Villa de la Purificación there was a mayor who resided in said main town and three magistrates for the towns that included the province that went from the South Sea, such as Tomatlán, to the upper part of the mountains, such as Tlaltenpa and Ocotitlán and Cabrayel and Ayutla. 40 On the other hand, in the real estate and town of San Martín y Llerena and mines of Sombrete [sic] the discoverers of the mines and first settlers elected a mayor "so that he would give them justice" and for this they had immediately requested the Court, which then resided in Compostela, the required approval and appointment. From there the founders of the town of Nombre de Dios had left, to which, shortly after, a mayor had been assigned.⁴²
- Tenamaxtlán, with a territory that went from Atengo to Tecolotlán and from Ayutla to Ejutla, was called a province and was under the authority of a corregidor. Although it was part of the government of New Spain, due to its proximity to Guadalajara the Crown had accepted that its lawsuits and grievances be attended to by the Neo-Galician Court and the same thing happened with respect to spiritual care, as it was part of the bishopric of Guadalajara. 43

At the beginning of the 17th century, on the occasion of the union of the territories of San Pedro Analco and Tequila, the title issued by the Royal Court indicated that the holder was mayor and corregidor.⁴⁴ On the other hand, there were other mayorships

39 René Acuña, ed., *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia*, volume 10 (Mexico: UNAM, 1988), «Relation of the city of Compostela», pp. 89-90.

40 Ibid., «Relation of the Villa de la Purificación», pp. 209-235.

⁴¹ These are not three different places, since 1571 the real estate and mines of Sombrete were renamed the town of Llerena. Ibid., «Relation of the town of San Martín y Llerena and Minas del Sombrerete», p. 246.

42 Ibid., «Relation of the town of San Martín y Llerena and Minas del Sombrerete», p. 260.

43 Ibid., «Relation of the province of Tenamaxtlán», pp. 207-209.

44 AIPEJ, *Government Books*, vol. 3, f. 18.

whose border and military nature required its holder to carry the title of war captain, as was the case of Real and Minas del Rosario and Culiacán.

In the case of the New Spanish jurisdictions neighboring Nueva Galicia that had been conquered by Cortés's envoys and relatives and were part of the province of Colima, the old townships marked the outline of the major mayoralties that subsisted until the 18th century. This is what happened with the Izatlan district (Etzatlán), which had a mayor since 1540; with Tuxpan-Tamazula-Zapotlán, mayor's office at the end of 1550; and with Amula, also the mayor's office since 1570. The towns of Ávalos, for their part, ceased to be a corregimiento in 1549. Finally, Autlán was a corregimiento since the end of the forties and at the end of the visit of Lebrón de Quiñones it was elevated to mayoral rank. Four, Five

SANTA MARÍA DE LOS LAKES:

BIOGRAPHY OF A NEOGALLEGO DISTRICT

In 1549, the newly created Audiencia of New Galicia sought to ensure its dominion over the territories known as the Valley of the Chichimecas compared to its equivalents in Mexico City and to do so, it appointed a magistrate to take charge of the settlement and pacification of the area located on the Chichimec borders, whose authority would extend to the west of the Grande River (today Lerma) to Querétaro, a province that was ambiguously called the district of the Pueblos Llanos or Teocaltiche.⁴⁶ To the west it was always limited by the Caxcan territories that were in charge of the magistrate of Juchipila and Nochistlán, while to the north it included the great plains with just a few Spanish posts and ranches.

By 1563 the encomiendas of Teocaltiche and Teocaltitán passed into the hands of the Crown and the owner of the Llanos was also named corregidor of those towns.⁴⁷ It is likely that from then on the representative of the Crown spent some time in Teocaltiche, as it was of the capital that could offer better conditions for the residence of the magistrate and his men, which led to the jurisdiction being called at times with the name of this capital. In 1563 a report sent by royal officials to King Philip II stated that "the district of the town of Teocaltiche and Teocaltitán

⁴⁵ Romero de Solís, *Conquests and institutions*, p. 262.

⁴⁶ Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, p. 139.

⁴⁷ Peter Gerhard, *The northern border of New Spain* (Mexico: UNAM, 1996), p.

It is currently provided in Hernando Martel, an ancient settler, which is why it has an ID from Your Majesty to be provided for, to be given positions", 48

However, in the documents by which the Court orders the founding of the town of Santa María de los Lagos, dated that same year, the listeners address Martel himself, calling him "judge of residence in the plains of this kingdom", although a few lines later he appears as "Hernando Martel, mayor of the said plains." and commission judge. Years later, in the information that Martel himself presented to the New Galician authorities, he declared that he had been "mayor of the Llanos e Fronteras." 49

The appearance of the town of Santa María de los Lagos modified the name of the district. In 1570 the Court reported the existence of the "mayorship of Los Llanos and the town of Santa María de los Lagos with the district of Teocaltiche", recognizing the meeting of the two titles. fifty

By 1585 the main Indians of Teocaltiche indicated that their town was the residence of the mayor and the head of the district. The confusion persisted at the beginning of the 17th century when, in 1605, Gaspar de Vera y Medina was recorded as "mayor of Teocaltiche and towns of Los Lagos and Aguascalientes" in the documentation of his residency trial, 52 and still in 1621, an authority as well-informed as Lázaro de Arregui referred to Teocaltiche as a mayor's office.⁵³ From that date on, the name "mayor mayor of Lagos" became more common, while Teocaltiche would end up becoming a separate township of Lagos. the jurisdiction.

The territory that corresponded to the authority of the holder also underwent modifications over several decades. In its origins it had spread over a very wide area that included the Indian towns on the banks of the Lagos, Jalostotitlán and San Miguel, Tepatitlán, Zapotlanejo and Santa Fe rivers, reaching the Rio Grande ravine. 54 Created to mark the border with New Spain, the mayor's office of Santa María de los Lagos experienced difficulties during

48 Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España*, volume 9 (Mexico: Fomex Robredo bookstore, 1940), p. 205.

49 Residency judgment, p. 4.

50 Diego-Fernández, *The Primigenia Audiencia*, p. 173.

" Ibid., p. 304.

52 Thomas Calvo, paleography, «Letters to the king from Mr. Paz de Vallecillo», *Societies under construction, New Galicia according to the visits of oidores (1606-1616)*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Berthe, Thomas Calvo and Águeda Jiménez Pelayo (Guadalajara: Cemca / Universidad de Guadalajara, 2000), p. 43.

53 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 154 and 158.

54 Acuña, *Geographic relations*, "Relation of the town of Teocaltiche", p. 304.

several decades until the boundaries between the two kingdoms were clearly established. Starting in 1546, the takeoff of mining in Zacatecas increased the interest of the parties in the region, which led the Court of Mexico to establish the Province of the Chichimecas in 1548, to which it assigned an area that went from Jilotepec to the area where the Guanajuato mines would later be discovered. The following year was when the judges who had recently arrived in Compostela, concerned about securing the limits of their territory, did the same by appointing the magistrate of the Llanos. The immense Zacatecan and Guachichil rebellion that devastated towns and estates, such as Tepezalá, in 1561, marked the beginning of a new stage of the Chichimeca war. For almost four decades, the firm resistance of the northern Indians and their constant attacks on travelers and settlements of the newcomers would become a central concern for the authorities of both kingdoms. To keep the road open between the mining operations of Zacatecas and Mexico City and to defend the Spanish establishments in lands threatened by rebellious Indians, various policies were undertaken that included the founding of presidios such as that of Ojuelos (1570) and towns (Lagos in 1563; Aguascalientes and León in 1576) in the territory of the Llanos. In 1561, the discovery of mines in the Comanja mountain range was the pretext for a dispute over boundaries between the two kingdoms. The judges of the New Kingdom of Galicia appointed a mayor to administer justice in the new mining royal and a month later he took office. When news of the discoveries reached Mexico City, the viceroy did the same, pointing out that Comanja was "in the district of the governorate of this New Spain."⁵⁵ The meeting of the two mayors, appointed by different bodies who claimed to have authority over the same territory, gave rise to a violent confrontation and marked the beginning of a lawsuit in which each of the parties claimed to have jurisdiction over the same territory, the disputed area. It was not until 1563 when boundary markers were built marking the limits of the mayor's office of Teocaltiche and Pueblos Llanos with New Spain, leaving Comanja within its demarcation. Shortly after, it was established that the division between Michoacán and Guanajuato would be the Río Grande,⁵⁶ but the conflicts would continue for several decades.

On the other hand, the enormous extension that corresponded to the mayor of the Pueblos Llanos and Santa María de los Lagos decreased considerably due to the north and was limited in 1575 when the mayor's office of Charcas was created, which, after

⁵⁵ AGI, Board of Trustees 182, R. 3, n. 1, in First news about the conquest, possession, limits and encomenderos of the town of Querétaro, introductory study by José Ignacio Urquiola Permisán (Querétaro: Universidad de Querétaro, s. f.), p. 299. ⁵⁶ Gerhard, *The Northern Border*, p. 172.

a brief period of instability, found its definitive seat in 1584.⁵⁷ The increase in inhabitants in the towns and ranches that had resisted the war and the appearance of new settlements would lead to new divisions of the Pueblos Llanos that became the major municipalities of Aguascalientes and Sierra de Pinos. Towards the end of the century, with the pacification of the Chichimeca border, new settlers arrived and in 1593 the discovery of the silver deposits that would give rise to Sierra de Pinos took place at a point located outside the orbit of the towns and presidios, in the north of the Lagos district and a long distance from its head, circumstances that explain a new dispute that arose between San Luis Potosí and Nueva Galicia claiming that the territory corresponded to their respective jurisdictions.⁵⁸ The interest in participating in the benefits of the newly discovered mineral and in ensuring new income for the Royal Treasury, in addition to the speed with which residents from other places came to the call of silver, determined that the authorities of the kingdom appointed mayors to the administration of justice in the mining camps as soon as they received news of the discoveries. As happened in Comanja and Charcas, in Sierra de Pinos it should not have taken long for the arrival of the first mayor, since in 1603 it was reported that a person with the surname Fuenmayor had carried out that office,⁵⁹ as well as the brothers Diego de Padilla and Lorenzo de Padilla.⁶⁰ The last two were members of the circle closest to the president of the Court, Santiago de Vera, also present in judicial offices in the mayor's office of Lagos and Pueblos Llanos, which shows that in Guadalajara this area was considered promised significant profits.

By 1603 the Real de San Mathias de Sierra de Pinos had about sixty miners⁶² and the Audiencia of Guadalajara undertook one of the efforts

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

⁵⁸ Cf. Sierra de Pinos on its horizons, Thomas Calvo, "The second foundation."

⁵⁹ I thank Thomas Hillerkuss for confirming that it is Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor.

⁶⁰ I thank Thomas Calvo for providing me with this information. «Cars and proceedings carried out by Mr. Gaspar de la Fuente of the King's Council no. lord and his hearer of the royal court in the town and discovery of mines in Sierra de Pinos and other circuits in its region», November 1603. AGI, Guadalajara 7, f. 5r.

⁶¹ Calvo, "Circles of power in 17th century Guadalajara", in *La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco/Cemca, 1989), p. 104. ⁶² Thomas Calvo, "A Zacatecan testament of 1550", *Relations. History and Society Studies* 9 (Winter 1982): 5.

clearer to give organization to that disputed space by sending one of his listeners, Gaspar de la Fuente, to recognize the place and take the measures that were required so that Nueva Galicia did not lose these territories. To this end, it included an initiative that can be described as unprecedented for the region and the time, the outline of the boundaries of the jurisdiction of Sierra de Pinos, which was to be delimited between Charcas and the lands belonging to San Luis Potosí where new veins were being discovered. These documents show that the southern limit should be the district administered by the mayor of the town of Lagos, Aguascalientes and the Teocaltiche valley. It is also perceived that Aguascalientes and its Cabildo administered not only the neighborhood, but also a large territory that reached the region known as Ciénega Grande, even though this last town was included in the title of the mayor of Lagos.

Although the description of Bishop Mota y Escobar written in the first five years of the 17th century does not yet record the existence of a district with the name of Sierra de Pinos, he already pointed out that both in the "Spanish town called de la Pendencia" and in The two places where metals are processed, "one called Peñol Blanco and the other Sierra de Pinos", had as justice a mayor provided by Nueva Galicia;⁶³ that the mayor's office in Sierra de Pinos survived and that the disputes between Mexico and Guadalajara to control their territory continued can be observed through other sources.

On several occasions, the jurisdiction of Sierra de Pinos was added to the neighboring territories in its western part, which temporarily united a good part of the former territory of the Pueblos Llanos, under names that could vary. This happened in 1611 when Francisco Guerrero Vela was appointed mayor of Real and Minas de los Ramos, Charcas and Sierra de Pinos. That same year, the Council of the Indies asked the viceroy of New Spain, as well as the oidores and the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, for a report on the inconveniences generated by the appointment of "offices" in the Sierra de Pinos. » by two different jurisdictions, since these towns were under the jurisdiction of the Court of Guadalajara, the president of the same had provided the offices of mayor of the towns of Acaponeta and mines of Mazapil, while the viceroy had appointed captains for pacification of the Chichimeca Indians; The Audience having also allowed the offices of mayors appointed by it to be awarded

63 Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1940), p. 158.

to captains appointed by the viceroy, which was to the detriment of the residents of these towns, children and grandchildren of conquerors. 64

During those years, the New Galician territorial organization experienced transformations in the area in question. While Charcas was experiencing a period of decline, the accelerated growth of the Minas de los Ramos led the mayor of the region to change his residence to the latter. During those same years, the old mayor's office of Los Llanos and Santa María de los Lagos saw its extension significantly decrease with the transformation of the town of Aguascalientes into the head of the mayor's office of the same name. 65 The name of this province was modified, taking into account the losses, as appears in the 1625 appointment of mayor of the town of Los Lagos and mines of Comanja and mayor of the district and valley of Teocaltiche. 66 Shortly afterwards, the district of Teocaltiche also ceased to be considered as an aggregate of Lagos, to be sometimes granted as an aggregate to the head of Aguascalientes and other times as an independent district. 67 Thus, between 1656 and 1665 a mayor's office operated for Aguascalientes, Teocaltiche, Montegrande and the jurisdiction of Sierra de Pinos. Montegrande was an area rich in forests, of great interest to miners, which initially belonged to Zacatecas; Later it was united to Pinos and Aguascalientes and finally remained within the jurisdiction of the latter. For several decades, Montegrande, as was the case with Teocaltiche, was granted as an annex to one of the neighboring municipalities. It was up to the authorities of the kingdom to grant these townships to the mayor who needed to benefit from the income produced by its large Indian population. This is how it was successively part of Aguascalientes or Sierra de Pinos, 68

THE DIFFICULT CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW BISHOPSPACE:

SERVING GOD AND THE KING

By the second half of the 16th century, the Crown found itself at a crossroads between two possible models for the organization of Christianity in the New World. On the one hand, the religious orders proposed maintaining the evangelical

⁶⁴ AGI, Guadalajara, 230, f. 148v-149v.

⁶⁵ Beatriz Rojas, *Government institutions and the local elite: Aguascalientes from the 17th century to Independence* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Mora, 1998), pp. 188-189.

⁶⁶ AGI, Guadalajara, 38.

⁶⁷ Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions*, pp. 268-269.

⁶⁸ Becerra Jiménez, "The mayor's office", p. 52.

lization around the convents-doctrines supported by a regime of alms that came from the king's coffers and the work and tribute of the Indians. On the other hand, the monarchy sought to balance the growing influence and control that the regular clergy had acquired and was leaning towards a project of an institutionalized and hierarchical Indian church, under the authority of the king and supported by tithes where the friars saw their activity and contributions limited. Areas of influence in favor of the bishops chosen by the monarch, by virtue of the Royal Patronage.

The spiritual conquest of the Chichimeca border developed within the framework of these discussions, hence the differences with respect to other regions, such as a relatively limited presence of mendicant orders and greater participation of the secular clergy. The evangelization of the Neo-Galician lands was just beginning when the provinces of Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians had already been organized in the bishoprics of Mexico, Oaxaca and Michoacán. The population density of these provinces had allowed the construction of large convents to serve a significant number of towns, which is why they absorbed the majority of the friars who arrived in the Indies. Consequently, from early times there were few Franciscans who traveled to Nueva Galicia. Shortage of workers that became chronic throughout the century despite constant requests to the king and superiors to send missionaries.

In the early days of Neo-Galician evangelization, one person stands out: Mr. Cristóbal de Pedraza, a clergyman appointed as precentor of the cathedral of Mexico and protector of the Indians of New Galicia, who arrived in Compostela in 1534 to become an educator of the sons of chiefs and principals of the towns. Doctrine, song and principles of Christian life were taught, probably in Nahuatl, with the support of books, primers and altarpieces that the clergyman had brought from Spain, to the children he hosted in his house. These activities did not continue once Pedraza returned to Spain in 1536, although the seed had been sown.⁶⁹

Like their New Spanish namesakes, the first New Galician bishops, in addition to being evangelizers, were the builders of diocesan geography and faced the challenges of the stage that began at the conclusion of the expeditions and conquests of Cortés and Nuño de Guzmán. During the second half of the 16th century, the heads of the dioceses laid the foundations for an Indian Church led by pastors appointed by the king in his role as patron of the Church and organized into curacies supported by the tithes contributed by the parishioners. For this it was necessary to face the resistance of the religious orders to abandon

⁶⁹ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, pp. 134-136.

donate his evangelizing project and restructure the secular Church, without leaving aside the thorny issue of supporting priests, bishops and cathedral chapters.

The bishopric that Charles V decided to create in 1546 in the north of New Spain based in Compostela lived its first years in the context of the Chichimeca war and was distinguished for being the last of those that were created in New Spain during the 16th century, for having reached its first decade of existence without having a definitive headquarters and due to a long and exhausting conflict to define its border with Michoacán. As if that were not enough, a population significantly less numerous than that of the center of New Spain, but much more dispersed, and a chronic shortage of human and economic resources completed the challenge posed to its first shepherds.

COMPOSTELA OR GUADALAJARA

On February 14, 1546, the Royal Provision was issued in Madrid that named the dean of Oaxaca, Pedro Gómez de Maraver, as head of the bishopric that was planned to be established in Nueva Galicia, a clergyman of Granada origin who had been in the northwest of New Spain as a companion of Viceroy Mendoza on the occasion of the Mixtón War. The new prelate was then around 35 years old, so it can be assumed that he had the strength and experience that the task entrusted to him demanded. In addition to touring the enormous expanse of his bishopric on a pastoral visit, much of it still on a war footing, to pacify, evangelize and get to know his sheep; It was also necessary to found the necessary parishes to spiritually care for the Indians and Spaniards and organize the income to maintain the parishes and the cathedral church. Perhaps that is why the Royal Provision of 1546 authorized the newly appointed to immediately move to the city of Compostela and establish his ecclesiastical government there, without having to wait for the arrival of the papal bull that would formalize the existence of the bishopric of New Galicia and that It would be issued until July 13, 1548.

In December 1546 Gómez de Maraver passed through Guadalajara on his way heading to Compostela, where he found such depopulation and shortages that he He found it inconvenient to found a cathedral there, so he decided to settle there, provisionally in Guadalajara, while he gave an account to the king in a letter of the December 15, 1547. Trusting in the successful completion of his efforts to obtain the transfer of the episcopal chair, he took the first steps towards the creation of the diocese; pointed out as the seat of the cathedral, symbol and center of the Church Neo-Galician temple of San Miguel (north side of the current Degollado Theater) and began the construction of the house for the bishop in front of it.

On the way from Oaxaca to his new destination, Gómez de Maraver had taken the opportunity to practice the pastoral visit to Guadalajara and Compostela as well as the coastal region of the South Sea, including the town of Purificación. That was an opportunity to know and attend to the needs of his parishioners and his first impressions were recorded in the same letter to the king of December 1547, as one of the first descriptions of New Galicia. In it the bishop highlighted the natural contrasts, the richness of the mines and some features of its inhabitants, natives whom he described as "wild, untamed, naked and poorly populated people." On the other hand, he highlighted the enormous variety of nations and languages that made up the universe of the Indian population and the existence of only three convents with a total of twelve Franciscans to serve the entire bishopric.⁷⁰ Therefore, in that same letter he insistently requested the king to allocate to his diocese a third of the religious who arrived in New Spain, as well as his approval to teach Spanish to all the natives given the impossibility of the evangelizers learning such a large number of languages. Gómez de Maraver argued that in this way all Spaniards could collaborate in catechization and also the ecclesiastics would not have to use interpreters to get the message to the entire population. This measure would be accepted by the Crown, which warned that this would facilitate the task not only in the religious sphere, but also in the fiscal, judicial and administrative spheres. Thus, in 1550 the bishop informed the monarch that among the inhabitants of towns near Guadalajara and among the Caxcanes there were already young men and women who spoke Spanish and asked him to allocate funds from the Royal Treasury to pay for food and clothing to the Chichimecas who they worked on the construction of the "schools and houses where they teach." Despite their efforts, it was not until 1552 when the first Spanish language school for Indians was founded in Guadalajara. Regarding the lack of workers for the Neo-Galician harvest, the results did not satisfy the bishop, who a year after his first request begged the monarch for his help so that twenty Franciscans could be sent, since neither the viceroy nor the superiors of the order had responded to their requests, arguing that there were not enough friars in New Spain either.⁷²

The establishment of a bishopric required the creation of a Cathedral Chapter, a prayerful corporation made up of clerics who received their titles as kings from the king.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 237.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 239.

⁷² José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Notes for the history of the Church in Guadalajara*, volume one: From the earliest known times until the end of the 16th century (Mexico: Cultura, 1957), p. 437.

dignities and canons, as well as the benefit of an annual income to take charge of the liturgy and share with the bishop the tasks of diocesan administration.⁷³ The talent, wisdom and prestige of its members converted this collegiate body into a kind of senate of the prelate and in a means of transmitting local knowledge and traditions by bringing together the oldest members who were in charge of receiving and preparing those who were new. The ecclesiastical Chapter was also the corporation in charge of organizing and directing the liturgy in the cathedral and providing it with the greatest possible solemnity, since the splendor of worship in cathedral churches was considered a valuable means of preaching. Although Gómez de Maraver was quick to request the king to appoint the members of his Chapter, in 1550 the corporation only had the dean and two "of grace" canons.

Gómez de Maraver's proposal to convert Guadalajara into an episcopal city found echo among the different New Galician and even New Spanish corporations. Both the major *oidores*-mayors and the *Cabildos* of Guadalajara and Villa de la Purificación, the miners of the Neo-Galician royals of Guachinango and Zacatecas, those of Etzatlán, a province that belonged to the kingdom of New Spain, as well as the authorities of the Indian towns of Juchipila, Mezquituta, Cuxpala, Ajijic, Nochistlán and Ameca, among others, presented petitions and declarations that were sent to Spain pointing out that due to its location, Guadalajara was more accessible, so Spaniards and natives would be closer to their shepherd, since most of the population of the bishopric would remain in its surroundings. For this same reason, the Indians of Ameca, Ajijic and Jocotepec, although they belonged to the kingdom of New Spain, requested to be included in the Neo-Galician bishopric, arguing the great distance that separated them from Valladolid and Mexico.

A bishopric could not function without financial resources to support its prelate, its cathedral, its Chapter and its parish priests and other ministers. In the first decades the royal coffers had provided part of the money necessary to support the missionaries and the king had authorized taking some amounts of indigenous tribute to support the Indian priests, something that reduced the monarch's income, but little little by little the policy was oriented towards

73 In the era of greatest splendor the cathedral chapter or ecclesiastical chapter of the viceregal period was made up of four dignities (dean, precentor, treasurer, *maestrescuela*), canons, *racioneros* and half *racioneros*. All of them received an income or prebend that the monarch ordered to be paid from the tithes collected, which is why all the members of the *Cabildo* received the generic name of prebendaries.

74 Óscar Mazín, *The Cathedral Cabildo of Valladolid de Michoacán* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996), p. 408.

seek means for the Indies to sustain their own spiritual attention. The first Neo-Galician bishop did not neglect the task of putting in place the entire geographical-administrative organization necessary for the collection of tithes, the main support of the diocese, although he also resorted to other sources and from the first moments of his administration requested help to the king for the increased expenses that arose, arguing the poverty of the Indians and that the tithes were not enough to pay the ministers, nor for the construction of churches.⁷⁵ Already in 1547 Gómez de Maraver informed the sovereign that he had had to spend two thousand pesos during the tour of his jurisdiction to provide ornaments to the churches that he found very poor. Their proposals managed to get the Crown to give up for a time the two-ninths of the tithe that corresponded to it to solve some of the emergencies.

These same hardships must have influenced the bishop to order the collection of tithes on the cattle ranches near the Lerma River, a measure that generated a serious conflict with his Michoacan neighbor, the bishop and jurist Vasco de Quiroga. Gómez de Maraver had arranged the above based on legislation that designated as the jurisdiction of a bishopric an area of fifteen leagues around the see. With the change of the cathedral from Compostela to Guadalajara, the limits were extended to the disputed area, which today corresponds to the Altos de Jalisco and part of the Guanajuato Bajío, but the Michoacan prelate immediately claimed his right over those territories by pointing out that for years they had been visited and cared for by their ministers. The dispute to define the border between the two ecclesiastical jurisdictions reached the Council of the Indies and only had a partial solution until 1551, when boundary markers were placed that left the curate of Ocotlán and the royal mines of Comanja in the Michoacan diocese.⁷⁶ It was not until 1560 when the issue was defined, leaving a part of Colima, Autlán and the towns of Ávalos in charge of Guadalajara, while the curate of La Barca went to the Valladolid headquarters.

Gómez de Maraver did not have time to see the most important issues resolved: the authorization of Guadalajara as the headquarters for the cathedral, the drawing of the limits of the diocese and the organization of a decimal geography. His death on December 28, 1551, while he was in Mexico City, opened the first of the four periods of vacant see that the bishopric would experience in the 16th century. When the bishop died, it was up to the ecclesiastical Chapter, headed by its first dignity, the dean, to assume the tasks of the

⁷⁵ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 182.

⁷⁶ Thomas Hillerkuss, comp., *Documentalia del sur de Jalisco* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / INAH, 1994), pp. 49-55.

spiritual government. At that time, Guadalajara already had four prebendaries, the dean and three canons. In his new responsibility, Don Bartolomé de Rivera, signing as "Dean of Galicia," hurried to write to Spain reiterating the plea to authorize the transfer of the episcopal chair to Guadalajara. In his communication he added that, in the event that the king decided to keep it in Compostela, the Cabildo recommended the creation of another bishopric in Guadalajara.⁷⁷

MAP 3. BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA AT THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY



Author: Celina G. Becerra Jiménez. Preparation: LGEO Judith Navarro Flores. WGS84 coordinate system.

During the following eight years, Dean Rivera took the helm of the Neo-Galician spiritual government as head of the vacant Cabildo headquarters and strove to solve some shortcomings that Gómez de Maraver had not been able to address. It was he who attended the first Mexican Provincial Council convened in the

⁷⁷ Tomás de Híjar Ornelas, «The provisional headquarters of the cathedral of Guadalajara», in *The cathedral of Guadalajara: its history and meanings*, coord. by Arturo Camacho Becerra (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2012), volume 1, pp. 46-47.

viceregal capital in 1555, and also carried out constant activity for the organization of the diocesan territory: in 1552 he visited the towns of Ávalos by order of the viceroy, the following year he was in Zacatecas and at the end of 1558 he headed to Compostela to talk about various matters with the listeners. One of the main complaints of the dean and the vacant Chapter was the poverty in which the diocese had been plunged after the expenses of the boundary dispute with Bishop Quiroga and because the collection of tithes was still insufficient.

Despite this, the ecclesiastical corporation was concerned about providing the cathedral with the most essential elements. On the one hand, they improved the conditions of the adobe and thatched roof chapel, known as the small church, which, according to statements by Dean Rivera, had been left very poor and needy because it lacked books, ornaments and other objects necessary for the liturgy. For this purpose, some choir books and the first organ, an essential musical instrument for the liturgy at the time, were acquired.

The music of the cathedrals can be considered a sample of the progress of the institution and the increase in the income of a bishopric. In Guadalajara the choir had to remain in very modest ranks, barely sufficient to meet the minimum requirements for singing the hours. The voices of the members of the Cabildo were responsible for singing plain or Gregorian chant, a musical genre composed especially for divine services; But to achieve greater luster and ensure that there was no shortage of voices, the cathedrals employed singers and musicians who made up the group known as the musical chapel. After the death of Gómez de Maraver, the Cabildo appointed for the first time a sochantre or choir manager and later, with the arrival of the first organ, an additional salary as organist was assigned to one of the ministers of the cathedral who had the knowledge necessary to play it and he was also entrusted with the task of "teaching the choir boys of this holy church to sing."⁷⁸ The choir boys were the group of children's voices of a cathedral and the Indian children of Nueva Galicia had a prominent role in this area from the first years of the bishopric, since many of these infants were originally from Analco, Tonalá and even places more distant, like the mines of Xicotlán. The musical gifts of the ancient settlers of these lands were part of a musical tradition that must have

⁷⁸ Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, «Teaching and exercise in the construction of the sound ritual in the cathedral of Guadalajara», in *Teaching and exercise of music in Mexico*, coord. by Arturo Camacho Becerra (Mexico: CIESAS / El Colegio de Jalisco/Universidad de Guadalajara, 2013), pp. 32-33.

achieve great quality and diffusion throughout the diocesan territory, as was demonstrated in 1642, when Felipe Mauricio, Indian chief of Santa María de los Lagos, became the organist of the church that is the seat of the bishopric and one of the members of the best chapel paid with one hundred and fifty pesos per year as salary.⁷⁹

With a firm hand, Dean Rivera achieved the support of the capitulars for his decisions during the years of the vacant see to control all aspects of the diocesan administration as head of the Chapter, which allowed him to advance in the organization of the bishopric. A part of the resources used came from the renewal that in 1556 the neo-Galician supplications achieved for the part of the tithe that belonged to the sovereign and were called *novenos reales*. The rest entered through a decimal collection that increased as new settlers arrived, attracted by the discoveries of silver in the north. The miners contributed to diocesan expenses and both the pastor and the Cabildo noted the importance of establishing parish priests in the new estates and visiting them frequently. Among them, Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas stands out as an object of special attention and frequent visits by the bishopric authorities every time news arrived of the growing disorder prevailing in that society that was growing rapidly and at a great distance from the seats of temporal and ecclesiastical power.

In November 1559, the Cathedral Chapter received Fray Pedro de Ayala, a Franciscan originally from Castile and without any experience in the Indies, as a new prelate appointed by the king, thus ending the period in which the corporation had been able to decide on all matters relating to the economy and the care of souls of the bishopric. During that time, in addition, the provisions of the Crown allowed the bishop and ecclesiastical chapter to decide on the destination of the tithes to guarantee their own income, without having to share them with the parish clergy. Thus, the capitulars saw their freedom of action and their income affected with the arrival of a new prelate. These circumstances, combined with a strong and austere personality, would generate multiple conflicts between Brother Pedro de Ayala and the members of his Cabildo, with other authorities of the kingdom and also with other religious orders, which earned him the title of "tempestuous bishop." »⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Grecia Carvajal Becerra, «The presence and participation of the Indians in the musical chapel of the Guadalajara cathedral, 17th century» (degree thesis, University of Guadalajara, 2013), p. 60.

⁸⁰ Robert Ricard, *The spiritual conquest of Mexico* (Mexico: FCE, 1986), p. 436.

After having been in Compostela, where he found only six neighbors, the new prelate returned to Guadalajara and settled in the convent of his order from where he wrote to the king on May 10, 1560 to insist on the transfer of the episcopal chair, along with the Audiencia and the Royal Treasury. Before the end of that year, the response arrived to the insistent requests of a good part of the neo-Galicians and in December of the same year the reception of the Audience took place to settle in Guadalajara, where it was received by the bishop, the City Council and the neighbors. Fray Pedro de Ayala then began the efforts for the Crown to authorize the construction project of the cathedral church, which had to be paid for equally by the Royal Treasury, the encomenderos and the Indians. The good omens with which the Castilian friar's administration had begun were soon forgotten. His inflexible stance could not work in a government structure of checks and balances such as that which existed in the Hispanic dominions. Disagreements soon arose with servants of his Chapter and even with Dean Rivera, with whom the matter escalated the day they both began a violent argument in the sacristy of the cathedral, which later continued through the nave of the cathedral in sight of witnesses. On the other hand, although initially the bishop had maintained good relations with the Audiencia, he was not willing to accept its intervention in cases that involved ecclesiastical matters. Thus in 1565 Ayala disqualified the actions of two of the members of the Audiencia who, from his point of view, had violated the right of asylum of the convent of San Francisco. After becoming a public dispute, the oidores decreed the expulsion of the bishop, to which he responded with excommunication for the two magistrates and anathema for the entire city. This delicate situation could only be resolved because the prelate had to leave for Mexico to attend the Second Mexican Provincial Council. After the council, the prelate took refuge in the convent of his order in Tzintzuntzan for a long period and finally received a severe call for attention regarding his performance in front of the oidores.

Fray Pedro de Ayala also did not maintain good relations with the regular clergy, particularly with the Augustinians and Dominicans who intended to found houses in New Galicia. Protected by the provisions of the Council of Trent and the New Laws that indicated that the construction of new convents required the permission of the bishop, Ayala opposed the houses that both orders had established without consulting him. Nor did he have a smooth relationship with the members of his Cabildo. Despite these difficult circumstances, this corporation was strengthened with the arrival of new members and gradually the ministers and servants of the cathedral increased, as well as the salaries assigned to them.

IMAGE 1. FRIAR PEDRO DE AYALA, BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA, 1559-1569



In 1565, during Ayala's absence, the Cabildo ordered the construction of a cathedral. Larger provisional dral, with a thatched roof, which was known as the jacal large, where religious ceremonies found better conditions. He The new building had enough space for the choir, where the members of the Cabildo, the musicians and the singers had to go several times a day to sing the liturgy of the hours. An altarpiece was ordered to be made for the altar and its three naves allowed the attendance of a greater number of faithful than the small church. After returning to Guadalajara where he ruled for two years, the bishop died on September 19, 1569, thus beginning a new vacant see. It was precisely in this period when, in a session of October 24, 1570,

The Chapter agreed to obey the Tridentine mandate that charged local churches with taking care of the preparation of clerics through the creation of a "seminary and college." In this way the institution was born on the initiative and under the authority of the Cabildo, a mark that would be maintained throughout the 16th century. In that same session, it was decided to release two thousand pesos from the funds corresponding to the royal hospital to buy two lots and some houses adjacent to the church to build the necessary rooms there to house the sick and the school.⁸² The importance given to education is evident in the speed with which the institution was formed, which would henceforth be called the Colegio de San Pedro, while the Royal Hospital, which by order of the Crown had to support each cathedral with "one and a half of the eighteen parts" of the tithes collected, seems to have been postponed until September 1581 when, once again in a vacant seat, it was determined to spend the portion of the tithes that had corresponded up to that moment to build rooms for the sick.⁸³ Despite the efforts of the capitulars, staff shortages and financial limitations prevented the Seminary College project from being launched. Barely three months after having made the agreement to create it, the prebendaries observed that the allocated funds were not enough to support the students and to solve it they determined that "the vicars and priests of this bishopric and each one of them give and contribute in each a year of their income ten pesos of common gold, which they ordered and ordered in accordance with the provisions of the said holy council",⁸⁴ Although it

has been stated that after 1573 the courses at the Colegio del Señor San Pedro were not resumed, the constant mentions and appointments of rectors and readers that appear in the chapter minutes suggest that he had a longer life. Even after the arrival of the next bishop, the link between the school and the Chapter was maintained and it was the capitulars who continued to be in charge of its organization and its personnel and became the members themselves, prebendaries who were in charge of the management of the

campus. With the arrival of the Society of Jesus to Guadalajara, the training of clergy passed to the school that this order founded in 1586, while the previous headquarters became an educational center where up to eight singing children were housed.

⁸¹ AHAG, Minutes of the Cabildo, book 2, October 24, 1570, fol. 54f.

⁸² Eucario López, "Compendium of the minutes books of the venerable Chapter of the Holy Church Cathedral of Guadalajara", Bulletin of the Research Institute Bibliographical 5 (January-June 1971): 125.

⁸³ López, «Compendium of books», p. 131.

⁸⁴ AHAG, Minutes of the Cabildo, book 2, January 16, 1571, fol. 59f.

who learned to read, Christian doctrine and the bases of a musical education. The institution maintained the name of school although in this new stage it did not have defined statutes but rather outlined its profile little by little, as finances and the interest of the prebendaries allowed to have personnel prepared for the service of the altar and the choir. cathedrals.

The arrival of Francisco Gómez de Mendiola to the bishopric in 1571 It was a success. As a judge of the New Galician Court he had extensive experience in the land and in government tasks, thanks to this, "he achieved without difficulty the transition from the position of judge with sacred orders to that of a priest with legal experience. In both specialties he showed that he had all the hatred of Lebron de Quiñones against oppression, without his genius for unpopularity.

85 Although in those years there are indications that suggest increases in the income of the cathedral such as the fact that for the first time the Chapter had four dignities and five canons, that increases were recorded in the salaries of the organist and that chapel masters are hired, it must not be forgotten that Guadalajara is not an exception in the whole of New Spain where the constant was instability while the representatives of the spiritual power struggled to impose their secular project on that of the regular orders.

86 As the economic hardships were far from over, one of the first actions of Bishop Gómez de Mendiola was to ask Philip II for the donation of the 3,385 pesos that corresponded to the two ninth reales of the tithes collected during the period covered. between 1566 and 1569 "due to great need." 87 The economic problems of a diocese under construction frequently forced them to request this support. In 1573, the six-year period in which the cathedral had benefited from the two royal ninths for the construction of the building and houses of the cathedral had concluded, but the needs continued and therefore the bishop and Chapter together asked the monarch to grant them the same ninth reals for alms for another six years, and they pointed out that "because the tithes are tenuous, he still has a great need to provide himself with ornaments, because those he has are very poor and old, and with books and bells and other things necessary to the divine worship. 88

⁸⁵ Parry, *The Court of Nueva Galicia*, p. 176.

⁸⁶ Mazín, *The Cathedral Chapter*, p. 409-410.

⁸⁷ Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, *Collection of unpublished or very rare historical documents rare, referring to the archbishopric of Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Loreto and Ancira, 1922-1926), vol. 3, p. 66.

⁸⁸ Orozco y Jiménez, *Collection of documents*, "Letter addressed to the king by Bishop Gómez de Mendiola", p. 157.

IMAGE 2. LICENSED FRANCISCO GÓMEZ DE MENDIOLA,
BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA, 1570-1576



After the death of Gómez de Mendiola, which occurred in 1576, his successor, the Dominican friar Domingo de Alzola, received his diocese at the end of 1583 from the hands of a Chapter that had been without a pastor for many years and whose members had an advantage over the newly come to know the land and its inhabitants. Upon his arrival, the new prelate had found a truly critical situation, after a prolonged vacant see and a good part of the territories of the diocese involved in the Chichimeca war, which had only burned in 1581 in one of its most violent episodes. It did not take long for the bishop to realize the difficulties that working with his Chapter would entail. Towards this they pointed their

words when they pointed out to the king that he found the prebendaries "difficult to tame." From the first moment Alzola tried to solve certain abuses by the capitulars and communicated this to the sovereign:

In many things and especially in those that most affect them in interest, work or humility, they do not keep the erection of these churches [...] Many things I have commanded that they keep and fulfill, as in the said erection they are commanded, especially about not taking the part of the tithes [...] designated for the beneficiaries and priests of the parishes of the bishopric.⁸⁹

To conclude that the prebendaries and canons had well-known resources to evade the efforts of the prelate through appeals and perpetual lawsuits, which only resulted in him wasting the time that he could invest in preaching and converting the natives.

He had barely taken possession of his diocese in December 1583 when he undertook the pastoral visit that would take him to the Real de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves. It was there that he learned of the anger that the capitulars' actions during the vacant see had aroused among the Spanish population. Some of the richest and most influential people in the north, such as Captain Rodrigo del Río de Losa, later governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Juan Bautista de Lomas and Alonso López de Lois, all of them prosperous miners, owners of cattle ranches and labor haciendas, active participants in the war against the Guachichiles and in the defense of the roads that went to the mining camps of San Martín and Sombrerete and the town of Guadiana (Durango),⁹⁰ embodied the model of the soldier-miner of the border north and were interested in ensuring the necessary conditions for settlement and pacification and for the progress of their companies. To do this they had found an obstacle in the Cathedral Chapter which, when it sent parish priests to Nieves and other places, forced the parishioners to pay them their maintenance instead of covering it with the products of the tithe. For this reason, they asked for the bishop's intervention in the face of what they considered unfair treatment because they alleged that, since 1574, Philip II had approved that a part of the parishioners' contribution should be dedicated to supporting their priests. This would not be the only complaint of this type that Alzola encountered in his path. The residents of the town of Santa María de los Lagos, which was to

⁸⁹ Mariano Cuevas, *History of the Church in Mexico* (México: Patria, 1946), volume 2, p. 116.

⁹⁰ Chantal Cramaussel, "The Royal Road of the Interior", in *Routes of New Spain* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006), p. 303.

serve to protect one of the most dangerous places on the route to Zacatecas, they were in the same situation. In order to avoid a confrontation with his capitulars, who were in charge of collecting and distributing the decimal income, the Guadalajara bishop opted for a diplomatic strategy: he directed the requests to the Third Mexican Provincial Council convened to meet in the following months, considering that the prebendaries could not refute the provisions emanating from said meeting.

This question reflects one of the transformations that the Indian Church was experiencing at that time. Upon reaching the Spanish throne, Philip II sought to establish new policies to put into practice the provisions of the Council of Trent that had concluded in 1563, in order to solve the disorder that advisors and visitors observed in the spiritual government of the Indies. At the same time, the sovereign sought to increase contributions from his overseas possessions to the royal coffers, whose crisis had even led him to file for bankruptcy several times. To discuss the measures that had to be taken, the king convened a Great Board whose agreements made up the Ordinance of the Patronage and were in force throughout the following centuries. The Third Mexican Provincial Council, meeting in 1585 in the viceregal capital, had among its purposes to define the way in which the norms of Trent and the Ordinance of the Patronage of 1574 were to be put into practice in the New Spain bishoprics. The latter am- expanded the monarch's spheres of decision in the selection of bishops and parish priests, ordered the creation of new curates, established that access to cured benefits should be through competitive examinations, subject all curates to the supervision of the bishops, decreed the payment of tithes for Indians and Spaniards and did not allocate resources from the Royal Treasury for the support of the parish priests. The definition of the ecclesiastical economy thus laid new foundations that the religious orders soon opposed. The friars maintained their position against the collection of tithes from the Indians, arguing that the regime of work and alms that their convents requested was a less burdensome burden and in fact its collection among the Indians was never put into practice. The bishops, for their part, were in charge of implementing the monarch's mandates and tried to extend decimal income to the entire population. 92

⁹¹ Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, «The provision of parishes in the bishopric of Guadalajara and Chiapa. Petitions to name a priest in the memorials of the Third Council», presentation at the x International Seminar on Provincial Councils Mexicans, Mexico City, El Colegio de México, 2011 (in press). 92 Antonio Rubial García, *The Church in colonial Mexico* (Mexico: BUAP-Icsyh/Educación y Cultura/UNAM-I1H, 2013), pp. 170-171.

The requests that the parishioners presented to Brother Domingo de Alzola upon their arrival to the diocese coincided in essentials. Both stated that their estates and labors contributed "tithes in large quantities to the cathedral church of Guadalajara" and yet they were forced to pay the salary of the clerics sent to administer the sacraments. Since one of the purposes of the tithes was the support of the ecclesiastics who attended to the parishioners, they considered it an offense that the Chapter did not comply with the provisions and ordered them to bear the expenses since "the said tithes are enough for their sustenance and "There is still a lot left over for the cathedral church." ⁹³ The memorials presented at the council demonstrated that the existing parishes at that time were few and very extensive, each pointing out that they were far from any other parish to go to and that there were numerous difficulties on the roads, but they also demonstrate that the attention to the non-indigenous population represented as many problems as the evangelization of the natives in the diocese of Guadalajara." The displeasure of the parishioners led the large miners of Nueva Vizcaya to request the council that, in the event that the cathedral did not cover the salaries of priests and vicars, parishioners would be authorized to withhold from the tithe the amount necessary to do so.

The Neo-Galician bishop distinguished himself by raising his voice decisively in favor of peaceful means to end the war against the rebellious Indians. From their point of view, which had supporters but also notable opponents, the war could only be justified as a means to achieve peace and what they did to the Chichimecas did not lead to that end, but rather the opposite, since it made them warlike. to the previously peaceful Indians when they saw that the soldiers snatched their children and women and, in addition, caused more uprisings by causing some indigenous nations to call others to war. ⁹⁵ From his point of view, the most convenient means for pacification was to found towns on the frontiers of the war Indians who by then were located in Charcas, between Mazapil and Saltillo, in the Parras valley and in the mines of Indeé; each with its convent for two or three Franciscan friars, one of whom had to be a *langue*, and in each of the settlements up to eight soldiers with their families, in the plots and houses that were assigned to them. Although the final decision of the council, in favor of peace, did not put an end to the war, it did constitute one of the voices

⁹³ Manuscripts, p. 199.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁹⁵ Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *El debate sobre la guerra chichimeca, 1531-1585* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / El Colegio de San Luis, 2000), pp. 369-370.

most influential in generating the transition to a policy that sought the end of hostilities through negotiation and other peaceful means.⁹⁶

Once the council was concluded, Brother Domingo de Alzola set to work to put the newly approved provisions into practice. To do this, it would be necessary to overcome the resistance of the Cabildo which, in a session on March 20, 1586, agreed to appeal the statutes "that the bishop has published taken from the synod of Mexico [...] in those things that are most appropriate." Furthermore, on the same occasion he decided to take measures to safeguard his conduct during the years that the corporation had been in charge of the diocesan government by deciding to prepare a report "on the manner and good order that has been maintained in the service." of this holy church and the zeal that the capitular lords have always had in it and the opinion that everyone has of its good life and customs and of all the clergy of this bishopric.⁹⁷

After the Third Provincial Council, the Dominican bishop remained in the capital of the viceroyalty until he gave the reports requested by that Audience. On December 12, the Royal Agreement notified him that he could begin the march back to his diocese, where he continued his pastoral visit.⁹⁸ It is unknown how many priests Bishop Alzola appointed until his death, which occurred in the town of Atoyac in February 1590 while he was making his pastoral visit. What has been confirmed is a marked difference between the vacant see that preceded him, when the Chapter cared little about the appointment of parish priests (only one in the year 1583) and the attention that the corporation paid to that issue after his death, with the issuance of titles for 23 priests and vicars in the year 1590 alone. During the

episcopal administration of Brother Domingo de Alzola, the Company arrived from Jesus to Guadalajara. The Cabildo supported its establishment and it was then when the city had a higher education institution to which the students of the old San Pedro Seminary School, which the capitulars directed with so many difficulties, attended. Another religious institution established in those years was the convent of Santo Domingo: co-religionists of the bishop, they had no difficulty obtaining the required license.

The efforts of the first prelates formed the foundation on which their successors were able to consolidate the diocesan government. While in other bishoprics of ancient Mesoamerica the stage of institutional construction

⁹⁶ Carrillo Cázares, *The debate on war*, p. 62.

⁹⁷ AHCEG, *Cabildo Minutes*, vol. 3, f. 17v.

⁹⁸ Dávila Garibí, *Notes for history*, p. 461.

tional had ended several decades earlier,⁹⁹ the conquest and exploration of the Chichimeca frontier was a slower and later undertaking that was delayed by six decades of war. These conditions explain the differences that occurred between the two regions, one of them chronological. The settlement and organization of the temporal and spiritual spheres faced new and different obstacles, which required longer times to give birth to a society with features also different from those of other areas of New Spain.

TABLE 2. APPOINTMENTS OF PASTORS IN
THE BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA, 1590-1592

DATE	PARRISH	OWNER
February 27, 1590	City of Our Lady of the Mines of the Zacatecas	Francisco Martínez de Segura, visiting precentor, vicar and priest
March 2, 1590	Villa de Los Lagos	López Espinar, priest and vicar
April 3, 1590	San Miguel	Muñoz de Boliaga, vicar
April 10, 1590	Tamamach Mines	Alonso Sánchez, priest and vicar
April 10, 1590	Towns of Santiago and Colima	Pedro Solórzano, vicar and priest
April 12, 1590	New Kingdom of León	Baldo Cortés, vicar and priest
April 12, 1590	Cacalután and Maloya	Diego de Mendoza, priest and vicar
April 12, 1590	Mazapil	Diego Ramírez Zambrano
May 25, 1590	Guachinango Mines	Juan de Blas
May 25, 1590	Valley of Flags	Francisco de Mendiola, vicar
June 1, 1590	Villa of Llerena and Sombrete	Martín de Boliaga
June 5, 1590	Town of San Sebastián province from Chianella	Alonso Manuel, priest and vicar
June 26, 1590	Villa of Purification	Cristóbal Muñoz, priest and vicar
June 23, 1590	Elizatián	Alonso Yáñez, priest and vicar
July 3, 1590	San Antonio Topia	Martín de Azola, priest and vicar
October 31, 1590	All Saints	Christopher Muñoz
November 13, 1590	"Minas de San Marcial Maloyas"	Luis de las Cuevas, priest and vicar
November 27, 1590	Town of Jerez de la Frontera	Alonso de Sosa Beleta, vicar and priest
December 11, 1590	Sombrete and town of Llerena	Sunday Hernandez
December 11, 1590	Elizatián Mines	Alonso Ramírez, vicar
December 29, 1590	Villa of Durango Guadiana	Julián de Acuña, priest
February 8, 1591	San Marcial Maloyas Mines, Cacalután	Félix de Peñafiel, racionero, as vicar and priest
February 20, 1591	Elizatián Mines	Juan de Melgar, priest by priest
February 20, 1591	Town and district of Zapotlanejo	Thomas Ruiz, priest by priest
February 20, 1591	Villa de Los Lagos	Diego de Mendoza, priest by priest
March 8, 1591	San Mateo	Julián de Acuña, for priest
March 5, 1591	Durango	Martín de Boliaga
March 14, 1591	Villa of Culiacán de San Miguel	Pedro de Medina, for priest

⁹⁹ For the bishoprics of Mexico and Puebla it has been considered that the period of consolidation began around 1565. Rubial García, *The Church in colonial Mexico*, pp. 161-162.

DATE	PARRISH	HEADLINE
March 14, 1591	Vila of San Sebastián in the province of Chiameña	Marín Velásquez, for priest and vicar
March 14, 1591	Vila de San Miguel in the province of Culiacán	Alonso Manuel, for priest and vicar
March 14, 1591	Reales de Copala and Materos	Joseph de Ovando
April 19, 1591	Tlaltenango	Cristóbal Duarte, bachelor priest by priest and vicar
May 10, 1591	Etzatlán	Luis de las Cuevas, priest and vicar
May 28, 1591	Town of Saltillo	Baldo Cortés, vicar and priest
May 28, 1591	New governorate of León and new discoveries	Baldo Cortés, visitor
April 26, 1592	Vila of San Sebastián	Diego de Mendoza
June 14, 1591	Vila de Los Lagos	Hernando de Salinas, priest and vicar
July 16, 1591	Tala and Mazatepec Valleys	Rodrigo de Angulo, priest and vicar
July 16, 1591	Zacatecas	Miguel Adame
August 13, 1591	Zapotlanejo	Luis de las Cuevas and Gaspar de Rivera [contesting for the benefit]
November 8, 1591	San Andrés Mines in Vizcaya	Juan de Cervajal, priest and vicar
November 15, 1591	Chalchihuites Mines	Cristóbal Rodríguez Ambia, priest and vicar
December 13, 1591	Jalisco	Father Tomás Ruiz, priest and vicar
December 24, 1591	Prentia Mines	Luis López de Ayala, priest and vicar
December 24, 1591	San Mateo Mines	Luis de Alcaudete, priest and vicar
January 3, 1592	Guajacatlán Mines	Julián de Acuña priest, priest and vicar
December 13, 1592	Vila and mines of San Martín	Bartolomé Gutiérrez Montaña, priest and vicar
December 13, 1592	City of Zacatecas	Diego de Sepúlveda, priest
February 18, 1592	Tezcaltepec Party	Bernardino de Ledezma
April 21, 1592	Guadalupe Mines	Cebrián de Acevedo, priest and vicar
April 21, 1592	Miquilí Mines in Las Bocas from Matucoya	Andrés Nieto, priest and vicar
April 21, 1592	Caraca Mines	Hernando de Pedroza
April 21, 1592	Zacatecas City	Alonso de Oña, priest
April 26, 1592	Etzatlán Mines	Juan de Rivera, priest and vicar
May 12, 1592	Compostela	Cristóbal de Covarrubias, priest and vicar
May 22, 1592	Mines of the Holy Spirit	To the priests of Compostela to go and administer

Source: AHCEG, Cabildo Minute Books, vol. 3.

The vacant see that followed the death of Brother Domingo de Alzola has was to be extended three years until the arrival of Mr. Francisco Santos García de Ontiveros, peninsular clergyman who served as inquisitor and precentor of the cathedral of Mexico. Although it fully complied with the condition to have experience in the New World, which the Crown had ended by establish as a standard for those he presented to Rome to take charge of a diocese, his health was delicate to such a degree that the November 6, 1593 through a representative for not being able to undertake the trip from the viceregal capital. After a bishopric of only three years, his successor,

Dr. Alonso de la Mota y Escobar would be the first pastor of Guadalajara born in the New World and one of the most influential prelates in the consolidation of the Neo-Galician ecclesiastical institution. His arrival in 1596 opened a period of longer episcopal administrations, which would last until 1635, in which each prelate ruled for just over a decade on average, and with practically no vacant seats.

At the end of the 16th century, the diocese of Guadalajara was organized into eleven parties or benefices of clerics in Indian towns and 33 in towns of Spaniards and royals of mines scattered in the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León. All the conquered territories in the north remained united until the bishopric of Durango was established in 1621, which took charge of part of Nueva Vizcaya, the neo-Galician districts of Sombrerete and Nieves, Sinaloa and Sonora and New Mexico. Although another portion of Nueva Vizcaya, the jurisdiction of Saltillo, along with Nuevo León and what would later be Coahuila and Texas, continued under the authority of the neo-Galician prelate, from that moment on the bishopric of Guadalajara began a new stage with a larger territory. bounded.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the research and the objectives of the study. It then presents a literature review of the existing research on the topic. The methodology section describes the research design and the data collection process. The results section presents the findings of the study, and the conclusion section summarizes the main points and provides recommendations for future research.

The research was conducted in a systematic and rigorous manner, following the principles of good research practice. The data was collected from a representative sample of the population, and the results were analyzed using appropriate statistical methods. The findings of the study are presented in a clear and concise manner, and the conclusions are based on the evidence presented in the paper.

The research has important implications for the field of study, and the findings can be used to inform policy and practice. The study also highlights the need for further research in this area, and the authors hope that their work will encourage others to continue the research.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS IN THE 16TH CENTURY: THE REGULAR CLERGY

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INTRODUCTION

The definitive establishment of the city of Guadalajara in the Atemajac valley and the consolidation of civil and ecclesiastical authorities both in Compostela and in its permanent headquarters after 1560 - were long processes that undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of Novogalaic society; In the religious field, however, it is necessary to clarify that issues such as the conversion of indigenous people and the promotion of new forms of worship and new religious practices had begun decades before Guadalajara rose as the political-administrative center of the New Galicia.¹

The arrival of the first friars to the west of New Spain in the 1520s, alongside the conquerors or through independent missionary journeys, would constitute the initial moment of the expansion of the evangelization process in these territories. This founding stage would be marked by encounters that were not free of conflict and violence between friars and natives of the region, both in areas of ancient indigenous settlement and in the new congregations that were established to repopulate a good part of the south and west of the Novogalaic territory during the 16th century itself. Although the erection of the diocese of Guadalajara, in 1548, and the establishment of

¹ On the transfer of the Audiencia and the headquarters of the diocese of Guadalajara to its definitive seat in 1560, see José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization in Nueva Galicia during the 16th century* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / INAH / UAZ, 1993), and previous chapters.

² Kieran McCarty, "The Franciscans on the Chichimeca Border," *Mexican History* 11, no. 3 (1962): 328-331.

New curacies in the vicinity of the episcopal see favored the administration of the sacraments and the search for stricter control over the customs of the neo-Galician population. It is also true that they represented a source of conflict with the regular clergy, mainly regarding which concerned the administration of the Indians and the prerogatives and exemptions of the friars. In this context, it is possible to think of the decades of 1570-1580 as the time in which a first cycle would close in the beginnings of religious expansion and the formation of ecclesiastical bodies - parishes, doctrines, missions, convents present in the New Galicia; At that time, the Franciscan entrances temporarily stopped at the foot of the Nayarit mountain range, while in the city of Guadalajara, efforts began to be made to open the door to the establishment of new religious orders.

With the arrival of Augustinians, Jesuits, and Dominicans, and with the founding of the first nunneries in Guadalajara, a stage of consolidation would begin that would last until the mid-17th century, also marked by the expansion of the territorial base of the neo-Galician diocese, the expansion of the doctrines of regulars, obedience to the decrees of the Third Mexican Provincial Council, the establishment of the first Jesuit missions in Sinaloa, the creation of the Franciscan province of Xalisco, as well as the diffusion of the brotherhoods as a mechanism for promoting local forms of worship and organization of religious life.

The most pronounced phase of religious changes and ecclesiastical foundations in New Galicia changes in scene and not so much in intensity, as was once thought, starting in the 1640s, when the most important developments took place within each parish, as seen in the boom that some local devotions are beginning to have. A century later, the maturity of these religious practices and their corresponding forms of local organization, together with renewed conflicts between the regular and diocesan clergy, would give way to a stage of secularizations - transfers of doctrines from the regular clergy to the respective diocese - towards 1753.

The following pages offer a general overview of the evolution described so far, trying to highlight both the geographical expansion of the kingdom's ecclesiastical institutions and some particularities of the religious practices of its inhabitants.

CHANGES IN INDIGENOUS RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

By the beginning of the 16th century, the west of New Spain presented an important ethnic diversity that, although it was not characterized by high demographic densities,

graphics nor by the sophisticated political structure of the highland towns, on the other hand it enjoyed a differentiated development of religious thought. The sun, the moon, rain, and fertility were ceremonial motifs associated with the local flora and fauna, which included blood offerings or ritual eating of meat, as occurred among the Coca people of the Chapala riverside. Among the Huichols, an effective mechanism of association with said universe was the ritual ingestion of peyote, which allowed them to "see clearly" and "understand again" the world that surrounded them.⁵ Music and dance accompanied them since before the arrival of the Spanish these ceremonies, in which the widespread use of the teponastle and the huéhuetl stood out, in addition to the pumpkin bark rattle (kaitsa) among the Huichols.⁵

The belief in afterlife was common to the Coca and Tecuex peoples in these areas, for which funerary ceremonies and burials were prepared accompanied by weapons, farming instruments, kitchen utensils and other ornamental elements. Likewise, a trait shared by the indigenous groups of the West was the construction of temples and ceremonial complexes, which in some cases reached considerable proportions, such as in Etzatlán and El Teúl, but which generally had dimensions consistent with low densities. population."

Among the set of religious beliefs, the relationship between cosmology and occupation of the territory stood out, due to the elaboration of his thought and the configuration of a sociopolitical hierarchy according to his worldview; In the case of the Huichol, the cult of Tatewari (Our Grandfather) and its relationship with the territorial hierarchy of sacred places that perpetuate ceremonial fire exemplify this principle. For the Coras, the cult of Tzotomarc, as well as its identification with the mountain caves and storms, fulfilled similar functions.⁹

⁵ Carolyn Baus, *Tecuexes and cocas: two groups from the Jalisco region in the 16th century* (Mexico: INAH, 1982), pp. 79-81.

⁶ José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Notes for the history of the Church in Guadalajara* (Mexico, Culture, 1957-1977), volume 1, p. 154.

⁷ *Ibid.*, volume 1, p. 163.

⁸ *Ibid.*, volume 1, p. 138.

⁹ See, for example, the list of Coca, Tecuex and Huichol temples offered by Dávila Garibi in *ibid.*, volume 1, pp. 144-149.

⁸ *Ibid.*, volume 1, pp. 139 and 143; Téllez, "Evangelization"; Paul Liffman, "Fires, guides and roots: cosmological structures and historical processes in territoriality Huichol", *Relations* 26, no. 101 (2005): 52-79.

⁹ Pedro López González, *Annals of the parish of Xalisco: ex-convent of San Juan Bautista* (Xalisco, Nayarit: s. e., 1990), pp. 18 and 27-28.

The process of indigenous repopulation in the west of New Spain during the 16th century itself contributed to a process of "cultural amalgamation" or assimilation of religious elements from different indigenous traditions that would lead to some symbolic elements occurring alongside Christian evangelization. locals coincided with the Mexica pantheon.¹⁰ It is likely that the diverse degree of consolidation of this process is what explains the differences that Franciscan chroniclers recorded about local religiosity during the second half of the 16th century, identifying the center of the Nueva Galicia and the lake corridor that connected Guadalajara with Colima as the most advanced area of religious organization in this part of the New Spain territory. For some authors, these variations responded to the fact that the towns located south of the Lerma River were representative of "a moment of transition between the typical animism of nomadic peoples and a somewhat more elaborate polytheism"; other authors prefer to think that if Although the first missionaries thought that all the territories of western New Spain had been "under the clutches of the devil," they also recognized that it was the principles of social organization and the acceptance of the presence of conquerors and missionaries that marked this difference. Here, areas such as the Sayula lake basin, inhabited by sedentary groups with an agricultural tradition and organized around local chiefs who quickly received baptism from the missionaries, were considered from the first years of the conquest as a peaceful and peaceful area, notable progress in the conversion to Christianity.

12 Although there are some testimonies about the way in which some indigenous people of western New Spain expressed their religious thoughts, these are stories prepared several decades after the conquest of these areas and which already include a strong presence of western elements. However, it is still possible to have an idea of the spiritual concerns of the indigenous groups of the 16th century as documented by Franciscan chroniclers, as shown by the case of a report prepared in 1565 in Zapocingo, near Sentispac, which indicated that before the arrival of the Spanish in those places only one who was called God Piltzintli, who was recognized as a deity

¹⁰ Thomas Calvo, *The dawn of a New World: 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara / Cemca, 1990), p. 68.

¹¹ Armando González Escoto, *Brief History of the Church of Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Univa / Arzobispado de Guadalajara, 1998), p. 49.

¹² Juan Pío Martínez, *Conquest, hunger and salvation: the Indians of the province of Ávalos, 1523-1750* (Lagos de Moreno, Jalisco: University of Guadalajara-Centro Universitario de Los Lagos, 2003), pp. 92-93.

It means: child god", who appeared to the local indigenous people to speak to them, teach them, answer their doubts and console their afflictions; said child

He told them to know and understand that there was a God in the sky of great power, and that this Lord had created the sky, sun, moon, stars, trees, mountains, rocks, and the visible and invisible, and that the sky It was all made of silver and there were many feathers and precious stones in it, and a Lady who never aged, and who was a sovereign virgin [...], and that in order to defend themselves from their enemies, who came to defeat them and take over their lands, he gave them weapons of bows, arrows and quivers, with which they could defend [them] and their people. 13

This process of change largely involved evangelization by the Franciscans in much of what would become the territory of Nueva Galicia, who spread the use of Nahuatl as a lingua franca in religious instruction based on commonly used vocabularies and sermonaries. in other regions of New Spain. Religious work, largely focused on children, tried to concentrate the Indians from different towns in schools attached to the convents to teach them to read, count, write, "and to know how to say the hours of Our Lady"; Once the memorization of the prayers was achieved, the catechumens were sent back to their towns "so that there they pray in the church [...] and the people come to the doctrine." 15 According to local chronicles, the Franciscans who were in charge of preaching in Nueva Galicia distributed this work in the following way:

During the week, those who seem most skilled and with the best voices are taught to read and write, so that the singers of the church can emerge from them. On Sundays the whole town comes together in this way: each neighborhood gathers at the foot of a cross that is at the crossroads of the street, and with a flag in front of them, with much concert, each neighborhood sings for itself, Indians and Indians, the *Te Deum laudamus* in the Mexican language until entering the church, where at the end they pray and are taught Christian doctrine in the Mexican language out loud; at the end of praying the Father Guardian tells them [...] and this is the style that always

¹³ Calvo, *The dawn of a New World*, p. 69.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 76; Rosa Yáñez Rosales, *Spiritual war and indigenous resistance: the discourse of evangelization in the bishopric of Guadalajara, 1541-1765* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 2002).

¹⁵ Calvo, *The dawn of a New World*, p. 76.

It has been held in this holy Province since its beginning in the teaching of the natives by the religious. 16

NEW FORMS OF RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION

The conquest enterprise that Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán began at the end of 1529 would result in the conquest of territories that would ultimately make up the kingdom of New Galicia. As in the case of the conquests of Hernán Cortés, the Spanish presence in these territories was justified under the argument of papal concessions that recognized the lordship of the Castilian monarchs in these lands while imposing on them the obligation to extend the Catholic religion in the new domains."

To fulfill these duties under the terms of the Indian patronage, the Spanish Crown had to seek the sending of missionaries to carry out evangelization in the New World.¹⁸ Thus, in the case of New Spain, the first steps in the establishment of The new ecclesiastical institutions were run by the Franciscans. The bull *Alias felicis remembranceis* (Leo, under penalty of excommunication, anyone who places any obstacle to their work.¹⁹

In accordance with these attributions, the first twelve Franciscans, arriving in Veracruz in May 1524, took on the task of attracting the indigenous people, counting on the support of the representatives of the Crown. That same year

16 Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Sancta Provincia de Xalisco* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1968), book 4, chapter 13.

17 The set of bulls granted by Pope Alexander VI in this sense are commonly known as the Alexandrian bulls; were issued between May and September 1493, highlighting mainly the *Inter caetera* of May 3 of that year.

* Rodríguez Carballo, "The Franciscans."

19 In the first case it was an authorization for the Franciscans to become charge of the conversion of the natives into American lands, authorizing the first friars to impart the sacraments and to give confirmation "lacking in the province the bishops. In the second case, it was transmitted to "all the friars of Mendicant Orders, and especially of the Order of Minors of the Regular Observance", the "omnimode power" of the pope "as well in the external forum as inside". Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Indian ecclesiastical history* (Mexico: Conaculta, 2002), book 3, chapter 5; Balthasar de Tobar, *Bulary Compendium Indic* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1966), volume 1, pp. 90-92.

declared the foundation of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Gospel of Mexico (directly dependent on the general minister of the order), which from 1535 would become an autonomous province.²⁰ Thus sent from the convent of Mexico City, the Franciscans multiplied their foundations throughout the central plateau, passing at an early date to the Tarascan plateau, even reaching the Pacific coast in the south of Nueva Galicia at the beginning of the decade of 1530.

As the Spanish conquest and the presence of the missionaries took hold in New Spain, ecclesiastical affairs were gradually organized. The spiritual government had its first regulation in New Spain in 1555 with the provisions of the First Mexican Provincial Council, convened by the second archbishop of Mexico, Alonso de Montúfar.²¹ To later adopt the provisions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), a second council was organized in 1565. However, this ideal was not achieved in practice, and it was not until the meeting of a new synod that the guidelines of the New Spain church were established; Thus, the Third Mexican Provincial Council - convened by Pedro Moya de Contreras in 1585 - incorporated the Tridentine decrees and those of the patronage ordinance of 1574.²² Being Moya

²⁰ According to the general Franciscan constitutions, said order is made up of religious, who for their government are assigned to provinces and custodys. The provinces constitute groups of Franciscan houses or convents united under a provincial minister; The custodies are a group of houses that separate from a province to constitute a separate unit and can be autonomous with respect to the government of said province - then subject directly to the authority of the general minister and his definitory - or, well, they can be dependent - teeth from their respective province. In New Spain, only the Custody of the Holy Gospel was of the first type - according to the Instruction that the first twelve Franciscans received from the Minister General, Brother Francisco Quiñones, while the later Custodies were dependent on some province. José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, *Vicars in question: crisis and destructuring of the Franciscan province of Santiago de Xalisco, 1749-1860* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad de Guadalajara, 2001), pp. 53-54; General Constitutions, cap. 4, part 1, title 1, articles 168-171; Lino Gómez Canedo, *Evangelization and conquest: Franciscan experience in Latin America* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1977), p. 44; Chauvet, *The Franciscans*, p. 25.

²¹ In general terms, an attempt was made to organize pastoral and missionary activity, regulating aspects of the formation, life and apostolate of priests. Cristóforo Gutiérrez Vega, *First Mexican provincial council: commentary* (Rome: European University of Rome, 2007).

²² Royal Decree issued by Philip II in 1574, in which he changed royal policy

of Contreras, the first bishop of the secular clergy, the result of the council is seen, since it sought to take over spaces occupied by religious orders, which represents a progressive development of the diocesan clergy.²³ In the same way, this council established the foundations on which matters concerning the doctrine of the Indians, the festivals of observance, heresy and idolatry, the administration of the sacraments and other matters would be understood during the rest of the colonial period, inherent to the organization of the New Spain church.

FRANCISCAN FOUNDATIONS OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Regarding the arrival of the first missionaries to western Mexico, it is commonly accepted that they coincided temporally with the explorations of Juan Álvarez Chico, Alonso de Ávalos and Francisco Cortés. However, there are some differences regarding the nature of the presence of the religious in the territories of Colima and the Chapala riverbank at those times. For some, the journeys of Friar Martín de Jesús, Juan de Padilla and Juan de Badillo through these places did not constitute "evangelization missions" but rather "recognition explorations", while the "formal evangelization", linked to the aforementioned creation of The custody of the Holy Gospel would have begun until 1530, after the conquest of Nuño de Guzmán.²⁴ Although this stage has wanted to be seen as the period in which "the Church of Guadalajara has begun to take shape", in reality it should be seen as a missionary expansion of the custody of the Holy Gospel.²⁵

To talk about the establishment of the first Franciscan missions and doctrines in the west of New Spain, it is necessary to take into account the relationship

reinforcing the consolidation of the diocesan clergy, subtracting privileges from religious orders. John Frederick Schwaller, *The Church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington: Scholarly resources, 2000); Robert Charles Padden, "The Ordinance of Patronazgo, 1574: an interpretive essay," *The Americas* 12, no. 4 (1956): 333-354; Gutiérrez Vega, *First Mexican Provincial Council*; Luis Martínez Ferrer, ed., *Decrees of the Third Mexican Provincial Council (1585)* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad Pontificia de la Santa Cruz, 2010).

23 Pilar Martínez López-Cano, *Provincial councils in New Spain: reflections and influences* (Mexico: UNAM / BUAP, 2005).

24 This vision would be encouraged by testimonies that document that during the tours of Nuño's host, Indians were baptized, masses were said, hermitages were founded, and crosses were raised as symbols of Spanish rule; for example in Tonalá, the conqueror "made a hermitage on top of a peñol, where he had been the war in honor of Our Lady. López, Report of the discovery, p. 71.

25 González Escoto, *Brief History*, pp. 40-42.

existing between these foundations and the multiplication of Franciscan monasteries and provinces during the 16th century (diagram 1). It is necessary to remember that the first Franciscans who, together with Brother Antonio de Segovia, arrived in the vicinity of Tonalá and Tlajomulco around 1530, did so as missionaries of the custody of the Holy Gospel; Due to the extension of the territories that these missionaries already traveled, in 1535 the General Chapter of the order, held in Nice, authorized that the custody of Mexico be constituted as an independent province and that the convents established by the Franciscans in the west of said province, including those of Nueva Galicia, will integrate a new custody under the title of San Pedro and San Pablo de Michoacán. 26 Thirty years later, a new Franciscan General Chapter - meeting now in Valladolid - approved that the Michoacan convents be recognized as a province and that the convents located to the west of the old Purépecha lordships would form a new custody called Santiago. 27 Finally, in 1606 this custody was recognized as an autonomous Franciscan province. The following year the convents of Xalisco and Michoacán were formally separated; In the case of Xalisco, Fray Juan de la Peña was elected provincial first minister, and the inclusion of 34 convents in the Xalisciense demarcation was ratified. Half of these places were in the territory of the governorate of New Galicia, while the rest were included in New Spain. 28

The Franciscan convents that were assigned to the province of - two by the same Franciscans. 29 Thus, in addition to the center of these foundations,

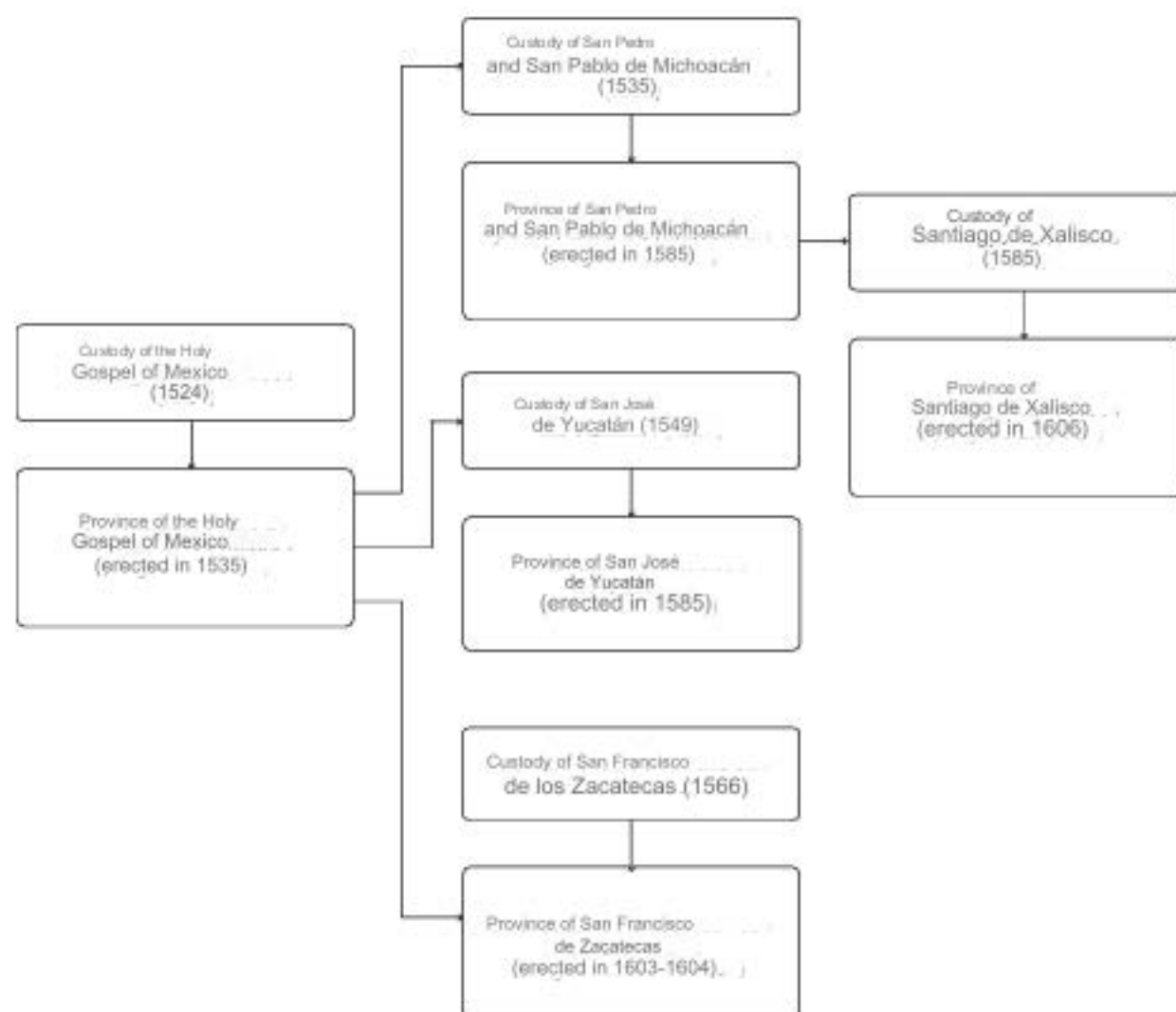
26 Rhea, *Chronicle*, book 1, chapters 18 and 19; Antolín Abad Pérez, *The Franciscans in America* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), p. 86.

27 Rhea, *Chronicle*, book 1, chapter 19.

28 Torquemada and Mota Padilla confirm that there were 34 houses assigned to the province of Xalisco in 1607, perhaps because they had the opportunity to see the respective chapter table. According to Mota Padilla, the division would have taken place on February 18, 1607. Although without being able to confirm it due to not having located said source, it is possible to suggest a list of 34 Franciscan guardianships for 1607 based on the chronicle of Friar Antonio Tello. Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapters 2-34; Juan de Torquemada, *Indian Monarchy* (Mexico: UNAM, 1995), book 19, chapter 12; Mota Padilla, *History*, chapter 42; Espinoza, *Chronicle*, book 3, chapter 25.

29 In addition to the nucleus defined by Guadalajara and the towns on the banks of

SCHEME 1. FRANCISCAN PROVINCES AND CUSTODIES IN NEW SPAIN, 16TH-17TH CENTURIES



Source: José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, 2012.

established in Guadalajara after different translations, the convent complexes of the southern lake basins were recognized (the shore of Lake Chapala and the lake basin of Atoyac, Zacoalco, Sayula, Zapotlán, until reaching Colima); the southwest course, originated in the visits of Autlán and the province of Tenamaxtlán, an area that over time would constitute a more corridor

Chapala, Ricard only mentions two lines of expansion or "points of penetration", to refer to the Franciscan foundations in the area in question: the convents of "the Guadalajara-Colima line and to the northwest the Guadalajara-Xalisco line, indicated as «transition towards the Zacatecas-Durango group». Robert Ricard, *The spiritual conquest of Mexico: essay on the apostolate and missionary methods of the mendicant orders in New Spain from 1523-1524 to 1572* (Mexico: FCE, 2005), p. 156.

wide from Cocula, passing through Tecolotlán, with branches in Chacala on one side, and Tuxcacuesco and Zapotitlán on the other side; another group would be established by the valleys of western Guadalajara and the Somontano that extended to the coastal plains (from Magdalena, continuing to Etzatlán, Ahuacatlán, Xala, to include already on the coast of Jalisco, Tepic, Guaynamota, Acaponeta and Huajicori) ; Finally, traveling through the steps of Nuño de Guzmán, the area of expansion opened to the north, embracing El Teúl, Juchipila and other surrounding mountain towns (map 1).³⁰

In the midst of this institutional arrangement, Franciscan preaching in western New Spain began formally with Brother Antonio de Segovia, who arrived in the vicinity of Tlajomulco in 1530, to later found the doctrine of Tetlán (1531) and accompany the establishment of Guadalajara in its definitive headquarters, transferring the respective doctrine from Tetlán to Analco, outside the walls of the future neo-Galician capital (1543).³¹ From Analco, the Franciscans "were in charge of the spiritual government of all the inhabitants of the new establishment until the arrival of the secular clergy in 1548, after which the cathedral parish served the Hispanic part of said population"; Until the founding of the Franciscan convent in the south of Guadalajara, Analco would serve the administration of the visits of Tlaquepaque, Tetlán, Mexicaltzingo, Tonalá and Zalatitán. ³²

Around the same time, the Franciscans toured the bordering towns of New Spain and New Galicia. Although intermittently and without any foundation in the first years, the towns on the shores of Lake Chapala were visited since 1528 by Brother Martín de Jesús, Brother Juan de Padilla, Brother Miguel de Bolonia "and other religious who took care of all the towns that are founded on the shores of the lagoon" until Brother Juan de Amolón began the construction of the first convent of Chapala in 1548, work that the Franciscans would later continue in Poncitlán. ³³ Around 1531, Brother Martín de Jesús gathered in

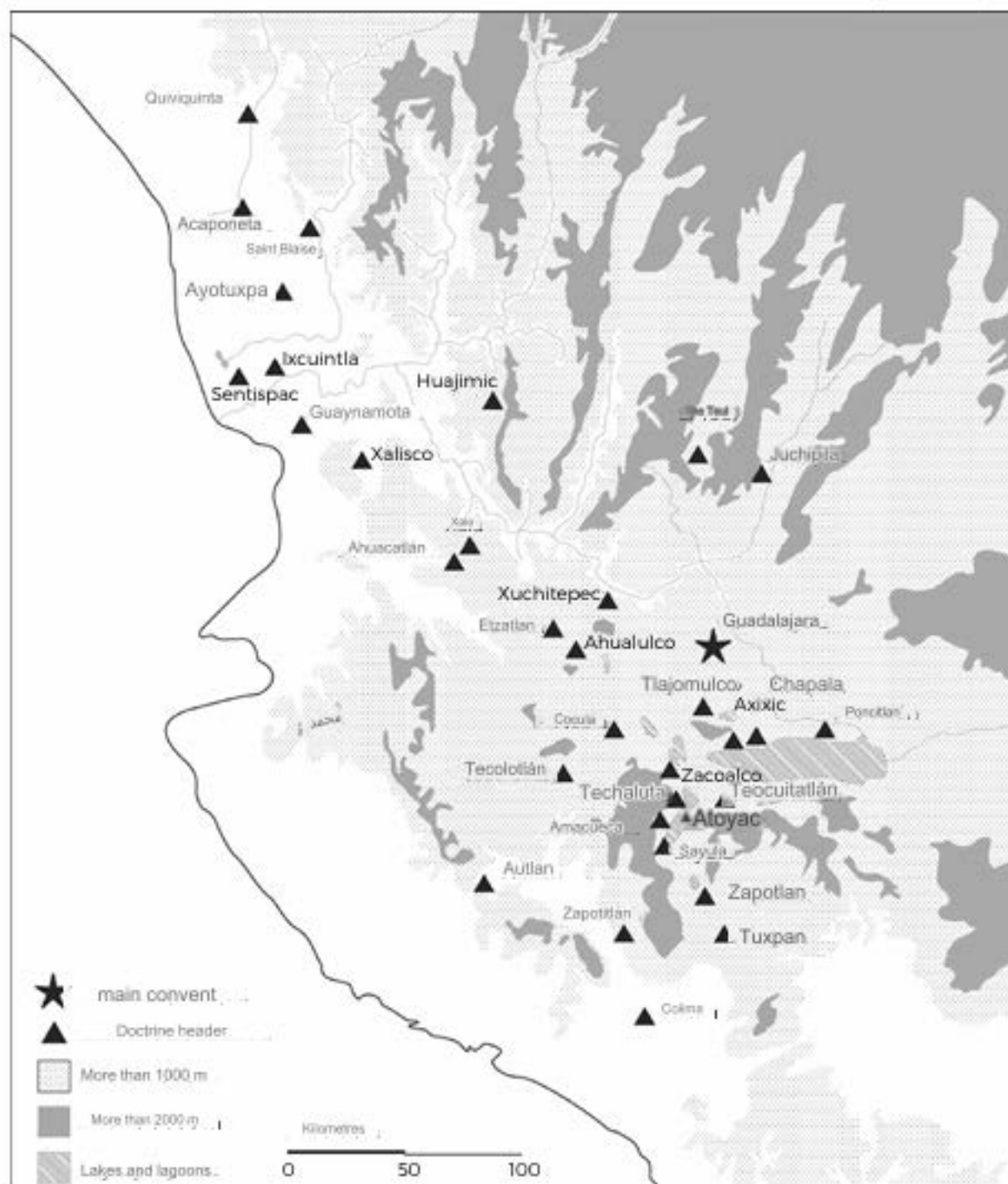
³⁰ Unlike Ricard's proposal, these areas are presented here as routes of Franciscan expansion both due to the geographical considerations referred to and because they correspond to founding dynamics different from those of the groups proposed by Ricard. See a broader discussion on this point in De la Torre Curiel, *Vicarios en interdicho*, pp. 24-34-

³¹ Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapter 1. There is news of a donated brother, Juan Francisco, who preached in the Etzatlán area since 1527, but without establishing any foundation. Chauvet, *The Franciscans*, p. 54; Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapter 4.

³² Alejandro Solís Matías, *Analco* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1986), p. 16.

³³ Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapter 12. Since 1548 the visiting towns of

MAP 1. DOCTRINES OF THE FRANCISCAN PROVINCE OF XALISCO (CA. 1607)



Ajijic some families of Indians who lived in Cosalá, to found the respective convent and to try to ensure a better supply of water; since said

Chapala would be Ixtlahuacán and Santa Cruz. The founding of the Poncitlán convent could have preceded Chapala, but Tello is unable to establish precise dates for this second case, indicating only that around 1580 the respective convent already existed; *ibid.*, book 4, chapter 21.

site the Franciscans began to tour the towns of San Juan Cosalá, San Antonio, Jocotepec, San Cristóbal and San Luis. 3. 4

This first phase of Franciscan foundations also corresponds to the tours through the south of the current state of Jalisco, which were based on the residence established in Zapotlán in 1532 by Fray Juan de Padilla, of whom Tello says that for this purpose "he brought together all the rancherías in ^{that} area. 35 From Zapotlán the Franciscans began to visit Tuxpan (whose later convent foundation dates back to 1536), Pihuamo and Tonila, 36 Tamazula, Colima, Zapotitlán and the province of Ávalos (Sayula, Amacueca, Atoyac, Zacoalco, reaching Autlán). 37 Over the course of a few decades, and as the availability of religious people and the repopulation of this part of New Spain permitted, the places previously visited from Zapotlán began to give rise to new doctrines and subject peoples. Thus, for example, Amacueca, which had been part of the tours of the friars Juan de Padilla, Miguel de Bolonia and Martín de Jesús, began to be a permanent residence for Franciscan doctrineros since 1547, and since then visits to Sayula, Atemajac, Amatitlán, Queiacapan, Atoyac, Teocuitatlán, and Techaluta were organized from this site, until between the 1560s and 1580s these convents were considered independent doctrines. 38 This process of separation of doctrines would continue in Zacoalco-in 1550, after having been visited between 1538 and this date from Etzatlán-, 39 Sayula-separated in 1573, preserving Apango, Atacco, Chiquilistlán, Atemajac and Amatitlán as visits, 40 Techaluta (1576), 41 Zapotitlán from where the towns of the provinces of Amu- were visited.

34 Ibid., book 4, chapter 2.

35 Ibid., book 4, chapter 3.

36 Towns that would remain, along with San Sebastián, San Andrés and San Pedro as visits of Zapotlán by 1653, when Tello wrote his chronicle; the other towns linked to Zapotlán around 1532 had by then their pious doctrines. Ibid., book 4, chapters 5 and 9.

37 Ibid., book 4, chapter 3.

38 By 1653 his visiting towns were only Tepec, Tapalpa and Xalpa. Ibid., book 4, chapter 11. The Atoyac convent was considered a separate guardianship of Zapotlán since 1568. Ibid., book 4, chapter 16.

39 His visiting towns in the mid-17th century were Santa Ana Acatlán, Santiago, Atotonilco, Atemajac and San Marcos. Ibid., book 4, chapter 13.

40 Ibid., book 4, chapter 19.

41 Ibid., book 4, chapter 20.

la, Colima² and Motines, and which had a permanent religious from 1579-43 and Teocuitatlán (1597).⁴⁴

Since the first third of the 16th century, the populations of the mountain corridor that fell towards the southwest of Guadalajara towards Purificación and the South Sea had also been linked to the routes of the Franciscans

from distant Zapotlán, but by 1543 they began to have a father who was permanently resident in the area of Autlán - recognized as the main doctrine and convent in 1546,⁴⁵ from where the provinces of Chacala and Tenamaxtlán began to be visited. Thirty years later (1576) this last town, along with Atengo and Ayotitlán, was linked to the newly founded guardianship of Cocula, ⁴⁶ but by 1600 they became dependent on the convent of Tecolotlán. ⁴⁷

The area of the Ameca and Etzatlán valleys comprised another of the primary routes of Franciscan expansion through western New Spain. By 1534, Fray Francisco de Lorenzo and other religious toured from Etzatlán the towns of Ameca, Ahuacatlán erected in independent doctrine in 1550-, ⁴⁸ in addition to Ahualulco and its subjects, and "all the [towns] close to the Río Grande." From Etzatlán "they also ran to the coasts, the South Sea and the province of Frailes and Coronados", although "they were never completely converted due to their low attendance." At these early dates, from Etzatlán, "the towns gathered to Magdalena that were on the island, Ameca, Tala, Aguisculco, Cocula, Zacoalco and the Coanos [Indians]" were also visited. ⁴⁹ To help Lorenzo in these

42 In 1554 Colima separated from Zapotitlán when it was declared an independent guardianship. His visits included Comala, Xuchitlán, Zacualpa, Xuluapan, Quetzalapan, Coquimatlán and Nagualapan. Ibid., book 4, chapter

15. 43 The visits of Zapotitlán in the mid-17th century were San Pedro Toxín, Teutlán, Matzatlán, Tetlapauic, Copala, San Gabriel, Tuxcacuesco, Tonaya and San Juan. Ibid., book 4, chapter 9.

44 Ibid., book 4, chapter 24.

45 In 1653 Autlán's visits would only be Amilpan, Manantlán, Zacapala, Chipiltitlán, Tepospizaloya and Cuautla. Ibid., book 4, chapter 10.

46 Cocula was a congregation of Indians that apparently came from Santa Ana Acatlán, and who, displaced by Purépecha incursions, would settle in their current location at the request of the first Franciscans who visited this area. The date of creation of this guardianship is estimated by Tello around 1568. Ibid., book 4, chapter 17.

47 Ibid., book 4, chapter 10.

48 The visiting towns of Ahuacatlán in 1653 were Cihuatlán, Mexpan, Tetitlan, Camotlán, San Pablo, Oxtoticpac and Tepuxguacan. Ibid., book 4, chapter 14.

49 In Tello's time, Etzatlán's only visits were Oconagua, Amatlán and Chistique. Ibid., book 4, chapter 4. By 1594 the town of Ahualulco separated from the

Fray Antonio de Cuéllar and Fray Juan Calero had arrived in this area, intending to focus on the attempt to gather the mountain Indians in the towns of the regional valleys; However, the rejection of the Indians to this program of new congregations led to the death of the three religious, in different scenarios, at the hands of the Ahualulcos and Indians of the Ameca Valley between June and August 1541 (Calero and Cuéllar) and cause of the rebellion of the Tecoxquines of the mines of Xocotlán in 1554 (Lorenzo).⁵⁰

This corridor of valleys extended to the west, bordering the Sierra de los Coras and Nayaritas; The religious who resided in Etzatlán had arrived in this area from an early date, but with the founding of the doctrine of Xalisco in 1540, visits from Xala, Compostela, Valle de Banderas, Acaponeta, Sentispac - to their once separated from Xalisco since 1569, Ixcuintla and Chiametla. As the rest of the 16th century passed, the administration of Tepic, San Luis Pochotitlan, Tonalisco, San Andrés, Analco, Huaristamba, Santa Cruz, Jaljocotlán and Mecatlán was added to the convent of Xalisco.⁵¹ In this part of Nueva Galicia the convent of Acaponeta would fulfill a particularly important function; By 1580, already erected as an independent guardianship, the place served as a platform to gather "a large number of Indians", probably Coras, who also served as reinforcement of the presidial company established in the same place to contain the uprisings of the mountain Indians.⁵²

Towards the north of Guadalajara, the work of the Franciscans in this early period would focus on the area of El Teúl, whose doctrine was formally established in 1536, and Juchipila (head of doctrine since 1542). In the first case, the friars Juan Pacheco and Miguel de Bolonia left from said town to tour Tlaltenango, the Sierra de Tepeque and Mecatabasco.⁵³ Although the Franciscans also toured the area immediately around Juchipila from the same time they arrived in El Teúl, it was not possible to establish a permanent residence until after the

convent of Etzatlán founding a separate guardianship. Ibid., book 4, chapter 23.

⁵⁰ Cervantes, *Los mártires*, pp. 28-84; Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, pp. 316-317.

⁵¹ At the time Tello was writing, these last places were the visits of the Xalisco doctrine. Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapter 7. On the separation of Sentispac (or Tzenticpac) see Ibid., book 4, chapter 18; Lopez González, *Annals of the parish*, pp. 25-27.

⁵² Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapter 22.

⁵³ At some point before 1653 these towns separated from the administration of El Teúl, a doctrine that at that time counted as their visits to San Lucas, Santa María and San Miguel. Ibid., book 4, chapter 6.

Mixtón War, when Brother Miguel de Bolonia gathered about twelve thousand Indians in Juchipila. From this place Bolonia administered Juchipila, a doctrine that would later be joined by Mezquitic, Moyagua, Apozol, Cuxpala and other towns that were later handed over to the diocesan clergy, among which were Jalpa, Tlaltenango, San Cristóbal "with all its towns and Teocaltiche." 54

TABLE 1. FOUNDATION OF FRANCISCAN DOCTRINES
OF THE CUSTODY OF SANTIAGO DE XALISCO

FOUNDATION YEAR	DOCTRINE	FOUNDATION YEAR	DOCTRINE
1531	Ajijic	1568	Cocula
ca. 1531-1543	Tetlán-Guadalupe	1569	Sentispac
1532	Zapotlán	1573	Sayula
ca. 1532-1554	Panotlán	1576	Techaluta
1534	Saltillo	1579	Zapotitlán
1536	Tuспан	1580	Acaponeta
1536	San Teófilo	1582	Xala
1540	Xalisco	1594	Ahualulco
1542	Juchipila	1597	Tenualtán
1546	Aulin	1599	Teocaltán
1547	Amacuzac	1600	Quiviquinta-Huajicori
1548	Chapala	1601	Guaynamota
1550	Zacoalco	1603	Ixcuintla o Tecpatitlán
1551	Tlajomulco	1604	St. Ma. Magdalena Xuchitepec
1551	Ahuacatán	1607	Ayotuxpa
1554	Colima	1607-1610	Huajimic
1568	Atoyac	1607	San Blas

• Abandoned due to uprising of coras and tepehuanes around 1617, moved in 1621 to Huajicori.
Source: Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, book 4, chapters 1-34, 55.

54 Ibid., book 4, chapter 8; José de Jesús Martín Flores, *Fray Miguel de Bolonia: the guardian of the Indians* (Guadalajara: Entre Amigos, 2006), pp. 35-36.

55 It is important to note that the dates recorded by Tello do not constitute the date of foundation of the respective towns, and cannot be used for the dating of the temples and other buildings that can currently be seen in the reference places. These are simply the dates on which each place was officially recognized as a guardian within the organizational scheme and administrative of the Franciscan provinces. The list contained in this box reflects 33 of the 34 guardianships that gave rise to the Franciscan province of

EVANGELIZATION IN THE SIERRA NAYARITA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Since the beginning of the 17th century, the first entries of the Franciscans into the Sierra Nayarita would be from the convents of Quiviquinta - in the vicinity of Acaponeta, and Guazamota - in the part of southern Durango and Zacatecas. The first contacts between Coras and Franciscan missionaries in this mountain range would have occurred between 1611 and 1613, with the arrival of Fray Miguel de Uranzu, who, however, would fail in his attempts to get the Coras and their chief "Nayarit" to accept the Franciscans. among them. The attempts of the Franciscans of the province of Zacatecas to enter the mountains beyond Guazamota, Mezquital and Xicora towards the decade of 1620 would have the same result.⁵⁶

In 1617, the Coras and Tepehuanos who had been gathered in the northernmost missions of the province of Xalisco devastated the towns of Acaponeta and Quiviquinta, supporting the rebellion that had originated in the Tepehuana mountains. It is likely that at this time the doctrine of San Blas, located on the banks of the San Pedro River, was also abandoned. Four years later the Franciscans attempted a new entry through this area, bringing together Brother Marcos de San Juan and Brother Francisco de Fuentes the local Indians in the town of Huajicori with the help of soldiers from the Acaponeta prison. By 1627 the founding of the Huajicori convent had been authorized, thereby seeking a passage route from Acaponeta to Durango (through the towns of Picachos and Milpillas) and the establishment of a border post with respect to the Tepehuanes.⁵⁷

By 1633 the
Franciscans of
the province of

Santiago de Xalisco. By the time of Tello (1650), the rest of the doctrines that made up the province of Xalisco were Chacala (1608), Amatlán de Jora (1620), Huajicori (1621), Tamazula (1629?), Zapotiltic (1629) and Oconagua (?).

⁵⁶ Although the first encounters between Spaniards and indigenous people in this area occurred at the beginning of the 16th century, the first written records about the mountain range and its inhabitants date back to 1616, recording the wanderings of Uranzu in this area. Rosa Yáñez Rosales, *Face, word and indigenous memory: western Mexico, 1524-1816* (Mexico: CIESAS / Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 2001), p. 139; Arlegui, *Chronicle*, first part, chapter 4; Alberto Santoscoy, «Nayarit. Collection of unpublished, historical and ethnographic documents about the mountains of that name», in Alberto Santoscoy, *Complete Works*, vol. 2 (Guadalajara, Government of the State of Jalisco, 1986), pp. 913-1010.

⁵⁷ Atanasio López, *Missions or doctrines in Jalisco in the 17th century* (Guadalajara: Historical Studies, 1960), pp. 3-13.

the local population and the mountain Indians who went down to said places, 58 but continued without being able to enter the Nayarita mountain range. Some years later, in 1649, the bishop of Guadalajara, Juan Ruiz Colmenero, briefly visited this area, intending to gather some mountain Indians again in the abandoned area of San Blas, which he renamed San Francisco de Atenco, naming a priest to benefit this place. In addition, through some personal letters addressed to the Nayarita chief, he tried to convince him to "hand over the apostates" who lived in the mountains. With these measures, the bishop claimed jurisdiction over the Nayarit mountain range for his diocese, attempting at the same time to reduce the influence of the Franciscans over the indigenous population.⁵⁹

Colmenero's attempt did not give the expected results, since Atenco seems to have been abandoned shortly after, while the indigenous people of the mountains remained refractory to attempts to establish new missions in the interior of the province or gather them in the lowlands.

Despite the refusal of the Coras to receive the missionaries, Fray Antonio Arias y Saavedra, doctriner of Acaponeta, made several entries to the mountains between 1656 and 1673. Around the same time, Fray Sebastián de Villanueva repeatedly visited several Coras rancherías. from his doctrine of Ayotuxpa; As a result of these visits, by 1673 the Franciscans had established the new congregations of San Blas, Zaicota, Santa Fe and San Juan Bautista de la Marca, foundations that Bishop Juan Santiago de León Garabito would promote since his pastoral visit to Nayarit in 1679.⁶⁰ With All in all, the entry to the heart of the Nayarita mountain range would still be delayed for nearly half a century, until the indigenous people themselves promoted the arrival of religious people to their territory around 1722.

FIRST FRANCISCAN FOUNDATIONS IN ZACATECAS

Although the encounters between Spaniards and indigenous people in the area of El Teúl - in the context of the missionary tours through western New Spain described above - marked the beginning of the religious preaching of the Franciscans among the Caxcans since the 1530s, the main impetus for the arrival of missionaries to this area would be later and would be carried out by the provinces of Michoacán and the Holy Gospel. In this sense, the days undertaken by Brother Jerónimo de Mendoza, sent to these territories, should be highlighted.

58 Ibid., pp. 26-27.

59 Mylène Péron, «Two episcopal visits from the 18th century in the Sierra de Nayarit», *Relations* 69, vol. 18 (Winter 1997): 47-56.

60 Ibid., pp. 58-59.

around 1553, where he would remain alongside other religious such as Father Espinareda and Fray Jacinto de San Francisco - for just over two decades. Thus, the foundation of the convents of Nombre de Dios and Durango (1553-1562)⁶² and the convent of Zacatecas (1567), by the former; and that of Topia, San Bartolomé and Peñol Blanco (1559-1564), by the friars from Mexico City, would constitute the first advance points towards Zacatecas and the territories further north that would eventually form part of the New Vizcaya.⁶³

At the request of Father Espinareda, these convents, except that of Zacatecas were gathered in an autonomous monastery to which the Zacatecan house would be added around 1578.⁶⁴ From this base, the Franciscans would continue their foundations through Sombrerete (1567), Chalchihuites (1583), Mezquital (1584), San Diego de Atotonilco (1589, moved in 1609 to Santa María del Río), Cuencamé (1589), San Luis Potosí (1590), San Miguel del Mezquital y Colotlán (1591) and San Sebastián del Venado (1592).⁶⁵

AUGUSTINES, DOMINIANS, AND JESUITS

The Augustinians tried to establish themselves in the city of Guadalajara since 1565, but on different occasions the bishop, Fray Pedro de Ayala, opposed it, alleging that the city already had a sufficient number of religious, in addition to the fact that it was an administrative area. Franciscan. A foundation of another religious institute, argued the bishop - a Franciscan himself - would contravene the royal provisions that prohibited the building of convents.

⁶¹ Arlegui mentions that Mendoza was already traveling through this area around 1546, although the order

The formal development of these works would not come until 1533. Arlegui, *Crónica*, part one, chapter 3; Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest*, p. 144; cf. Chauvet, *The Franciscans*, p. 58.

⁶² Arlegui points out that both foundations date back to 1558, a fact that is taken up then by Ricard. Chauvet, on the other hand, indicates that although since 1553 there was "a humble mission" in Nombre de Dios and a couple of years later another in Analco (Durango neighborhood), the erection of the "formal convents" would date from 1562 in the case of Nombre de Dios and 1563 in that of Durango. Arlegui, *Chronicle*, first part, chapter 8; Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest*, p. 145; Chauvet, *The Franciscans*, p. 59.

⁶³ Cervantes, *State*, pp. 14-20; Chauvet, *The Franciscans*, pp. 58-60; Arlegui, *Chronicle*, first part, chapters 5-9.

⁶⁴ Remember that the name "Franciscan province of the Zacatecas" derives from the generic name given by the Spanish to the local Indians and not of the convent established in the city of the same name.

⁶⁵ Chauvet, *The Franciscans*, pp. 60-61.

nearby and that two orders would mission in the same region. 66 Despite the refusal, the Augustinians tried to establish a hospice in the city, even going so far as to celebrate mass, which would lead to a notorious dispute between the bishop, the religious and the Audiencia, which had favored the cause of the Augustinians. The conflict would be resolved years later, in 1573, thanks to the support of the president of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, Jerónimo de Orozco, who managed to persuade Ayala's successor, Bishop Gómez de Mendiola, to authorize the arrival of the Augustinians to Guadalajara and other towns in their diocese. At the same time that they obtained the necessary licenses to establish themselves in Guadalajara, the Augustinians obtained authorization to found a convent in Zacatecas and attend to the doctrines of Ocotlán - with La Barca, Jamay, Ayo and Atotonilco - and Tonalá - with its visits from San Martín and Toluatlán, this last doctrine given by the Franciscans of the province of Xalisco. 67

The Dominicans arrived in Nueva Galicia under the auspices of Bishop Domingo de Alzola - also a member of the order of preachers. Although they had already visited the city of Zacatecas around 1566, and even requested the respective founding license the following year from the then bishop, Fray Pedro de Ayala, their efforts at that time would not have a better fate than those of the Augustinians in Guadalajara. The panorama would be different with Bishop Alzola, who upon his return from a trip to Mexico City at the end of 1585 was accompanied by a group of Dominicans who would remain for some indefinite period in the Neo-Galician capital. However, on that occasion there does not seem to have been any formal foundation, which would occur until 1603, when Bishop Mota and Escobar formalized the arrival of the Dominicans to Guadalajara, entrusting them the spiritual assistance of the nuns of the convent of Santa María de Gracia; Later, around 1610, the Dominicans received the hermitage of La Concepción, former residence of the Carmelites during one of their episodic stays in

66 In this regard, Ayala cited a royal decree given in Aranjuez on March 4, 1561. 67 Dávila Garibí, *Apuntes para la historia*, volume 1, pp. 548-549 and 636-637; Diego Basalenque, *History of the province of San Nicolás Tolentino de Michoacán, of the Order of N. P. S. Agustín* (Mexico: Jus, 1963), book 1, chapter 19; Antonio Rubial García, *The Augustinian convent and the New Spanish society: 1533-1630* (Mexico: UNAM, 1989), pp. 126 and 194; José Refugio de la Torre Curiel, "Tonalá in the context of Spanish expansion and the disarticulation of indigenous communities, 1530-1848", in *True Conquest of Tonalá. The writing of a local chronicle in defense of indigenous communal property in the 19th century*, ed. by Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and José Refugio de la Torre Curiel (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2011), p. 74.

the city.⁶⁸ Around the same time that Mota y Escobar opened the doors of Guadalajara, around 1603, the Dominicans founded a convent in Zacatecas; in this case, under the auspices of the miner Bartolomé Bravo de Acuña.⁶⁹

As for the Society of Jesus, there are records of some visits by these religious to Guadalajara at the beginning of 1574. However, it would not be until 1586 when, thanks to the auspices of Bishop Fray Domingo de Alzola, they would begin the formal foundation of the first school established in this capital. Shortly after their arrival, the Jesuits began to plan the work of founding a new college, given the poor conditions of the one in which they had originally been entrusted with the college of San Pedro, founded in 1571. Thus, by 1591 they would establish the Santo Tomás school, where they would deal with "the education and moral training of the Spanish people."⁷⁰ This same educational ideal, contained in the constitutions of the Company since its founding, encouraged the founding of the Colegio de la Purísima Concepción in Zacatecas at the beginning of the 17th century thanks to the donations of the couple composed of Vicente de Zaldívar and his wife, Ana de Bañuelos.⁷¹

Despite the fact that these schools fulfilled their mission of offering first literature courses for the Neo-Galician population, both the residents of Guadalajara and Zacatecas and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of both places began to raise the need for higher education for the neo-galician youth. In the case of Guadalajara, this wish would have to wait until 1696, when the seminary school of San Juan Bautista was established in the city thanks to the efforts of Father Juan María Salvatierra - rector of the school of Santo Tomás, Bishop Garabito and the Audience of New Galicia.⁷²

⁶⁸ Carmen Castañeda, *Education in Guadalajara during the Colony, 1552-1821* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / El Colegio de México, 1984), pp. 74-76; Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 277; Dávila Garibi, *Notes for history*, volume 1, p. 716.

⁶⁹ Dávila Garibi, *Notes for history*, volume 2, p. 117.

⁷⁰ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 277; Castañeda, *Education in Guadalajara*, pp. 52-54; Esteban Palomera, *The educational work of the Jesuits in Puebla, 1578-1945* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana / Instituto Oriente / BUAP, 1999), p. 3. 4.

⁷¹ José Antonio Gutiérrez, «The school-seminary of San Luis Gonzaga de Zacatecas and its first constitutions», *Espiral* 9, no. 33 (May-August 2005): 140.

⁷² Palomera, *The educational work*, p. 88; Medina Ascencio, «The Guadalajara seminary, pp. 202-205. In Zacatecas, on the other hand, this project would take longer to come to fruition; it would not be until January 30, 1755 when the Court of Guadalajara gave authorization for the Jesuits of Zacatecas to establish a seminary college for higher studies - the San Luis Gonzaga college - which

In addition to educational work, the New Spain Jesuits were mainly dedicated to the missions that they would establish in the north of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya from 1591 onwards. Roughly speaking, four zones of expansion can be defined in Jesuit evangelization. The first of them, starting in the town of San Felipe and Santiago de Sinaloa (Sinaloa de Leyva), would extend towards the north covering the territory between the Sinaloa, Mocorito, Fuerte and Mayo rivers; This area was originally populated by Cahita Indians. The Sinaloa missions, as this group would be called from the beginning, were established in 1591, taking the town of San Felipe and Santiago as a platform. From then on it would continue for the rest of that decade until it stopped on the banks of the Mayo River. A second zone would include the north of the Mayo River to the San Miguel River, in the current state of Sonora, including the Yaquis, Opatas and Bajo Pimas. Around 1617 the Jesuits made their first incursions into the region, establishing, between this date and 1653, 46 mission towns in Pimería Baja and Opatería. Between the San Miguel River and the valley south of the Gila River, in Pimería Alta, another area of missionary expansion would be located; Between 1687 and 1699, thanks largely to the impulse of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, 25 mission towns would be established there. Finally, a fourth mission area would occupy a large part of the current states of Durango and Chihuahua, areas where the Jesuits began to mission in the 1590s, bringing together populations of Acaxees, Xiximies, and Tepehuanes located on the borders, from the current states of Durango and Sinaloa- to go on, starting in 1630, to establish missions among the Chinipas, Guazapares, Guarijíos, Conchos, until reaching the Sierra Tarahumara and its inhabitants.⁷³

It would eventually begin its operations by having a building manufactured ex professo. However, despite the fact that the negotiations would begin shortly to achieve royal authorization, such a document would not reach the city with reason for the expulsion of the Jesuits. Gutiérrez, "The school-seminary", pp. 141-149.

⁷³ Ortega, "The mission system", pp. 51-61; Manuel Marzal, *The possible utopia: Indians and Jesuits in colonial America (1549-1776)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992-1994), pp. 198-201; William Merrill, "Conversion and colonialism in northern Mexico: the Tarahumara response to the Jesuit mission program, 1601-1767," in *Conversion to Christianity: historical and Anthropological perspectives on a great transformation*, ed. by Robert Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 129-132; Peter Masten Dunne, *The ancient missions of the Tarahumara* (Mexico: Jus, 1958).

PRIESTS IN CHARGE OF THE SECULAR CLERGY

Since the creation of the diocese of Nueva Galicia in 1548, the efforts of successive bishops were aimed at consolidating the ecclesial base of their territory, promoting the incorporation of the indigenous population into the church and Spanish society, as well as increasing of diocesan revenues. These objectives, however, faced a conflictive relationship with the civil authorities and with the residents due to the interpretation that each person made regarding the ways of incorporating the indigenous people into religion and Spanish society; Disputes over the ecclesiastical privileges of the Franciscans were also frequent, but, above all, the Mithras of Guadalajara faced a notorious shortage of priests that would last throughout the rest of the 16th century.

In this context, it is not surprising that by 1578, the year in which the cathedral canon Lorenzo López de Vergara wrote a report on the state of the curates of the Novogalaica diocese, the number of parishes was still too modest and that several of them were still entrusted to members of the regular orders. Thus, for example, in the center and northwest of the diocese - the ecclesiastical district of Guadalajara, of the total of 24 "curates" existing in this area, fifteen were administered by Franciscans (Analco, the towns of Ávalos - <<10 capitals with more of 20 subject [towns]" -, Etzatlán, , Tala, Tequecistlán, Epatlán and Tepaca; the mines of Culiacán; the mines of Guajacatlán; the mines of Xocotlán; Santa Fe; Purificación; Zapotlán). In the district of Zacatecas, the Franciscans administered two curacies (in Zacatecas and Juchipila); the Augustinian convent in Zacatecas also had attached doctrine; there were also fifteen curacies in charge of diocesan clerics (Fresnillo, Teocaltiche, Tlaltenango, Santa María de los Lagos, Jalostitlán, Zacatecas and the real mines of Chalchihuites, Indeé , Mazapil, Nieves, Pánuco, Los Ranchos, San Demetrio, San Martín, and Sombrerete). Finally, towards the Nueva Vizcaya portion, the 1578 report listed five curates: that of Nombre de Dios, in charge

⁷⁴ The reference document, cited by Román Gutiérrez, lists fifteen curacies; However, under the heading of Ávalos", there is an annotation by Román Gutiérrez that explains that in reality "the document indicates that there are 10 capitals with more than 20 subjects around Lake Chapala, attended by the religious of 6 monasteries that are in the Shire". The count, then, should be 24 curacies for the ecclesiastical party of Guadalajara, with 15 curacies administered by Franciscans. Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, pp. 265-266.

of the Franciscans, and those of Durango, San Sebastián and the real mines of Chiametla and Santa Bárbara, in charge of diocesan priests.⁷⁵

These ecclesiastical divisions of the diocese undoubtedly reflected some specific regional configurations:

In the district of Guadalajara, which included the northwestern [...], central and southern regions of Nueva Galicia, there were three reals of mines (Culiacán, Guajacatlán and Xocotlán) and the rest of the curates were made up of the indigenous peoples who had greater demographic density [...] In the district of Zacatecas, except for Jalostotitlán, Juchipila, Tialtenango, Teocaltiche and the town of Santa María de los Lagos, the priesthoods were located in mine estates. In the district of Nueva Vizcaya, outside the towns of Nombre de Dios and Durango, the rest were also settled in the mining camps.⁷⁶

The marked dependence of the real miners in the case of the districts of Zacatecas and Nueva Vizcaya - and the area between Magdalena, Xala and Ahuacatlán in the center of the diocese, although encouraging in good times, also explains the fact that in these areas there were constant adjustments in the ecclesiastical geography since population rearrangements forced a frequent transfer of the headquarters of various parishes.

As the 16th century progressed, new curacies would appear thanks to the increase in the population of some places. This would be the case, for example, of the Atemajac valley around 1600. In that year the bishop of la Mota y Escobar decreed the erection of the parish of Atemajac, which would include Zapopan, Tesistán, Ixcatlán, San Esteban as visiting towns. ., Zoquipan, Huentitán, Copala, Mezquitán and San Cristóbal de la Barranca.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, pp. 265-269.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 253. Emphasis added.

⁷⁷ Dávila Garibi, *Notes for history*, volume 2, p. 32. At this point the author corrects the version of Portillo, who had stated that the foundation of Mota y Escobar should be understood with Zapopan as the head of the curate. Manuel Portillo, *Historical-geographic notes of the department of Zapopan* (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco / Ayuntamiento de Zapopan, 2000), pp. 31-32.

THE FAR NORTH OR THE NEW FRONTIER

Chantal Cramaussel, El Colegio de Michoacán

When the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya was created in 1562, the jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia was limited to the north and the northern border of the Spanish American empire was thus extended, at once, about 700 km more. Of course, no one disputed the lands to be discovered beyond the Guadiana valley (where Durango would be founded) but towards the south of the new governorate, the situation was very different. Several problems arose between Nueva Galicia and the newly founded Nueva Vizcaya since both coveted the same territories, many of them known but not yet fully conquered.¹

The Spanish Crown used to respect the rights of those who had occupied new lands by royal mandate, and generally recognized the first to settle there as their legitimate conquerors. But not so for simple explorers or discoverers who had not created any settlement in the name of the king. And few were the settlements founded by order of the royal authorities in the far north. Furthermore, in many regions the Indians had risen up, forcing the first settlers to abandon the newly created towns. Under these conditions, others could take over the discovered lands again after subjugating its inhabitants. This is what happened in the north of New Spain, where the governor of Nueva Vizcaya knew how to take advantage of the situation.

In that immense region, the colonial advance was not uniform and between enclave and enclave there were large territories occupied by gentile Indians. The habitants

¹ The basic books about the limits and jurisdictional problems between both governorates are: John Parry, *The Audience of Nueva Galicia in the 16th century: study on the Spanish colonial government* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Teixidor Trust, 1993); Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *Church and State in Nueva Vizcaya (1562-1821)* (Mexico: UNAM, 1980); and Peter Gerhard, *The Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Mexico: UNAM, 1996).

of the Yaqui, Mayo and Sinaloa rivers that did not pay tribute to their encomenderos of Culiacán were reassigned to conquistadors of Nueva Vizcaya. But the right of preeminence of the first settlers was preserved, since Culiacán became a neo-Galician enclave on the Pacific coastal plain. Instead, south of Culiacán, the province of Chiametla, where the Indians had rebelled after Coronado's expedition of 1540, was incorporated into the governorship of Francisco de Ibarra, who pacified it to place it back in the king's domains, but in the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya. As for the town of Nombre de Dios, in the central highlands, from where several expeditions left towards the north, it was taken from New Galicia and deposited in the government of New Spain."

With the exception of the enclaves of Culiacán and Nombre de Dios, the northern boundary of Nueva Galicia was formed by Nueva Vizcaya. It should be noted, however, that the jurisdictional limits between governorates were far from being territorial boundaries because they were established on already populated settlements. Thus, every time a new town was founded in the name of the king, new jurisdictional disputes could arise, which is why these became frequent, even after the founding of Nueva Vizcaya and, in particular, after the new discoveries of mines. However, it can be considered that the boundaries between the two governorates remained without significant changes from the 1670s onwards (map 1).

The boundaries between bishoprics were very different. The northern border of the bishopric of Guadalajara was established when the bishopric of Durango was erected in 1621. In that case, no enclave was recognized, nor did ecclesiastical jurisdiction always correspond with civil jurisdiction. The territory was delimited based on the tithes to be collected, which were the main object of the negotiation.⁵

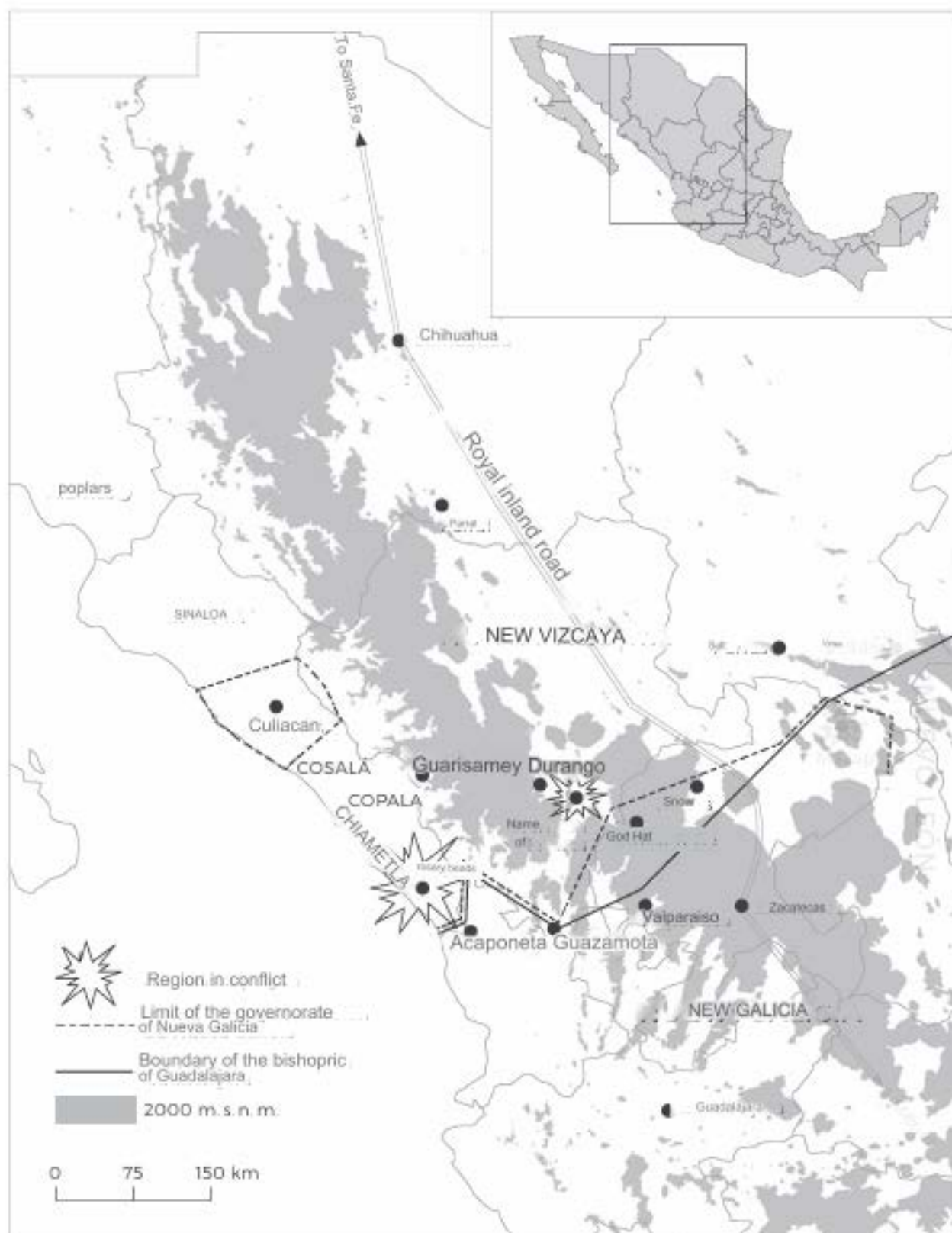
¹ Peter Gerhard, *The Northern Border*, pp. 318-325.

³ John Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and the Nueva Vizcaya* (Chihuahua: Secretariat of Education and Culture of Chihuahua-Biblioteca Chihuahuense / UJED, 2005); Salvador Álvarez, «Chiametla. A forgotten province of the 16th century», *Trace* 22 (1992): 9-24.

⁴ R. H. Barlow and G. T. Smisor, *Nombre de Dios, Durango: Two documents in Nahuatl concerning its foundation* (Sacramento, United States: The House of Tlaloc, 1943); Luis Carlos Quiñones, *Demographic composition of Nombre de Dios, Durango: 17th century* (Durango: UJED/LXIX Legislature of the Congress of Durango/Durango Cultural Volunteering/Municipal Presidency of Nombre de Dios/Department of Education of Durango, 2002).

⁵ Porras Muñoz, *Church and state*, pp. 17-29.

MAP 1. NORTHERN LIMITS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
NEW GALICIA AND THE BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA



Current state boundaries are marked to better locate settlements.

The Crown generally favored the claims of Francisco de Ibarra against the demands of Nueva Galicia. However, since 1572, Nueva Vizcaya became dependent on judicial matters and appeals on the Court of Guadalajara, founded in 1548. This link with the supreme court constituted a counterpower to the New Vizcayan governors, which contributed to maintaining close political relations between the hearers of Nueva Galicia and the members of the oligarchy of Nueva Vizcaya.

On the other hand, population movements between one governorate and another were interrupted very soon. As for commercial relations between the two, these were even weaker. The strong link that united Guadalajara with the far north via Zacatecas was quickly lost to the benefit of Mexico, Puebla and Valladolid (current Morelia, Michoacán), because the neo-Galician capital was very far from the inland Camino Real that formed the main axis of communication and trade towards the north. But Guadalajara was closely linked since the mid-17th century with the New Vizcaya royal town of Rosario, on the Pacific coast. Rosario was the northernmost point of the commercial circuits that left Guadalajara towards Nueva Vizcaya. We will delve into this topic after studying the formation of the limits between both governorates in the second half of the 16th century and remembering the boundaries between the bishopric of Guadalajara and that of Durango, created in 1621.

THE CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL LIMITS OF NEW GALICIA TOWARDS THE NORTH

THE CREATION OF THE NEW VIZCAYA AND THE ADVANCE TOWARDS THE NORTH IN THE 16TH CENTURY

The earliest incursion into the northwest of New Spain was made by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, between 1530 and 1535. This conqueror, with a sad memory for his cruelty towards the Indians he enslaved en masse, reached Chiametla, now in the south of the state, from Sinaloa, and reached Culiacán from where the Spanish organized under his command the first expeditions to the mountains and the rivers later called Sinaloa and Mocorito. Guzmán's men were perhaps the first to cross the Sierra Madre, and discovered the eastern valleys, where Durango would be founded, but they did not create colonial settlements on the eastern slope of the mountain range. On the other hand, on the coast, Guzmán

About the roads, see Chantal Cramaussel, ed., *Rutas de la Nueva España* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006).

He founded Culiacán and populated Chiametla, and throughout that region he distributed parcels among his faithful.

Meanwhile, since 1532, Cortés's men set sail across the Pacific; They recognized the coast of the gulf up to the Fuerte River, that is to say that they penetrated towards the northwest of New Spain, without going further than Nuño de Guzmán. Finally, in 1540, Viceroy Mendoza, fearing that Cortés was going to settle his men in the north, which was then considered very rich, organized a new expedition to the north under the command of Vázquez de Coronado that was sold by a complete failure. This last conqueror had to give up the chimera of conquering the opulent kingdom of Cibola that Cabeza de Vaca claimed to have seen in 1536, as well as Brother Marcos de Niza, sent three years later in the same direction. Coronado's great expedition gave rise to general discontent on the part of the Indians, who rebelled; Only Culiacán managed to sustain itself but it became an enclave immersed in the lands of rebellious Indians.⁷

Towards the northeast, where Nuño de Guzmán had penetrated to reach the province of Pánuco, conquerors of Nueva Galicia discovered the mines of Zacatecas in 1546, which gave rise to the formal settlement of the royal estate two years later. In 1552, Captain Ginés Vázquez del Mercado, who had previously founded the town of Guazamota, in the now Huichol mountain range, was sent north by the authorities of Guadalajara. Mercado crossed the mountains and traveled through the valley of the future city of Durango, where he mistook the iron ore hill that dominated the valley, which today bears his name, for silver. It also reached the valley of Valparaíso, and reached the sites where the mines of San Martín, Chalchihuites and Sombrerete would eventually be established.

In 1554, Viceroy Velasco obtained official permission from the Crown to continue exploring the north of New Spain. He entrusted that task to Juanes de Tolosa and Luis Cortés, bastard son of the conqueror of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. But the latter soon had to stop their explorations launched from Zacatecas, when the oidores of Nueva Galicia protested, who believed that the viceroy was usurping their rights over the north of New Spain. The Court even issued an arrest warrant against Cortés and Tolosa. Finally, in 1560, the authorities of New Galicia received authorization from the king to continue their explorations and commissioned the oidor Pedro de Morones to settle the province of Chiametla. The legend of

⁷ Porras Muñoz, *Church and State*, p. 12.

⁸ Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra*, pp. 55-56.

A very rich kingdom in that direction had not died with the failure of Coronado's expedition of 1540. The viceroy was not willing to give up the conquest of those fabulous lands that were then called Copala. He entrusted this task to Francisco de Ibarra, who was the nephew of his son-in-law, Diego de Ibarra, one of the discoverers of Zacatecas.

Francisco de Ibarra had made incursions towards the north from Zacatecas and Nombre de Dios, between 1554 and 1562, the date on which he was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya. This appointment put an end to the ambitions of Nueva Galicia. When the king confirmed the title of governor to Francisco de Ibarra in 1574, he was named governor of "the provinces of Copala, Nueva Vizcaya and Chiametla." However, it was not easy to establish the exact limits between the two governorates in the places that were already populated and even more so, in the regions that were believed to be closer to the unknown but long-awaited Copala.

Francisco de Ibarra was a young man of barely fifteen years old when his uncle put him at the head of the expeditions to the north. Governor of Nueva Vizcaya at the age of 24, Ibarra was in command of a host of poorly disciplined Spaniards, who on more than one occasion perhaps wanted to take advantage of his tender age to escape his orders. His power rested on the material and human resources that his uncle provided him, but it also depended on his intransigence as a military leader. When one of his captains, named Sebastián de Gamón, rebelled, Francisco de Ibarra did not hesitate to condemn him to hanging.⁹ Summary trials and exemplary punishments that show that in those times life was worth little were necessary to prevail among rude men, and ready to resort to weapons for any reason. The majority of Ibarra's troops were made up of soldiers of fortune, without means of subsistence within their reach, who had no choice but to enlist and show their warrior value, under the orders of those who could provide them with weapons and food - gives. Most, but not all, tended to remain faithful to their military leader, on whom they depended to survive and enjoy the privileges that the Crown granted to the conquerors. In America they could aspire to obtain land and Indians. But conquering and colonizing the far north in the 16th century certainly required leaving behind many scruples; not everyone ventured into the violent lands of the Chichimeca Indians where slave hunts were the order of

the day. The religious were also men on horseback who accompanied the other Spaniards on their adventures. Among the first Europeans to arrive at

⁹ Porras Muñoz, *Church and State*, p. 15.

¹⁰ Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra*, pp. 52-53 and 147-148.

far north were the Franciscans. The friars of that order had already been in Nombre de Dios since 1556. A few years later, friar Juan de Tapia, who had left Acaponeta, in the Pacific plains, also crossed the mountain range from west to east to the Guadiana valley, shortly time after Vázquez del Mercado. But he did not found any mission in the area. On the other hand, along the coast, the Franciscans opened missions at least as far as the Mayo and Yaqui rivers, where the Spanish had received encomiendas from Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán. The seraphic order maintained a monopoly on evangelization by the regulars, until the arrival of the Jesuits in 1591."

THE ENCLAVES OF NAME OF GOD AND CULIACAN

Name of God (1562-1569)¹²

Since his arrival in northern New Galicia in 1554, Francisco de Ibarra, with the help of his uncle Diego, had made Nombre de Dios and the nearby mines of San Martín and Avino his fiefdoms. However, he was not the political head of the area, but the Court of Guadalajara appointed a mayor in San Martín and another in Nombre de Dios. And it was also thanks to the efforts of the Audiencia that around 1560 the rebellion that threatened the Spanish presence in the entire region, including the Guadiana Valley, was crushed. Two years later, shortly before Ibarra was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya, the friars of Nombre de Dios asked the mayor of San Martín for help, who successfully repressed the rebellious Indians. It is also said that the presence of eight soldiers was enough to quell the attempted uprising. However, it is likely that this victory was part of the rhetoric necessary for the Guadalajara authorities to claim jurisdiction over Nombre de Dios. Diego de Colio, originally from Guadalajara and appointed mayor of San Martín at the time, claimed to have taken possession of Nombre de Dios and appointed an ordinary mayor to exercise justice in the town. The mayor Colio was then barely 18 years old and had been a page of Hernán Cortés; His career as a conquistador is reminiscent of that of Francisco de Ibarra, who took up arms at 15 and was a page to Viceroy Velasco. But, in the sixties, it was better to be close to the viceroy of New Spain than to the Marquis of Valle.

¹¹ Porras Muñoz, *Church and State*, p. 42: the Franciscans withdrew with the conquerors when the Indians rebelled; They were replaced by the Jesuits, who They first settled in the province of Sinaloa at the end of the 16th century.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31; Peter Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519-1821* (Mexico: UNAM, 1986), pp. 209-211.

Once appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Ibarra gathered his men in San Martín and the troops marched towards Nombre de Dios, where the governor forced the local mayor to recognize his authority. The same thing happened with the other settlers who had settled further north, in lands that months before were still considered part of New Galicia. Francisco de Ibarra had incorporated into his troops many Spaniards who came from the richest royal estates in the north of New Galicia, particularly Zacatecas and San Martín, where they had been settled for some time, trying their luck in mining. The initial settlement of Nueva Vizcaya certainly meant a worrying demographic drain for the north of Nueva Galicia and, in particular, for the region of Zacatecas. The attractions to settle new lands in Nueva Vizcaya were many; Perhaps the most important ones consisted of receiving the necessary supplies and weapons from the governor, having the possibility of receiving Indians for personal services at the hands of Ibarra himself, and paying the twenty and not the tithe on the silver.

Although Ibarra was invested only to extend his dominions in unoccupied lands, he seized the entire region located north of San Martín by force. He had the unconditional support of his political relative, Viceroy Luis de Velasco, who gave Nombre de Dios the title of town in October 1563. The formal erection took place the following month, in the presence of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. San Martín remained in Nueva Galicia but not the real estate of Avino, where Ibarra had been exploiting mines for more than a decade.

In 1569, due to the murder of one of the residents of Nombre de Dios who took refuge in the convent of San Francisco, the mayor of San Martín took possession of Nombre de Dios in the name of Nueva Galicia and dismissed the authorities appointed by Ibarra. But once the commission judge dismissed by the high court left, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya regained control using violence. A new intervention by Guadalajara was unsuccessful and, faced with an imminent battle between both sides, the viceroy intervened, who appointed a new mayor and placed the town "in deposit" in the jurisdiction of the governorate of New Spain. After a new and ephemeral attempt to integrate it into Nueva Vizcaya in 1611, Nombre de Dios became definitively dependent on the government of New Spain and the Audiencia of Mexico in matters of justice. Thus it became the favorite refuge for those persecuted by the authorities of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya. Despite this, the town remained in the jurisdiction of New Spain until 1787, when it was finally integrated into the newly created municipality of Durango.

Culiacán (1564-1565)

Once Durango, the capital of Nueva Vizcaya, was founded in 1563 in the Guadiana Valley, Ibarra crossed the mountains and headed to the Pacific plains, where he found agricultural Indians better dressed and more civilized than those of the central highlands. But part of the Indian towns that he visited when going down to the coast along the Topia road had been entrusted by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán to residents of San Miguel de Culiacán. Ibarra redistributed several of those old encomiendas of Indians from the Fuerte and Mayo River to his own soldiers in 1564. They were apparently "war encomiendas" that until then did not generate any profit for their beneficiaries.

As the Indians of Sinaloa and Chiametla did not pay tributes or provide any type of services to their Neo-Galician encomenderos, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya boasted of having subdued the Indians of those provinces on his own, which he reassigned to the members of his troop. And he later claimed both provinces for himself, in retribution for his merits. Once again it seems that this reconquest, more than based on real events, was part of a rhetorical discourse because it is also said that Ibarra did not fight any combat, since the Indians submitted of their own free will. However, Ibarra did not dare to enter Culiacán until he received a royal decree that allowed him to colonize the lands previously discovered in the name of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, although these were already partly populated.

With the royal decree in hand, Ibarra requested from the inhabitants of Culiacán in 1564 everything necessary for the reconquest of Chiametla. The residents of the town, with the consent of the mayor, willingly gave him the requested supplies, hoping to escape his isolation. Heading to Guadalajara, they had to risk their lives crossing the territory of the hostile Indians of the province of Chiametla that Ibarra was going to try to pacify. To ensure victory, reinforcements from the city of Guadalajara and Mexico City also arrived in Culiacán, sent by Diego de Ibarra, the governor's uncle. Thanks to the help that the inhabitants of Culiacán and Guadalajara gave to Ibarra, the governor respected the jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia over that town and its surroundings. The border between Nueva Vizcaya and the mayor's office of Culiacán was set on the Mocorito River, to the north. Towards the south, the Elota River was the one that separated the two jurisdictions, until the mayor's office of Cosalá appeared in the 17th century, which pushed back the southern limit of the province of Culiacán. In the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental, the mines discovered in the 16th century integrated the territory of Nueva Vizcaya, after the rebellion of the Tepehuanes, at the beginning of the

next century. The mayor's office of Culiacán continued to be an enclave of Nueva Galicia, until it was incorporated in 1733 into the new governorate of Sinaloa and Sonora.¹⁴

The reconquest of Chiametla lasted eleven months. Once the Indians were subdued, starting in 1565, the Cañas River marked the southern limit of Nueva Vizcaya. On the other side of the stream was the Neo-Galician province of Acaponeta. The Indians of that last province were apparently more peaceful than their northern neighbors and had been transferred as an *encomienda* to a neighbor from Compostela in the mid-16th century. Ibarra did not affect the rights of the latter.

Two years later, in 1567, the Court of Guadalajara accused Francisco de Ibarra of having usurped the province of Chiametla, which had previously been granted to the *oidor* Morones, who was already deceased when the governor of Nueva Vizcaya entered it. The Court ordered Ibarra to be arrested, but, faced with the military force deployed by the governor who had received the protection of the few residents of the province and auxiliary Indians, the commissioner preferred to return to Guadalajara empty-handed. The same thing happened with the second judge of the Hearing commission. Finally, in May 1567, the viceroy Marquis of Falcés recognized Ibarra's rights over the reconquered province of Chiametla and all the lands north of San Martín, in the central highlands. In the opinion of the viceroy, the royal certificate granted to Morones was expired for the simple fact that the *oidor* had not managed to carry out any expedition and the Audiencia, on the other hand, had not appointed any other person to take his place. Perhaps because no one had sufficient means, at that time, to organize an expedition on their own. Furthermore, Ibarra had to be rewarded for having placed the promising province of Chiametla, where salt, fishing resources and mines were under the king's dominion. The province of Chiametla had a marked mining boom in the 1570s;¹⁵ it was depopulated soon after, but Nueva Galicia did not again try to incorporate it into its jurisdiction.¹⁶

The limits of Nueva Vizcaya on the coastal plain were more or less clear in 1567, but those of the mountains were not. In 1566, the town of Guazamota, which Ginés Vázquez del Mercado had discovered in 1552, was subdued by Ibarra's troops. However, the Spanish soon retreated to Chiametla

¹⁴ Luis Navarro García, *Sonora and Sinaloa in the 17th century* (Seville: School of Studies Hispano-Americans, 1967), pp. 16-17.

¹⁵ Gerhard, *The Northern Border*, pp. 256-262.

¹⁶ Álvarez, "Chiametla".

¹⁷ Meham, *Francisco de Ibarra*, pp. 172-173.

after having verified that that part of the mountain range did not contain great mineral riches. Guazamota continued to belong to New Galicia. Despite the creation of Franciscan missions in the 17th century, the limits were generally very diffuse in the mountain region of Nayarit (now the Huichol mountain range), which was reconquered in the 1820s, and had not been clearly established. accuracy in the also wild Tepehuana, poorly evangelized and very sparsely populated.¹⁷

The seventies were decisive for relations between Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia. In 1573, Nueva Vizcaya became part of the Court of Guadalajara in judicial matters and in appeal, thus separating itself from that of Mexico.¹⁸ The following year the Royal Decree of June 1, 1574 confirmed the jurisdiction of the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya. Vizcaya on the provinces of Copala, Nueva Vizcaya and Chiametla. Copala corresponded to the western slope of the mountain range north of Chiametla, and with Nueva Vizcaya the king referred to the central plateau, beyond San Martín.

THE NORTHEAST BORDERS (1568-1579)¹⁹

It is believed that it was the Franciscans of Zacatecas who first arrived in Mazapil, but the discovery of the mines, which dates back to 1568, was due to residents of Nieves, a mine royale located northwest of Zacatecas, in Nueva Galicia. The new royal remained in Nueva Galicia and no jurisdictional conflict broke out in that direction, until the kingdom of Nuevo León was founded in 1579. At the beginning of the following decade, the first governor of Nuevo León usurped Mazapil for a few years, as well as Saltillo, which belonged to Nueva Vizcaya. In the 17th century, no one was interested in the decaying Mazapil mines that remained in New Galicia. The robber Indians who stalked passers-by on the unpopulated and waterless road that linked

¹⁷ Thomas Calvo, *The dawn of a new world: centuries XVI and XVII* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara / Cemca, 1990); Chantal Cramaussel, "The failure of evangelization in the Sierra Tepehuana and Pueblo Nuevo", in *General history of the state of Durango*, ed. by Miguel ValleBueno (Durango: UJED, 2013), volume 2, pp. 154-199.

¹⁸ Parry, *The Hearing*, p. 148.

¹⁹ Valentina Garza Martínez and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, *Libro del Cabildo de Santiago del Saltillo, 1578-1655* (Mexico: CIESAS / AGN / Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 2002); Valentina Garza Martínez and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, *Pastoral visits to Mazapil, 1572-1856* (Mexico: Letra Antigua / Instituto Zacatecano de la Cultura / CIESAS, 2007).

zaba Zacatecas with Saltillo made the Mazapil real estate an enclave of New Galicia, in a land of war.

Although the Buena Esperanza valley (currently Patos, southwest of Saltillo) had been discovered (but not populated) by Nueva Galicia, Francisco de Ibarra granted it to the Portuguese Alberto del Canto, who was its first mayor in 1569. In 1577, this same character founded Saltillo, where many settlers who previously lived in Mazapil settled and, the following year, Parras. In the 17th century, a branch of the inland Camino Real left from the El Pasaje prison that passed through Parras and reached Saltillo. Thus, the road to hell that led from Zacatecas to Mazapil was progressively abandoned. New Galicia was then left out of the colonial advance towards the northeast. Saltillo as well as Parras belonged to Nueva Vizcaya, until these towns were segregated from this last governorate when that of Coahuila was erected in 1687.²⁰

THE BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF GUADALAJARA AND DURANGO, FOUNDED IN 1621²¹

The bishopric of Durango was founded in 1621, with headquarters in the city of the same name, which was also the capital of the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya. While the missionary orders, that is, the Franciscans from the beginning of the conquest of the far north and the Jesuits from the end of the 16th century, had jurisdictions that they could expand in line with the conversions of Indians, those of the bishoprics were, however, very well established because the secular Church derived a good part of its income from the collection of tithes on the crops and livestock of the Spaniards and the castes.

At the end of the 16th century, Diego de Ibarra, then governor of Nueva Vizcaya, argued that enough tithes were collected in the north of the bishopric of Guadalajara to create a new one. The list of tithes that was compiled at that time showed that Nueva Vizcaya contributed as much as Nueva Galicia (about fifteen thousand pesos each). Furthermore, the governor maintained, as did the Town Council of the town of Durango, that the episcopal see was too far away and that the bishops could not fulfill their obligation to visit the entire jurisdiction under their charge. But the Court of Guadalajara, perhaps defending the income of the bishop based in the same city, repeatedly stated that Nueva Vizcaya was too poor to decently support a prelate and his Chapter. In 1609, the separation was requested again,

²⁰ Porras Muñoz, *Church and State*, pp. 51-52.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-29.

when the tithes amounted to 27,000 pesos for Nueva Galicia and 25,000 for Nueva Vizcaya.

In 1620, the king finally agreed to the division and Paul V granted the bull of erection of the bishopric of Durango the same year. But the bishopric existed only on paper. It was not until 1621 that the sovereign commissioned the president of the Audiencia to define its limits. A map was also drawn up, which unfortunately has not been preserved. In the west, the Cañas River was considered the limit, which divided the province of Chiametla, in Nueva Vizcaya, from that of Acaponeta. That is to say, the boundary of the bishoprics corresponded with that of the governorates on the coastal plain. But the neo-Galician territory of Culiacán, located in Nueva Vizcaya, would be part of the bishopric of Durango. From the Las Cañas river, the limit was established in a straight line to Guazamota, and from there to the Medina or Grande river (now Aguanaval), but the haciendas of Diego de Ibarra were incorporated into the *dezmato*ry of Nueva Galicia. On the other hand, Nieves and Sombrerete in Nueva Galicia were integrated into the *dezmato*ry of Nueva Vizcaya, as well as Nombre de Dios (an enclave of New Spain). Parras and the estates of Francisco de Urdiñola, who had been governor of Nueva Vizcaya, remained in the bishopric of Durango. As for Saltillo, which belonged to the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya and where the largest amount of tithes was collected, 22 remained part of the bishopric of Guadalajara.

In 1621, the amount of tithes collected by the prelate of Guadalajara amounted to 32,256 pesos, meaning that they had increased significantly since 1609. On the other hand, those of Nueva Vizcaya had been overvalued; Gonzalo de Hermosillo, the first bishop of Durango, noted with frustration that these barely amounted to 16,000 pesos. However, there was no turning back, the division was final.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEW GALICIA AND THE FAR NORTH

New Galicia was doubly related to New Vizcaya. It was first united by a legal bond since the latter depended on the Court of Guadalajara, particularly when residents from the far north wanted to appeal the governor's decisions. On the other hand, Nueva Galicia, located immediately to the south, geographically separated Nueva Vizcaya from the "outside", that is, from Mexico and Spain, from the viceregal capital, from the king and his Council of the Indies, as well as from Veracruz, Xalapa and the port of

²² General Archive of the Indies (AGI), Patronato 183, no. 24 (1619).

Seville. Nueva Galicia was, therefore, a place of obligatory transit towards those centers of government and commerce par excellence. But except in cyclical moments, he could take little advantage of this situation given the political strength of the governors of Nueva Vizcaya, generally appointed by the viceroys, the demographic weakness of Neo-Galician society and the absence of a regional market that encompassed the "inland."

THE COURT OF GUADALAJARA AND NEW VIZCAYA 23

The appeal trials of Nueva Vizcaya were sent to the Court of Mexico until 1572, despite the fact that the Court of Nueva Galicia had existed since 1548. Viceroy Enríquez was the one who decided that the complaints from the far north should be better sent to the Guadalajara Court because it is closer. Its royal provision was confirmed by the Council of the Indies in 1574. Furthermore, in Guadalajara, land and water was legislated; Starting in 1692, it was to the Royal Court that the commissioners sent the files gathered in Nueva Vizcaya so that the land compositions of the northern colonizers could be issued. The property court of the deceased in which the testamentary trials of residents of Nueva Vizcaya who bequeathed assets to debtors or relatives from the peninsula were settled was also located in the capital of Nueva Galicia and was headed by an *oidor* of the Court.

To go to Guadalajara, the residents of central Nueva Vizcaya had to first arrive at Zacatecas and from there take the road to Aguascalientes, Teocaltiche, Juchipila or Tlaltenango.²⁴ The trip lasted between two or three months depending on the place of travel. exit. As for the inhabitants of the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, they either crossed the Sierra Madre to reach the Camino Real inland or they risked crossing the mighty rivers that cut the coastal plain because cabotage transportation was not organized until the 19th century.²⁵ Under these conditions, the travel time could even be longer from the distant northwest than from the northern highlands. Needless to say, appealing the decision of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya was only within the reach of the wealthiest, who could afford to travel to the capital of New Galicia and hold a trial there, which also had its cost.

23 Chantal Cramaussel, *Populating the border: the province of Santa Bárbara in Nueva Vizcaya during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006), pp. 272-295.

24 Thomas Calvo, *Along the roads of Nueva Galicia. Transportation and carriers in the 17th century* (Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara / Cemca, 1997).

25 Cramaussel, *Routes of New Spain*, pp. 299-329.

and it could be prolonged. In fact, given the slowness of colonial justice, the most sensible thing was to have representatives and a prosecutor based in Guadalajara, who had to be compensated, of course.

The Audiencia represented an alternative power that the members of the Nueva Vizcaya oligarchy knew how to take advantage of very well. While the *oidores* were for life, the governors appointed by the viceroy in turn only remained in office for a few years. In the north, every time a new governor arrived, local society divided into two sides; The first took refuge in the provincial authority, while the second relied on his good relations with the judges of the Guadalajara Court, which intervened every time it received complaints from residents of Nueva Vizcaya about the "evil" government". The unfair distribution of mercury by royal officials and the monopoly of trade that the governors used to exercise illegally were sufficient reasons for the Audiencia to send commission judges to the north to defend the aggrieved. The trials and investigations promoted by the supreme court gave rise to alliances, sometimes lasting, that segmented local society. The prominent and most well-known figures from the far north tended to place themselves on the "Audience side." And more than once the opposing sides were on the verge of clashing over weapons. For his part, the governor, who often felt all-powerful because he was the direct associate of the king or the viceroy who had appointed him, often refused any type of investigation, alleging that it was an early residency trial.

The conflict between Governor Luis de Monsalve and the Court of Guadalajara is a very good example of the tensions that could arise at any time in the north of New Spain when the Court of Guadalajara intervened. ²⁶ Luis de Monsalve Saavedra was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1633, two years after the discovery of the Parral mines, which were then in their prime. The governor wanted to force all the miners to stock up at his store under the threat of not supplying mercury to the recalcitrant. The affected miners then sent several complaints to the Court, which resolved two years later to send a commission judge to Parral where the governor resided. But Monsalve, who was nothing

²⁶ On this conflict, see Guillermo Porras Muñoz, «The provision of interim governors of Nueva Vizcaya», in *Structures, government and agents of administration in Spanish America (sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)*, ed. by Alfonso García Gallo (Valladolid: University of Valladolid / Casa-Museo de Colón, 1984), pp. 467-502.

less than the viceroy's nephew, he did not hesitate to immediately expel him from the royal palace with violence. The Court, upon learning what happened, removed Monsalve from his position and appointed Gaspar de Quesada, who was a resident of Durango, in his place. It was the first time that the Court acted in this way; Until then, the Audiencia was content with ratifying the viceroy's appointment of interim governors. Quesada, after a first skirmish with Monsalve, gathered a real army in Durango and marched towards Parral to defeat him definitively. Faced with this military deployment, Monsalve preferred to flee to Mexico City, where he took refuge in his uncle's house. Years later, without the support of the viceroy in power, Monsalve was imprisoned by order of the Court in the Guadalajara prison, where he died under unclear circumstances.

In 1638, the commission judge of Guadalajara conducted the trial against all those who had supported Monsalve and confiscated their respective assets. Anarchy then reigned for more than a year in the Parral real estate, which suffered from shortages because merchants from Mexico refused to send products to Nueva Vizcaya for fear that one of the two warring factions would seize their merchandise. Meanwhile, the viceroy openly ignored the governor appointed by the Audiencia and appointed another on his own, whom he sent to take the position, accompanied by two hundred *harquebusiers*. The latter managed to capture Gaspar de Quesada, his opponent, who was sent prisoner to Mexico. The Court then appointed in his place Montaña de la Cueva, oligarch of Parral, knight of Santiago, relative of the Inquisition and married to the daughter of one of the founders of Zacatecas. The two factions were on the verge of clashing over weapons but finally Montaña negotiated with his opponent, who thereafter served as interim governor. That episode represented a serious warning for the governors who wanted to affect the interests of the powerful men in Nueva Vizcaya. Because it was also known that Montaña had been among those who had denounced the governor's mismanagement before the Guadalajara Court.

Two years later, while Monsalve ended his life in the Guadalajara prison, Gaspar de Quesada was released from prison in Mexico. But the problem between the Audiencia and the governor of Nueva Vizcaya arose again in 1642, when the court of Guadalajara intervened for the same reasons as in 1638. Once again there was dismissal of the current governor by order of the Audiencia, who appointed another provisionally, but the viceroy prevented the arrival of the latter to Nueva Vizcaya while the region was once again divided into opposing sides and commercial activities were suspended. The Court sent a commission judge two other times to investigate the fraud caused by the governor regarding mercury. The situation continued

being very revolted during the mandates of the following governors. But the underlying problem remained the same: the great landowners of Nueva Vizcaya took advantage of their relationships with the judges of the Guadalajara Court to plot against the governor, who used his power to place those close to him in positions of privilege, and monopolize the two branches of the economy that best rewarded those who came to control them: commerce and mining, through the distribution of mercury, an essential ingredient for refining the metal in the opulent profit haciendas of Nueva Vizcaya.

The Guadalajara Court was therefore much more than a simple court, which was resorted to in case of grievance by the local authorities. The *oidores* were the favorite allies of the powerful men from the far north who opposed the governors of Nueva Vizcaya, who also committed all kinds of abuses. Without the alternate power represented by the Audiencia of Guadalajara, the local oligarchs would hardly have been able to successfully oppose these fleeting, but authoritarian, representatives of the Crown. By intervening to find out how well founded the complaints they received from Nueva Vizcaya, the *oidores* and their emissaries made clear the imprint of the Guadalajara Court throughout the colonial era in the far north. The court also acted in criminal matters in cases of unexplained murders in Nueva Vizcaya or to accuse rulers of bigamy or contravening the Laws of the Indies, when these figures married women who lived in their jurisdiction. Without its continuous intervention in judicial matters, Nueva Galicia would have had very little presence in the north of New Spain.

DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The mines of Zacatecas, discovered in 1546 and whose mining potential attracted many Spaniards from all over Nueva Galicia and the rest of the viceroyalty, were for half a century a populous place where those who longed to penetrate inland could be recruited. The contingent of the first settlers of Nombre de Dios came from Zacatecas, whose descendants expanded in Nueva Vizcaya in the early sixties. But at the beginning of the 17th century, once New Mexico was founded in 1598, beyond the Rio Grande, headed by Governor Juan de Oñate, son of one of the discoverers of Zacatecas, the latter city ceased to be a place where people met, future conquerors waiting for a new expedition. The border of the empire was already much further north.

As the catalogs of passengers to the Indies show, the Spaniards who wanted to settle in the West Indies did not venture towards the septentrion.

New Spanish tentrion, without first spending time in Puebla or Mexico to learn better about the conquest and colonization projects. Then, they generally spent a few years in the towns located on the inland Camino Real that linked the viceregal capital with Santa Fe in New Mexico. In these settlements, where news circulated about the advances and setbacks of colonization, they could eventually come into direct contact with the inhabitants of the north. This prudent strategy resulted from the fame that the distant north very soon acquired in the 16th century, which was then considered a land of inexhaustible mining riches but populated by fearsome Chichimecas of war.

After the 16th century, in which mobility was very great among the Spaniards who explored the American territory and hoped to find rich kingdoms hitherto unknown or the passage to China, there were very few group movements from New Galicia in the direction of from the north. In the following century, it was mainly from Mexico and Puebla that the newcomers to Nueva Vizcaya came. Neither in Durango, nor in Parral, nor later in Chihuahua, is there a notable presence of people born in New Galicia during the rest of the colonial period. Zacatecas was just a point on the Camino Real where people rested and replenished, before continuing the journey north. At the end of the 17th century, the new mining estates were nourished by migratory movements that rarely exceeded the limits of Nueva Vizcaya. From a demographic point of view, the far north was already self-sufficient. The new mining discoveries, such as that of Álamos in the eighties of the 17th century, were attended mostly by people who came from places located less than 200 km away.²⁷

The relations of Nueva Galicia with the provinces of the northern Pacific were a little closer than with those of central Nueva Vizcaya. In fact, the settlement of the northwest had begun, in the 16th century, in the region of Guadalajara and Colima. The province of Culiacán, which as we have seen was a neo-Galician territory located in the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya, maintained relations with Guadalajara, where the local mayor was appointed and the taxes of the Indians were regulated, but it remained very isolated. Socially and economically, the province of Culiacán was, of course, more closely linked with the

²⁷ Chantal Cramaussel, «Settle in lands with many Indians. The Álamos region in the 17th and 18th centuries», *Region and society* 24, no. 53 (January-April 2012): 11-54; and for the 18th century in central Nueva Vizcaya, see Michael Swann, *Tierra Adentro: settlement and society in colonial Durango* (Boulder, United States: Westview Press, 1982).

far north, in which it was geographically inserted. Towards the south, the province of Chiametla was repopulated with Francisco de Ibarra's men, originally from Spain and Portugal. When Chiametla began to boom in the seventies, it was linked to central Nueva Vizcaya and the rest of the colonial world through the transerrano road that led to Durango. Towards the north, Sonora was first colonized from Parral and maintained a strong link with the northern highlands. But in both Sinaloa and Sonora, these ties with the center of Nueva Vizcaya tended to dilute over time as migratory movements were reduced.

In Durango, the Medrano family, which was among the most exalted in the province, was related to the Ibarra family. Ana de Ibarra, the daughter of the accountant Juan de Ibarra, official of the royal treasury in Durango and cousin of the first governor of the province, married Francisco de Medrano, son of an oidor of the Royal Court of Guadalajara (and coincidentally a merchant), of the same name. The Medranos were owners of the Navacoyan hacienda, one of the largest and most productive in the Durango region in the 17th century. Francisco de Medrano supplied the convent of San Francisco in the capital of Nueva Vizcaya and provided goods to the soldiers of the northern prisons.²⁸ However, when the Ibarra clan declined in the 17th century, that link of family origin with the city that was the seat of the Court was lost.

There were also some prominent people from Nueva Vizcaya who had been born in Nueva Galicia. The Parral mines, for example, were discovered by Juan Rangel de Biesma, who had been born in the neo-Galician enclave of Culiacán in 1601; His father served as an accountant in the town and came from Guadalajara.²⁹ Among the ten most important characters and the few powerful Creoles of the opulent royal estate of Parral in the 17th century, was Juan Leal, a native of Zacatecas and apparently the son of a mulatto woman who He had brought him into the world in 1610. This miner became the owner of one of the most productive quicksilver haciendas in the mining center and married Antonia de Vera y Angulo, who belonged to one of the main families of

Nombre de Dios.³⁰ Even in the field of commerce, Zacatecas, despite being the best populated settlement in the north, was above all a transit point where

²⁸ AGI, Accounting, Accounts of the Real Caja de Durango, 1608-1609, no. 925. I thank Miguel Vallebuena for the information about the relationship between Ana de Ibarra and Francisco Medrano.

²⁹ Chantal Cramaussel, Juan Rangel de Biesma. A discoverer in trouble / (Ciudad Juárez: Meridiano 107/UACJ, 1992).

³⁰ Cramaussel, *Populate the border*, pp. 409-410.

Transporters sometimes rented land to graze their mules and have remudas. The trade of Nueva Vizcaya was controlled by the great merchants and transporters of Mexico City.³¹ In the new west Hispanic, more than with Zacatecas or the neo-Galician capital, the far north had. During the 17th century, commercial relations with the province of Ávalos, which it was part of the governorate of New Spain but had been there since 1572, like Colima, under the jurisdiction of the Guadalajara Court. Since the towns of Ávalos, crockery, knives and, above all, footwear and clothing were sent to the north, all kinds of items made of leather. Palm wine, manufactured in Colima and banned in 1660, it also traveled through Guadalajara.³² But in the 18th century there is no mention of the province of Ávalos in the stores of Nueva Biscay; only loose allusions appear in the city of Durango of earthenware Tonalá, which was far surpassed, however, by that of Puebla, and even usually Juchipila butter. They no longer reached the capital of Nueva Vizcaya; leather objects, there were already enough tanneries in the city of Durango and in the farms to supply the region.³³ The shortage of merchandise from Nueva Galicia contrasted with the constant arrival of products from Michoacán throughout the entire colonial era.³⁴ It was therefore not only the distance but also the low supply of manufactured products which harmed Neo-Galician trade in the north.

More than men and merchandise, livestock that followed transhumance routes to the south during the dry season circulated between Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia. These animal transfers gave rise to notorious lawsuits between the bishoprics of Durango and Guadalajara, who disputed the tithes from the shearing of the sheep. However, transhumance was not always carried out towards the governorate of Nueva Galicia, because a good part of the herds did not reach beyond the region of Valparaíso, which belonged to the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya but was in the bishopric of Guadalajara.³⁵

³¹ This control is evident in Parral throughout the 17th century: *Ibid.*, pp. 340-348.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340.

³³ Miguel Vallebuena, *Civitas y urbs: la conformación del mundo urbano de Durango* (Mexico: UJED / Institute of Culture of the State of Durango, 2005), p. 134. 12% of family heads in the city of Durango were dedicated to working on leather.

³⁴ Chantal Cramaussel, «Relations between Nueva Vizcaya and the province of Michoacán, Relations 100 35 (2004): 171-203.

Miguel Vallebuena, *Haciendas de Durango* (Durango: Government of Durango, 1997), p. fifteen.

We had to wait for the founding of the Nuestra Señora del Rosario royal estate, in the mid-17th century, for relations between the northwest of New Biscay and New Galicia to resume. Among the first settlers of Rosario were people who came from Guadalajara. Furthermore, this mining center, located a little further north of the Cañas River, which divided the two governorates, was in fact much closer to the Neo-Galician province of Acaponeta than to the provinces of Culiacán or Copala. For more than a century, the miners of Rosario harvested their silver in Guadalajara, where they were also supplied with quicksilver. In Rosario, Manuel Calixto Cañedo and Francisco Javier de Vizcarra (Marquis of Pánuco) made their fortune in the mid-18th century, who had many businesses in common not only in the old province of Chiametla but also in Copala, where they ordered the construction of attractive temples. The origin of their wealth, perhaps the greatest of their time in New Galicia, was mining, but they or their descendants did not settle down in the far north but rather bought large estates in the Guadalajara region; They later established important commercial houses in the capital of New Galicia where they settled. They certainly privileged trade with the northwest and, in particular, with Rosario, where they were born.

The real de Rosario fulfilled in the northwest a bit the same function as Zacatecas in the central north. Rosario was also a commercial plaza supplied by merchants from New Galicia, who rarely penetrated further afield. Due to the difficulties involved in continuing north along the coastal road interrupted by the mighty rivers that came down from the mountains, Rosario's trade did not extend beyond the provinces of Copala and Cosalá. As for the exchanges with the neighboring Tepehuana mountain range, where there were very few Spaniards and mestizos, these were very sporadic. At the end

of the 18th century, everyone had to go to Rosario to collect their money, the miners of Sinaloa. At that time, the royal treasury of Rosario maintained relations with the opulent mine royale of Guarisamey, located on the western slope of the mountain range, to which it supplied part of the mercury. The miners of this new New Vizcaya mining district also bought salt on the coast to refine the mineral, as they had done with their predecessors in New Vizcaya, since the previous century.³⁶ The growing importance of Rosario in the mining industry undoubtedly boosted trade with Guadalajara in the last decades of the colonial era. The early prosperity of the port of

³⁶ Chantal Cramaussel, "The western slope of the Sierra: the last front of colonization (1760-1830)", in *General history of the state of Durango*, ed. by Miguel ValleBueno (Durango: UJED, 2013), volume 2, pp. 200-257.

Mazatlán, in the 19th century, would also stimulate exchanges of goods with the central highlands, which could be reached in a week, and would harm merchandise traffic from Guadalajara via Rosario to the north. The capital of New Galicia was at least a month away or even more in the wet season. The royals of Cosalá and Guadalupe de los Reyes, which were booming at the end of the 18th century, a few decades later also strengthened their ties with the prosperous city of Durango, which became an important commercial center where the entire central north was supplied with manufactured products.

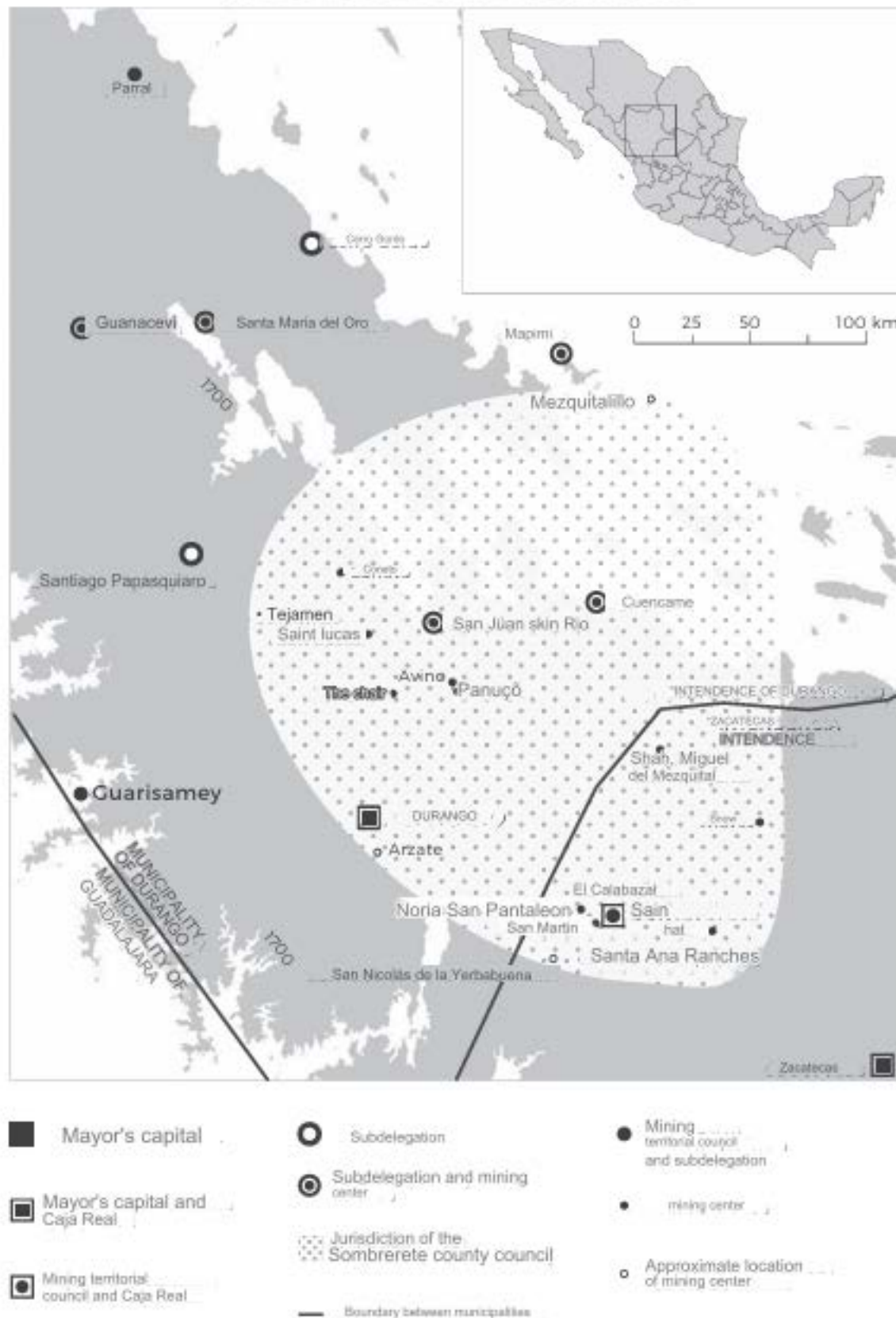
To the north of Culiacán, in the province of Sinaloa, Guadalajara merchants competed with those from Mexico and central Nueva Vizcaya who reached the coastal plain along the Topia road. As for the Jesuit missions in the far northwest, they supplied their supplies directly from Mexico and monopolized a good part of the regional trade; The goods that were destined for them stopped being transported via Guadalajara in the 18th century because the routes that passed through Durango, Parral or Chihuahua and crossed the Sierra Madre Occidental were then privileged. The main commercial circuit of the northwest therefore left out the merchants of the neo-Galician capital.³⁷ Only silver and mercury traveled along the coastal road, which hindered the wide currents of the rivers during the rainy season, as already noted.

Starting in 1786, when the territorial mining councils were founded, new jurisdictional conflicts broke out in the central highlands, between the mining centers that belonged to the municipality of Durango and the council of Sombrerete, which was in the Municipality of Zacatecas but it bordered with that of Parral and covered all the real estates of Nueva Vizcaya, located south of Mapimí (Mezquitillo, Coneto, Tejamen, San Lucas, San Juan del Río, Cuencamé, Avino, La Silla, Pánuco and Arzate). With this new mining jurisdiction, the mayor and especially the subdelegates of San Juan del Río and Cuencamé felt their power was diminished, especially in matters of land and justice³⁸ (see map 2).

37 Bernd Hausberger, *Für Gott und König. Die Mission der Jesuiten in colonialen Mexiko*, chapter 5 (Vienna: Oldenburg, 2000).

38 Chantal Cramaussel, «To get out of the state of abjection. The territorial mining councils: their emergence in the government and justice of New Spain (1786-1815)», *Forms of government in Mexico: political power and social actors through time*, coord. by Victor Gayol (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2012), pp. 223-255.

MAP 2. JURISDICTION OF THE TERRITORIAL
MINING DEPUTATION OF SOMBRERETE



In Coneto the Sombrette deputy appoints a commissioner.

Source: Chantal Cramaussel, 2009. Preparation: Ramses Lázaro.

CONCLUSION

The northern border of Nueva Galicia was formed by the governorate of Nueva Vizcaya starting in 1562. Despite this geographical contiguity, Nueva Galicia contributed little to the settlement of its northern neighbor after the 16th century. The ties between New Galicia and the far north were above all institutional as Guadalajara was the seat of the Royal Court. But in reality there were few who could go to the supreme court due to the enormous distances that separated their place of residence from the capital of New Galicia. There were only a few privileged people who managed to promote lawsuits in Guadalajara, against the decisions of the authorities of Nueva Vizcaya. However, the support of the Court in the far north was essential for the large local landowners who requested the intervention of the supreme court against the governors in power, every time the latter tried to harm them. At the end of the colonial era, it was the mining council of Sombrerete, which had jurisdiction over a good part of the mining properties of the central plateau of New Vizcaya, which repeatedly came into conflict with the authorities of the Municipality of Durango.

Although they had geographical boundaries in common, Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya did not maintain close commercial ties outside of the Rosario royal estate, founded in the mid-17th century on the west coast of the Pacific. Products that traveled further, such as wines of all kinds, fabrics, ceramics, soap, or luxury objects and iron instruments, were not manufactured in quantity in Nueva Galicia. Furthermore, almost all trade to the far north was monopolized by the merchants and transporters of Mexico City, who exchanged their goods for northern silver. They had many more products to offer than the merchants of New Galicia, who did not risk going north beyond Zacatecas or Rosario. The importance of Mexico, where the great merchants who controlled transatlantic trade resided, was certainly not comparable with that of Zacatecas or the Neo-Galician capital. Despite the smuggling, it is likely that the viceregal capital was better supplied with Asian products than Guadalajara since, unlike Acapulco, the port of San Blas was enabled very late for legal trade.

In the 18th century, Guadalajara was the only major commercial center in Nueva Galicia, but it maintained very few relations with Zacatecas and was very far from the road to Santa Fe, then the main communication route to the north. The roads that led from Guadalajara to Zacatecas through the canyons were steep and unsafe. From that last place, the travel time to Guadalajara was similar to what was needed to go to the

Mexico City, along a much flatter and more populated road. For this reason also, the central north, which at the end of the colonial era also began to receive a growing amount of manufactured products from the United States through contraband, remained separated from the west of New Spain.

Finally, the relationship between Nueva Galicia and the northeast of New Spain was almost non-existent once the Mazapil mines began to decline. The desert plateau then definitively separated that last region from Zacatecas, while Nuevo León was directly related to the viceregal capital via San Luis Potosí.

In any case, the commercial circuits between Nueva Galicia and the far north due to the extension of the territory, the slowness of transport, the lack of circulation and the absence of a regional market would not have been enough to socially link the society of New Vizcaya with the neo-Galician, which, despite being neighbors, developed independently.

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ELITE AND SOCIETY

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Thomas Hillerkuss, Autonomous University of Zacatecas

THE POPULATION OF NEW GALICIA

AND THE SURROUNDING REGIONS IN FIGURES

The dramatic reduction of the native population in Spanish America during the 16th century did not exclude Nueva Galicia and neighboring regions. Although all the figures referring to these years, reconstructed by specialists on the subject, are only approximations, the general trend is undeniable. The following table presents a summary of the data presented in various academic works, adjusted with the results of more recent research. It was not possible to include the Sierra de Nayarit, because this region remained almost unknown until the beginning of the 17th century.

TABLE 1. THE POPULATION IN NEW GALICIA,
SINALOA AND WESTERN NOVOHISPANO

REGIONS (AND THEIR JURISDICTIONS)	PREHISPANIC	1540-50	1570	1600
Guadalajara (Guadalajara, San Cristóbal de la Barranca, Tala, Tequila, Tlajomulco, Tonalá)				
Indians	51 000	27 100	21 600	7 000
Others		750	1 200	2 650
The south (Guachinango, Purificación)				
Indians	150 000	31 000	11 600	3 600
Others		600	300	900
Compostela (Acaponeta, Ahuacatlán and Xala, Compostela, Oxtotitlac, Hostotipaquillo, Sentispac, Tequepespan)				
Indians	220 000	72 000	4 800	1 800
Others		770	550	1 300
Los Altos and the canyons (Aguascalientes, Cuquío, La Barca, Juchipila, Lagos, Tepetitlán, Tlaltenango)				
Indians	200 000	53 300	30 000	14 000
Others		70	400	1 700
The mining strip between Zacatecas and San Martín (Fresnillo, Jerez, Sombrerete, Zacatecas)				

PART THREE: A SLOW CONSTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM (1570-1598)

REGIONS (AND THEIR JURISDICTIONS)	PREHISPANIC	1560-50	1570	1600
Indians	53 500	51 800**	24 800***	8 500
Others		1 200	1 850	7 500
The extreme north (Charcas, Mazapil, Nieves)				
Indians	30 000	25 000	17 000**	7 000*
Others			30	1 000
Sum for New Galicia				
Indians	704 500	260 200	154 700	60 800
Others		3 390	4 330	15 050
Sinaloa (without Sonora)				
Indians	400 000	200 000	2	100 000****
Others		300	1	600
The extreme west of New Spain (Amula, Autlán, Colima, Etzatlán, province of Ávalos, Molmes, Tuxpan)				
Indians	500 000	128 000	56 000	30 000
Others		430	1	2 500
Total sum for the west of New Spain				
Indians	1 604 500	588 200	2	190 800
Others		4 120	2	18 150

* Very unstable population. A significant number of people did not have neighbors because they were soldiers, domestic staff, street traders, muleteers and their people, gambusinos who followed the booms, lazy people and people who lived poorly. It includes Indians who lived outside the reach of the authorities. *** It contains more than a thousand Indians brought from the south and who lived in Zacatecas.

**** It circumscribes the Chichimecas who lived as nomads and all those Indians brought from the center of the viceroyalty, Michoacán and from the center and south of Nueva Galicia to work in the mines of the region. ***** Most of these Indians lived in the extreme north of the province or in the mountains, and therefore were out of reach of the Spanish. Sources: Thomas Calvo, <Guadalajara, capitale provinciale de l'Occident mexicain au XVII^e siècle> (doctoral thesis, Paris, EHESS, 1987), pp. 416-458; Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays on Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1977), vol. 1 p. 300; Peter Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519-1821* (Mexico: UNAM, 1986), pp. 46-48, 59-62, 79-84, 161-162, 198-200, 246-249 and 347-349; Peter Gerhard, *The north frontier of New Spain* (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 24, 48-51 and 56-159.

For Nueva Galicia the reduction of the native population until the year 1600 reached more than 90%. Sinaloa, for its part, lost 75%; the extreme west of New Spain, more than 94%. As responsible incidents we must mention the conquests and their direct ravages from 1522 (Colima) and 1530 (Nueva Galicia and Sinaloa); the fact that many natives of the region of Tonalá, Ahuacatlán, Ameca, Etzatlán, province of Ávalos and the Tepic valley were forced to accompany Guzmán as tamemes during his advance to Acaponeta, Chiametla and Sinaloa, an incursion that for very few had return. Others fled in fear to the mountains, leaving their crops, which caused

serious famines. Ancestral economic networks collapsed throughout New Galicia; Only part of the jurisdictions of Autlán, Tuxpan and Ávalos, all in neighboring New Spain, could be saved until the end of the century.

In half a century, important transformations were recorded in the productive landscape of western New Spain. Mutines, for example, a region of important gold deposits in the 1540s, was almost depopulated, as was Xilotlán. In Colima, cocoa orchards tended by black slaves expanded; the highlands of Tuxpan and Ávalos and large extensions of their basins fell into the hands of the Spanish, who in some areas installed complex irrigation systems; Amula, Autlán and Etzatlán became livestock production areas and in Autlán and the hot lands of Amula sugar cane was also planted, plus mining activity in the surroundings of Etzatlán. In the Altos, extensive livestock farming dominated, but soon a strip of grain planting was formed on the banks of the Rio Grande de Santiago and its tributaries and, towards the end of the century, also in the surroundings of the town of Santa María de los Lagos and some towns on the way to Guadalajara. The surroundings of this city, especially those located towards Tala, were the granary of the New Kingdom. In the canyons there were mixed agricultural businesses, but not yet farms. The coastal area of Purificación was depopulated; The Tepic valley, in full decline from 1560, when the seats of the bishopric and the Court of Compostela moved to Guadalajara, was characterized by cocoa orchards, sugar cane fields, corn planting and livestock. In Sinaloa there was almost self-subsistence, especially from the 1550s onwards, when the mountain Indians permanently attacked the route through Chiametla and made it impassable. And in the north of Nueva Galicia, already

¹ To understand the indigenous demographic decline, you can also see, in this work, the chapter "A conquest by blood and fire (1529-1536)", by Aristarco Regalado Pinedo.

² Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain*, pp. 83-84 and 200-201; José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, merchants and muleteers in Colima of New Spain (1523-1600)*, series *Rescoldero de chimera* 2 (Colima: Historical Archive of the Municipality of Colima / University of Colima / El Colegio de Michoacán), 2008, pp. 177-186.

³ Romero de Solís, *Clérigos, encomenderos, mercaderes*, pp. 192-219.

⁴ Rodolfo Fernández, *Latifundios and dominant groups in the history of the province de Ávalos*, *Scientific Collection* 292 (Mexico: INAH, 1994), pp. 43-64; Thomas Hillerkuss, *Documentary of southern Jalisco (16th century)* (Zapopan: El Colegio de México / INAH, 1994), pp. 153-197.

Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain*, pp. 47, 62 and 161-162. 5

With the mines in full swing, the great cattle lords appeared who, like Diego de Ibarra in his ranches in Trujillo (Fresnillo), in some cases also planted wheat.⁶

With the discovery of the Zacatecas mines in 1546, within a few years a large part of the economic activities and the majority of the non-indigenous population (Spanish, Creoles, mestizos, blacks, mulattoes) were transferred to this mineral and its district; With this in 1600 more than half of the non-Indians were concentrated in Zacatecas, Pánuco, Fresnillo, San Martín, mines of Sombrerete and the town of Llerena, Chalchihuites, Río Grande, Nieves and Mazapil. At this time, the Chichimecas, already dramatically decimated due to the war that lasted more than 40 years and the epidemics, had been almost eradicated, enslaved for the hardest work in mining or sold to Mexico City; a few settled in towns both in New Galicia and in neighboring New Spain (San Luis Potosí); The rest had migrated to the north of the jurisdiction of San Luis Potosí, to the extreme north of Mazapil or to the southeast of Nueva Vizcaya, where for a few decades they managed to survive following their ancestral cultural patterns.

THE FORMATION OF NEOGALLEGAS SOCIETIES DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY: GUADALAJARA AND ITS REGION

The city of Guadalajara in 1605, more than 60 years after its founding in the Atemajac valley, had not managed to take flight to become a true metropolis, despite the fact that it was the capital of the New Kingdom of Galicia, seat of its Audiencia, of a Royal Box and of the bishop, home of numerous descendants of the most famous conquerors of the New Spain west, redistribution center of a vast region for all the merchandise brought from Mexico City, in addition to its pleasant temple and the excellent conditions for agricultural companies in its surroundings.

Bishop Don Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Creole by birth and a keen observer, expressed himself bluntly:

The city of Guadalajara, as the head and center that is of all of it, and just as all the lines of the circle come from the center to its circumference, so will they come from this

⁶ Public Library of the State of Jalisco, Archive of the Royal Court, file 1, no. 11, The Indians of Nochistlán against Antonio de Medina, mayor of Juchipila, 1580, ff. 7-11, 177-19.

city all the lines and roads that guide the entire circumference of the Kingdom [...] It is this city of Spaniards [...] This city has come to decline in what is the quality of its main neighbors, although it has some because its first The settlers had Indian encomiendas, and mines in which they lived opulently and honestly, and since both were lacking due to the death of the Indians, and due to lack of metals, these main families came to an end, and their descendants went to other parts [...] The streets are wide and straight, all on one level, there are eleven that run from north to south, and ten from east to west. The houses are all made of adobe [...] They are all low, on the first floor, without having any heights [...] There are one hundred and eighty neighbors' houses [...] There are real houses, also made of adobe, of high and low [...] It also has town hall houses, made of adobe, low [...] The cathedral church in which the divine services are now celebrated is made of adobe, humble, narrow and ruined [...] Today it has one hundred and seventy-three neighbors who live continuously in it, almost the most men of the plaza and courtly habit, there are among women, sons and daughters of these neighbors more than five hundred Spanish people. Those who serve are mulattoes and black slaves, of which today there are more than five hundred, without other free men of this lineage who also serve. Generally there is no Spanish man in this land, no matter how miserable he may be, who serves another in the city in no trade, and those who serve are outside of it, in mines, in cattle ranches, in wheat work, in sugar mills, some earn fixed salaries, others earn part of the fruits in whose administration they are involved, and all serve badly and unfaithfully [...] There are three neighbors in this city with the name of being rich, each one's wealth reaches one hundred thousand pesos, the rest, not including merchants, are poor, and in this land the person who is called poor is called poor. It doesn't have more than two thousand pesos. There are twenty-two merchants at present, who have public clothing and merchandise stores, from Spain, China and the land, and they do their jobs in Mexico City for their reasons, and none of these deal in Castile. The wealth of these merchants is four thousand, six, ten, fifteen and twenty thousand pesos. Without these there are other pedestrians other than gypsies, who here are called peddlers, these bring trunks of small merchandise of little value, which they run throughout the kingdom selling them. ⁸

These complaints were not new. Already in 1588, two judges of the Audiencia in Guadalajara left the following description:

⁷ But the construction of the new one, the current one, was already about to be finished, which is a majestic building.

⁸ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, «Geographical description of the Kingdoms of Galicia, Vizcaya and León, in *Anales del INAH* 16 (1964): 293-295.

This city, being one of the main towns in the kingdom, is so small that there are not a hundred residents in it, there has not been any wealth left that has not gone to Mexico to pursue trades. Even the mayors and councilors, none left, and the secretary and chancellor of this Audience [...] because if the few people who attend it are the poorest there are in all the Indies, conquerors, and their sons and sons-in-law and residents. And that if they assist, it is because they are provided for in this kingdom in the offices that there are for them, and they have no other entertainment or order to support themselves, and they and their families [...] this audience and city must be in everything time alone and without people. ⁹

The decline and poverty were such that in 1593, when a new governor and president for its Audiencia was being sought, Dr. Santiago de Vera, former prosecutor and judge of the Audiencia of Mexico and president of the Audiencia of Manila, was appointed, despite the fact that he was who was a descendant of reconciled Jews on his paternal and maternal side.¹⁰ Once installed in office, his partial performance and nepotism did not matter to the Crown either," because there was no one who wanted to take up his office in this remote and "unfortunate" province.

There is truth in all that, but also one or another myth. It is clear that Guadalajara was far from being a miserable city, as some complained, because of the 11.1 million silver marks that were decimated and quintated in the New Kingdom between 1591 and 1600, 2.1 belonged to the Caja de Guadalajara. , despite the fact that the real estate from which they brought the raw silver were not the most prolific in the kingdom.¹² This not inconsiderable amount meant reinvestments, purchase of equipment and provisions to continue with the exploitation, acquisition of luxury items, goods real estate in the city or ranches and stables on its outskirts. It must also be taken into account that this and other taxes and

⁹ José Enciso Contreras, *Epistolario de Zacatecas, 1549-1599*, Elías Amador series 1 (Zacatecas: Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas, 1996), pp. 401-402.

¹⁰ Claudio Miralles de Imperial y Gómez, «Santiago de Vera from Madrid, sixth governor of the Philippine Islands», *Magazine of Archives, Libraries and Museums*, 4th period, year 6, volume 56, no. 3 (1950): 564-566 and 569.

¹¹ Juan B. Iguíniz, "Accusation against Dr. Don Santiago de Vera, president of the Royal Court of Guadalajara, sent to King Felipe II by Jerónimo Conde, mayor and perpetual alderman of Guadalajara", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 4 (1971): 187-213.

¹² Jaime Lacueva Muñoz, *The silver of the king and his vassals. Mining and metallurgy in Mexico (16th and 17th centuries)* (Seville: Higher Council of Scientific Research / School of Hispanic-American Studies / University of Seville / Diputación de Sevilla, 2010), pp. 388-389 and 393.

Income from both the Crown and the municipality and the bishopric was used to pay the salaries of officials and clerics who lived in the city or was invested in public works, temples and convents, which provided employment to many people. That is to say, commerce, busy markets, production in the most varied artisan workshops and constant economic activity in general existed, just not on a scale such as in Mexico City, the great center of consumption and redistribution of the viceroyalty; or like in Zacatecas, which had an insatiable demand.

Rather, the problem of 16th century Guadalajara lay in its status as a capital and the accumulation of government institutions of more or less the same level, which, unlike Mexico City, were not controlled by a command, supreme, the viceroy, nor visited and thus supervised - during the 16th century like those of the capital of New Spain or the Caja Real of Zacatecas. The latter was a policy of *laissez faire* or disinterest on the part of the Crown, which had fatal consequences, because the incessant social, political and economic ambitions of some of its most prominent inhabitants and the no less important desires of several officials were freely developed. In this way, former conquerors and settlers and their descendants, whose renown was based on their services for the king's causes and sometimes on their wealth, attempted to dominate the local Cabildo. But in Guadalajara the Royal Court had been based since 1560, whose judges and their entourages, including their blood and political relatives, constantly intervened in the Cabildo, promoting alliances and counter-alliances.¹³ Something similar happened with the officers or main officials of the Caja Real, who had the right to be part of the Chapter, with voice and vote.¹⁴ At the same time there was the Ecclesiastical Chapter of the bishopric, whose members were both clerics sent from Spain, New Spain and Michoacán as one or another originating from the New Kingdom; This Chapter was a first-level political actor, especially during the long years in which the episcopal chair was vacant (a total of 13 years between 1560 and 1600).¹⁵ The four religious orders of the city had a special impact: Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits; Nor should we forget the commissioners of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, who could be accessed

¹³ Thomas Calvo, *Power, religion and society in Guadalajara of the 17th century* (Mexico: Cemca / Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), p. 57.

¹⁴ See Minutes of Councils of the City of Guadalaxara. Volume one: 1607-1635, History Series 12 (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara/ INAH/ IJAH, 1970); and Minutes of Councils of the City of Guadalaxara. Second volume: 1636-1668 (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1984).

¹⁵ See the chapter "In the service of the king and god: institutionalization in the 16th century."

to put any adversary in trouble just by presenting some rumors as an accusation.¹⁶ And, finally, there were some rich and influential residents, who had their main neighborhood in the surrounding New Spain jurisdictions of Ávalos, Etzatlán, Autlán and Colima or in Mexico City, who came and left as they saw fit.¹⁷

From 1560 onwards, the city and its society never enjoyed a prolonged phase of a sustained socio-economic boom to form a social stratum that pushed the entire group, just as the ancient families and the rich and influential merchants of the city had achieved: capital of the viceroyalty; the merchants and artisans of Puebla de los Ángeles; the workers of Texcoco; the large miners of Taxco, Zacatecas, Guanajuato and Pachuca; or the landowners, farmers and ranchers, merchants and muleteers of San Miguel (el Grande), Querétaro, León and Santa María de los Lagos. Guadalajara did not have the necessary stability.

Cristóbal de Oñate, who for 15 years had done so much for New Galicia, turned his back on Guadalajara and went to Mexico, he and his descendants decided to settle there or in Zacatecas/Pánuco.¹⁸ The family of his nephew Juan de

16 The extent of this practice of gossiping is evident in numerous files from the 16th century, which are deposited in the General Archive of the Nation (AGN), Inquisition branch, vol. 4, exp. 5, 1563; vol. 4, exp. 10 and Tobis, 1564; vol. 5, exp. 3, 1564; vol. 7, exp. 9, 1567-1572; vol. 19, exp. 6 and 11, 1567; vol. 20, exp. 5, 1568; vol. 21, exp. 4 and 5, 1569; vol. 43, exp. 26, 1564; vol. 45, exp. 1, 1570; vol. 45, exp. 3, 1569; vol. 45, exp. 8, 1571; vol. 46, exp. 1, 1572; vol. 70, exp. 2, 1571; vol. 74, exp. 9, 21 and 22, 1572; vol. 75, exp. 13, 26, 30, 31, 35 U 44, 1572; 1573, vol. 76, exp. 5, 14 and 28, 1573; vol. 89, exp. 27, 1580; vol. 90, exp. 30, 1582; vol. 90, exp. 33, 1581; vol. 109, exp. 4 and 5, 1570; vol. 110, exp. 6 and 8, 1570; vol. 115, exp. 5 and 11, 1572; vol. 124, exp. 4, 1589; vol. 125, exp. 28, 1581; vol. 125, exp. 84, 1583; vol. 129, exp. 3, 1580; vol. 130, exp. 14, 1589; vol. 139, exp. 25, 1586; vol. 152, exp. 1, 1594; vol. 160, exp. 5 and 7, 1597; vol. 161, exp. 11, 1597; vol. 188, exp. 2, 1597; vol. 188, exp. 8, 1598; vol. 209, exps. 5 and 10, 1597; Y vol. 214, exp. 9, 1592.

17 Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *The Primigenia Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia, 1548-1572: response to Juan de Ovando's questionnaire by the oidor Miguel Contreras y Guevara* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Cultural Ignacio Dávila Garibí/National Chamber of Commerce of Guadalajara, 1994), pp. 55 and 116; Thomas Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary of the New Spanish West: 16th Century*, vol. 1, A-C (Zacatecas: UAZ, 1997-2011), p. 75; Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, D-G, p. 123.

18 Thomas Hillerkuss, «Knowing how to take advantage of realities and searching for cimeras: Cristóbal de Oñate in contrast to the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to Tierra Nueva», in *The latest word from 1540. People, places, and portrayals of the Coronado expedition*, ed. by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Albuquerque: New Mexico Press, 2010), pp. 92-96.

Zaldívar Oñate, one of the richest and most influential in Guadalajara, with the death of the patriarch and the marriage of one of his daughters to an *oidor*, who shortly after was transferred to the Court of Mexico, almost entirely accompanied this official to the Mexico City, until at the beginning of the 17th century, the last relative changed his neighborhood to Zacatecas.¹⁹ Pedro de Ledesma, one of the oldest and most prestigious settlers of the fourth and last Guadalajara in the Atemajac valley, had to face the Inquisition several times, because he suffered accusations that turned out to be slander, which is why, upon his death, his family and descendants changed their residence to Colima;²⁰ and Luis Moreno de Monroy, who married in Guadalajara and was one of the most active and successful men at the end of the 16th century and during the first decades of the next, soon sought opportunities in other parts of the viceroyalty.²¹ But there were even more serious cases: Don Cristóbal de Ayala Benavides, who by marriage was associated with the old Ojeda family, through a murky process and false accusations, suffered exile from the kingdom;²² Don Fray Pedro de Ayala, the second bishop of the order of San Agustín, after several incidents with neighbors and authorities of Guadalajara and because "he was more in following his passions against the Royal Court and *oidores*",²³ prevented the Augustinians from installing a house

¹⁹ Thomas Hillerkuss, "The Zaldívar family and their kinship network during the 16th and 17th centuries," *Revista del Seminario de Historia Mexicana* 6, no. 4 (2006): 23-29.

²⁰ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 4, exp. 8, Information against Pedro de Ledesma, neighbor of Guadalajara, for heretical propositions, Guadalajara, 1564; vol. 5, exp. 3, Information and evidence in favor and credit of Pedro de Ledesma, tried and sentenced for certain swear words in offense of God, for the appeal he filed in his case, Guadalajara, 1564; vol. 43, exp. 26, Juan de Arana, on behalf of Diego de Belmar, asks in the trial against Pedro de Ledesma that the witnesses testify in Mexico, Guadalajara, 1564; Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, J-L, pp. 208-210.

²¹ Guillermo S. Fernández de Recas, *Mayorazgos de la Nueva España* (Mexico: UNAM/National Library of Mexico-Mexican Bibliographic Institute, 1982), pp. 117-119 and 122; Jorge Palomino y Cañedo, *The protocols of Rodrigo Hernández Cordero, 1585-1591: public notary of Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Banco Industrial de Jalisco, 1972), p. 213; José F. de la Peña, *Oligarchy and property in New Spain (1550-1624)* (Mexico: FCE, 1983), pp. 118-119; Juan Carlos Ruiz Guadalajara, *Dolores before independence* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Colegio de San Luis/CIESAS, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 186-187.

²² Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, A-C, pp. 134-135.

²³ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, p. 94; José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Notes for the history of the Church in Guadalajara, first volume* (Mexico: Culture, 1957), pp. 561-569.

in the city;²⁴ the lawyer Francisco Gómez de Mendiola, the third bishop who had never been very friendly to the Franciscans, let them investigate his entire bishopric, based on false and half-baked accusations;²⁵ and, finally, in 1583 in the Inside the cathedral church, with the scandal of the witnesses present, two canons came to blows. ²⁶

As Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar mentioned, most of the men and women with large fortunes were gone. There were so few notable residents left who were not employed by the Audiencia, the Royal Treasury or the Church, that it was sometimes impossible to fill all the positions that were filled by election or purchase in the Cabildo, especially because some, unlike others, places in colonial America, they considered them despicable occupations.

²⁷ Guadalajara was in danger of becoming an exclusive center for administration and, to a lesser extent, for regional redistribution. It seemed that it was not a city to make great fortunes in, like those promised in the mines of the north and those accumulated, little by little, by some large landowners on the outskirts of the urban area, where in the first decades of the century. In the 17th century, the first buildings of sumptuous country estates were built.

Despite these setbacks, a few amassed important fortunes, without being men of power, because they knew how to navigate these difficult conditions: Juan González de Apodaca managed to become rich as a notary, only his descendants did not know how to manage this patrimony; ²⁸ Diego de Porres, a very late settler, strategically married three times and who arranged well-planned marriages for his numerous children, linked up both inside and outside the city; His second connection stood out, with which he achieved a political relationship with the powerful president, Dr. Santiago de Vera, who allowed him such lucrative businesses that he was able to found an opulent estate for one of his daughters. ²⁹ That is to say, important flows existed, but neither in the 16th century nor

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 547-550.

²⁵ General Archive of the Indies (AGI), Guadalajara 55, Proof that goes to the Catholic Royal Majesty, the King, Don Felipe, Our Lord, in His Royal Council of the Indies. Made in the New Kingdom of Galicia, 1575; Thomas Hillerkuss, "The Franciscans of the province of Ávalos and their visitor and commission judge Antonio de Adrada: a sad comedy in three acts", in *Memory of the Tepetzotlán Colloquium and the New Spain* (Mexico: INAH / National Museum of the Viceroyalty, 1994), pp. 11-32.

²⁶ Dávila Garibi, Notes for history, pp. 698-701.

²⁷ Calvo, Power, religion and society, pp. 63-64.

²⁸ Hillerkuss, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 2, D-G, pp. 288-291.

²⁹ Jaime Olveda Legaspi, «The latifundio and family connections of the Porres Baranda», *Estudios del Hombre* 6 (1997): 79-100.

Nor in the 17th century, as Thomas Calvo confirmed, 30 these gave stability to the local elite.

TOWARDS THE SOUTH

SEA The accumulation of high mountain ranges (Mascota and Talpa), mountain ranges and well-irrigated and fertile intramountain valleys (Amatlán, Guachinango, Atenguillo, Purificación and Mazatlán) and the long coastal area with its foothills between the port of Christmas, Easter and Cabo Corrientes was the first region of New Galicia that in 1524 suffered the ravages of violent methods of conquest, when Francisco Cortés traveled through the territory from Colima on his expedition to the mouth of the Rio Grande de Santiago. During the coming years and until the end of the century, despite the founding of the town of Purificación in February 1533 as a barrier against new advances from Colima, the region and its neighbors maintained close relations with the neighboring towns and jurisdictions of the Nueva Spain. Several who lived in the town maintained a double neighborhood in Autlán or Colima; others who owned ranches in the Purificación valley and its surroundings managed others in the districts of Autlán, Ayutla, Tenamaxtlán and Ameca; and the port of La Navidad and its shipyards, during its boom time in the 1930s and 1940s, had both Indian servicemen from the local jurisdiction and carpenters and tamemes from Mazamitla (Tuxpan) and Amula. In the real of Guachinango, for its part, at least in 1550, not all the people with mines and mills lived there but rather lived in Mexico City, Guadalajara, Ameca, Autlán, Ávalos, Villa de la Purificación and Compostela. 32

The small society of the town of Purificación, since its foundation, was dominated by conquerors from Tenochtitlan or from the west of New Spain.

30 Calvo, *Power, religion and society*, pp. 267-300.

31 See in this work, written by Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, "The preamble of the conquest (1524-1529)".

32 Jesús Amaya Topete, *Bioteca de occidente: lives, conquests, foundations, towns in the west of Mexico* (Mexico: Lumen, 1951); Jesús Amaya Topete, *The conquerors Fernández de Hajar and Bracamonte* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1952); Jesús Amaya Topete, *Ameca: Mexican proto-foundation* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1983); Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*; Hillerkuss, *Documentalia del sur de Jalisco*, pp. 111-115; Francisco Icaza, *Autobiographical Dictionary of Conquerors and Settlers of New Spain* (Guadalajara: Edmundo Aviña Levy, 1969), vol. 1, no. 389; Cf. Salvador Álvarez, "The first regionalization (1530-1570)", chapter 5 of this work.

-especially by some who arrived with Guzmán and by very early. They preferably chose their partners to marry among the descendants of his companions or of characters with the same status. Juan Fernández de Híjar, the most powerful character in Purificación, was a man very meritorious, descendant through the direct paternal line, but not legal, of the house of the kings of Aragon; conquistador on the Grijalva River, Campeche, Yucatán and Zapotecs; peacemaker in Michoacán, Riots and Colima; captain during conquest of New Galicia; Guzmán's charge for the founding of the town; peacemaker of the jurisdictions of Purificación, Pascua, Autlán and Milpa; discoverer of the port of La Navidad; and finally, lieutenant governor and peacemaker during the Mixtón war, when he successfully commanded a small army during several battles around Purificación; and in 1544, as captain, during an attack against the Tecoces Indians and other natives of the Nayarit mountains. At this time, his house in the village was more main. Ten years later it was under the command of the mayor mayor oidor Ocegüera to quell an Indian uprising in Jocotlán. from this one on At that time he concentrated first on his businesses, which included a significant number of rooms in the surroundings of the town, by the Guachi mines Nango and in the neighboring jurisdictions of New Spain; in the monopoly of fishing for tuna between the town of Pascua and Punta de Frailes (Tuito), on the coast from Pacific; and in its mines and mill in Guachinango and in its encomiendas in the jurisdictions of Guachinango and Purificación. He sent his sons to Europe equipped with a good stipend, a decision that in its radical nature was exceptional, and married his daughters to important men in the region; of this thereby increased their wealth, social status, influence and local power.

33 According to sources that are not absolutely reliable, this soldier, 25 soldiers and a group of allied Indians founded the town. Despite certain setbacks, by 1554 between 20 and 25 neighbors were already registered, that is, families and houses with all their members, including service people and slaves of Indian and black or mulatto blood; This number was reduced in 1570 to ten and in 1583 to thirteen (plus others who lived in their rooms), 34 to recover until 1621 to twenty. At this time they were "very poor people [...] because the Spaniards of this jurisdiction have some ranches of mares that they have left, because

33 Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, D-G, pp. 122-124.

34 Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, *The foundation of the Villa de la Purificación* (Purificación, Jalisco: Government of Jalisco/Secretaría de Cultura / Ayuntamiento de Purificación, 2008), p. 157; René Acuña, ed., *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia* (Mexico: UNAM, 1988), p. 208.

all the cattle have been raised through the thickets and undergrowth [...] in what were flat and very good ranches. 35

The remote location, the lack of markets for local production, the decline of the mines and the almost unbearable heat led to this setback. There was also not much indigenous labor left, which was the cheapest, and thus, in 1585,

In the towns that have remained, there are so few that, in the town with the most Indians left, there are not even forty Indians and, today, it goes down from there; and that there is no town formed, but hidden among the grasslands, that the houses do not look alike; and that they are poor and very lazy people, and most of the time, because they don't work, they live on fruits, especially bananas, which they make bread from. And they are fickle people in their dealings and contracts, and of little talent, 36

In addition to the fact that "when the waters come out, as there are many in this province, there are many diseases of fever and swelling of the belly, from which many people die, and that in the past wheat and barley were harvested in this province, and that, at present, Because there are no natives and people, it is not planted." 37

In Guachinango and its mines the rich veins had also run out, "and the population of the mines that are called that will be 10 or 12 Spaniards, and from the mines no significant silver is extracted, but masters for the mines of Oxtoticpac and other parts [...] this jurisdiction does not have anything of more consideration than the magistral, although it has some corn work and cattle ranches, which are all very short, and the people who live there are very poor. 38 For the conquerors and "lords of mines, land and livestock", who only wanted to deal with the service of arms and the administration of their properties, there was hardly any memory of better times. Their encomienda Indians had also almost completely disappeared and the lush undergrowth and forests, little by little and without encountering resistance, put a veil over the vestiges of yesteryear.

³⁵ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1946), p. 75-

³⁶ Library of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid, 9.25-4/4662-VI, The Villa de la Purificación, List and memorial that His Majesty ordered to be made of the Villa de la Purificación and its province. Year of 1585 years, f. 1.

³⁷ Ibid., f.

³⁸ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, pp. 74-75-

COMPOSTELA AND ITS AREA OF INFLUENCE

In 1621, the clergyman Domingo Lázaro de Arregui described his homeland, which had once been the heart of Nueva Galicia, in the following terms:

This province is called Compostela, from the said city, so it is its head, because it was the capital of this kingdom called New Galicia and the Royal Court first had its seat there, and it was there for a long time, and it was inhabited and populated by many very noble people, of the conquerors and settlers of this kingdom, whose bodies lie in a poor church in this city, and with whose deaths and removal of the Royal Court this population has almost ended, leaving only its former nobility alone two houses of those gentlemen who populated it in the beginning, and another 9 or 10 of neighbors, poor people. And of these, some have small fields of wheat and corn, and others have trains with which they carry salt from the province of Chiametla to the mines and other parts, others have cattle and mule breeding; but everything is little and short. 39

If in what was the capital and its surroundings everything already seemed sad, towards the coast the situation was even worse.

In the southern part, somewhat to the southwest of this city, behind a large mountain range, is the Banderas Valley [...] and the ruins that appear today, and the names of the towns that we have memory of, are not known. can deny the great copy of Indians that this valley had [...] there are not 30 Indians today in this entire valley. And these are sustained almost all year round by seafood and bananas [...] There are on both sides of the said river fields or cocoa orchards [...] There are in the valley some ranches with cows and baby mules of The residents of Compostela, everything is little, and the cattle are raised by the many mountains that have been raised for a few years here.⁴⁰

the town of for planting,
they were not in comfortable
conditions either. The lack
of reasonable and natural
people, the little commerce

39 Ibid., p. 87.

40 Ibid., pp. 88-89.

41 Thomas Calvo et al., *Xalisco, the voice of a people in the 16th century* (Mexico: CIESAS / Cemca, 1993), pp. 80-93.

42 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 93.

(much of what was sent to Sinaloa and Chiametla crossed the Sierra Madre Occidental from Nueva Vizcaya) and the disinterest of civil and ecclesiastical officials in Guadalajara condemned Compostela and its jurisdiction to misery and oblivion.

Some more activities were recorded in the mountains around Ahuacatlán, a fertile valley with some Spanish houses and several Indian towns. During the second half of the 16th century, towards Oxtoticpac (Los Reyes, La Resurrección and San Sebastián) and Hostotipaquillo (Xocotlán), small centers of silver extraction attracted miners and fortune seekers from many places, including some that had previously been in Zacatecas. But ultimately its rise was short-lived; They had their prosperity in the fifties and sixties, then they also experienced decline, especially in Jocotlán. Furthermore, all those who lived in these parts looked preferentially towards Guadalajara and turned their backs on Compostela.⁴³

The vast northernmost area of Tepic, which corresponded to the jurisdictions of Sentispac and Acaponeta, was characterized by an unhealthy climate, thick and impenetrable vegetation, dangerous and annoying natural fauna for any human, and endless flooding. The constant attacks by the mountain Indians, at least during the 16th century, prevented an orderly and sustainable occupation by the Spanish. They could barely maintain some ranches where they practiced extensive livestock farming; "The very small mine estates, nestled in the lower parts of the Sierra Madre Occidental and its deep ravines, were hardly able to survive."

SINALOA

Until the last decade of the 16th century, despite the efforts to peacefully attract the Indians of the mountains, they, after bad experiences with the conquistadors and seeing the terrible treatment that the Spaniards gave them,

⁴³ Thomas Calvo, "Letters to the King from Mr. Paz de Vallecillo," in *Societies under construction. New Galicia according to the visits of listeners (1606-1616)*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Berthe, Thomas Calvo and Águeda Jiménez Pelayo (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara/Cemca, 2000), pp. 59-64; Thomas Calvo, "Relation of the visit of Mr. Juan de Paz Vallecillo", in *Societies under construction*, pp. 88-92; Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 24, 48-51 and 56-159; Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, A-C, pp. 75 and 206; *ibid.*, vol. 2, D-G, p. 138; Palomino and Cañedo, *The protocols of Rodrigo Hernández Cordero*, pp. 67-69, 84-103, 134-137 and 149.

⁴⁴ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 56-59 y 124-127.

to the natives of the coastal towns, they continued to refuse. Nor did the calls of the Franciscan missionaries find an echo, but two of them were sacrificed during an uprising in 1568, which forced the members of this order to reduce their activities to the town of San Miguel de Culiacán and its surroundings.

This decision did not please the local vicar and everything led to a violent conflict with the friars.⁴⁵ Finally, in 1591, the first Jesuit fathers arrived, and through a strategy agreed upon with other Jesuits from the town of Guadiana, they entered the northernmost parts of the province. The impact of their activities became visible from the first years of the 17th century, when they managed to reduce numerous pagan Indians in their missions located on the banks of the Mocorito, Sinaloa, Fuerte and Mayo rivers.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the province of Sinaloa, with its administrative division, also economically and socially, experienced this process. The neighbors of the northern part, of European blood, using indigenous labor and some mulattoes brought from the south, supported themselves, first of all, through livestock and planted crops for domestic consumption. A few had investments in the Las Vírgenes real estate, the only mining center still in production in these parts; others had mines in Chiametla.

There were the minerals of San Marcial, Cacalotlán, Moloya, Plomosas, Pánuco, Materoy, San Antonio, Copala and Charcas, in addition to the salt flats of Chiametla, whose salt was used for local benefit or was taken to the mining areas of Nueva Biscay. The well-being of these Spaniards depended first of all on the ups and downs that so characterized this extractive activity. A first boom was reached during the seventies to be in full decline in the nineties; However, at the beginning of the 17th century there was an important recovery that gave new stability to the region. Many of the owners of mines and mills were single people who relied on a small number of Indians and, over time, also on blacks and mulattoes, a situation that led to a strong mix of races.

In the same real estate of Pánuco, Francisco de Ibarra, governor for life of Nueva Vizcaya, died in 1575, leaving no descendants. In this same year, it was said «Culiacán, a province that is one hundred and sixty leagues from these mines [of Zacatecas] [...] and even though it is there it is a bad land, and I certainly don't know who the man is, who wants to live in it, and so there are very few,

⁴⁵ Luis Antonio Martínez Peña, *Conquest and colonial life in the northeast of Mexico* (Culiacán: Colegio de Bachilleres del Estado de Sinaloa, 2002), pp. 71-81.

⁴⁶ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, p. 276.

or none, those who come from there rich. 47. In this way it is understandable that of all the families that settled during the 16th century in this long coastal strip, only two managed to stand out: that of Don Pedro de Tovar, who immigrated at the end of the 16th century, with part of his descendants, from Compostela to Culiacán; and that of Hernando de Trejo, whose children married members of society families from Zacatecas and Mexico City. These two patriarchs, despite the presence of Francisco de Ibarra and his officials, for several decades were the dominant and wealthiest figures in the region and occupied the most relevant local administrative positions almost without interruption. They permanently supported new immigrants, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries and merchants and shopkeepers who came to their manor. Despite everything, the society of Sinaloa and Chiametla in the 16th century maintained a very provincial character. This stagnation and lack of opportunities were the reason for many young people to leave the jurisdiction towards Guadalajara or Mexico, however, a constant although reduced flow of new settlers allowed sufficient stability to not suffer the bitter fate of the coastal region of the southern New Galicia.

BETWEEN THE HEIGHTS OF JALISCO AND THE CANYONS

Guadalajara, with its foundation in the vicinity of Nochistlán and with its third change to Tlacotlán, on the north side of the Río Grande de Santiago ravine before its definitive foundation in the Atemajac valley in 1542, by tradition, could consider the Jalisco Heights and the region of the mountains, ravines and canyons of Jalisco and Zacatecas as its hinterland or its natural zone of influence; However, during the 16th century the residents of the city acquired lands further to the south, in the Tala valley, in the jurisdiction of Etzatlán, through Ameca, and in the northern parts of the province of Ávalos; or mines in Etzatlán and in the Sierra de Nayarit.

To the north, the deep ravine in which the mighty Río Grande ran Santiago was the main obstacle; in the Altos, the chain of encomiendas and land grants of Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, on the other side of the Río Grande, and the presence of brave Guachichiles who on more than one occasion made advances towards Guadalajara, 48 functioned as barriers that stopped them for long periods of time. years the expansion from the capital towards the east, despite the fact that the settlers who finally managed to settle in this region never stopped orienting themselves towards

47 Enciso Contreras, *Epistolario de Zacatecas*, p. 146. 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78 and 137.

Guadalajara. The only area where there was a strong impact was the northern shore of Lake Chapala and the fertile lands between Juanacatlán and La Barca.⁴⁹ The few men and women who ventured to the canyons and the Altos, despite occupying very different geographical spaces, over time had in common that, after starting out as simple ranchers and farmers, they developed the culture of the ranchers and the great landowners of the west.

The weak control of this vast area during the 1530s faded with the consequences of the Battle of Mixtón. Many of the Caxcans who survived the canyons, from Nochistlán and Teocaltiche, fled to the inaccessible Sierra de Nayarit and others fell prisoner and ended up as slaves or, as a preventive measure, forced to cross the ravine and establish new towns in the Tala valley, where it was easier to control. Some of these captive Indians managed to return towards the end of the decade, only to encounter the problem that in El Teúl, Tepechitlán, Tlaltenango, Juchipila, Jalpa, Nochistlán and Teocaltiche there were already new towns and with a congregated population, dominated by ancient combatants originally from the center of New Spain, who had come with the army of Viceroy Mendoza.

Knowing the pressure that the colonizers exerted on their cornfields in their native lands, at the end of the war activities these Indian immigrants did not return to their home but rather occupied the Caxcanes' crop fields. Furthermore, the lands that they did not take over were about to fall into the hands of Spanish ranchers and farmers. To make matters worse, the entire region of conflict, between 1546 and 1548, was hit by an epidemic that cost the lives of many.⁵⁰ The new authorities, especially mayors and corregidores, in the company of fierce encomenderos, some secular clergy and the tireless Franciscans closely supervised these radical changes. They wanted the indigenous population to live in police forces and cover their tax obligations for the benefit of the Royal Treasury, a certain number of worthy individuals and the Church, in addition to being low-cost labor.

In the Altos, for their part, especially in the western part, the Tecuexes who participated in the war of 1541, who did not die during the confrontations against the army of Viceroy Mendoza (in the peñoles of Coima and Acatic), were shod as slaves and sold in Mexico City or congregated in encomienda towns of which the majority, little by little, came into the hands

⁴⁹ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, pp. 189 and 199-200.

⁵⁰ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 80, 102-103 y 148-150.

⁵¹ That they had their Indian chief or governor, elected their Cabildo every January 1 and respected Spanish laws.

by Juan de Zaldivar Oñate. This, between 1550 and 1570, managed to form a true manor of encomiendas and ranches, whose center was the town of Santa Fe.⁵²

On the contrary, the future jurisdiction of Santa María de los Lagos and the eastern part of La Barca, in the south, until well into the 17th century had few Indian towns. However, before 1550, the first ranches of larger cattle breeders appeared on the border with New Spain, among them those of Cristóbal de Oñate, Diego de Ibarra and Juan de Zaldivar Oñate, Cristóbal's nephew. A few kilometers further east, in lands that corresponded to the jurisdiction of New Spain, around these years other agribusinesses of this type were established, with owners who lived in Mexico City and who, by order of the viceroy, removed their livestock from the Mexico's valley.⁵³ With this measure Don Antonio de Mendoza wanted to avoid another uprising, which due to the still significant number of natives in the surroundings of the capital would have had a worse outcome than that which occurred in New Galicia. In this way, around 1550, in the east of New Galicia, the Indian towns of Teocaltiche (comienda of Caxcanes) and its subjects, and Jalostotitlán, barely existed, to which were added some rancherías of Tecuexes and Mexica, Tlaxcalteca, and Tarascan Indians, and otomies who were from Mendoza's army and who had chosen empty spaces as their new home.⁵⁴ There is no information of conflicts between them and the Spanish, but rather, they became allies to repel attacks by groups of Guachichiles and Guamares who, from The following year they devastated

the region. This somewhat idyllic situation changed with the rapid development of mining activity in Zacatecas and its surrounding area, which demanded supplies of all kinds, especially because until the end of the sixties, new settlers produced very little food, which is why they brought on foot (cattle) or through the Altos mules and soon also in heavy carts from other regions, first of all from Bajío (between 200 and 350 kilometers), the north of Michoacán (between 300 and 400 kilometers) and from the Heights and the canyons (between 100 and 250 kilometers). Many towns of Indians and cattle raisers and farmers of the canyons and they soon knew how to take advantage of the privileged proximity that their location gave them.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 136-137.

⁵³ Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Government and society in New Spain: second Audience and Antonio de Mendoza* (Zamora: Gobierno de Michoacán / El Colegio de Michoacán, 1991), pp. 165-166.

⁵⁴ Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions in Nueva Galicia. The mayor's office of Santa María de los Lagos, 1563-1750* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), p. 58.

At the same time, the Camino Real de la Plata was formed, between Mexico and Zacatecas, traveled by long caravans of heavy carts pulled by oxen and by the agile trains of mules that on the way were loaded with goods brought from Europe or the land, to return with silver ingots, papers from the Royal Treasury and letters from officials and individuals. There was less movement of this type on the roads between Guadalajara, the administrative center of Nueva Galicia, and Zacatecas. There were three: the one that passed through El Teúl, Tepechitlán and Tlaltenango, the longest but the safest, because for a large part of its route it was far from the Chichimecas; the second ran through the Juchipila canyon and was more rugged; and finally the third, the most exposed, crossed the Altos and merged a little further north of the future town of Aguascalientes with the Camino Real de

México. To give these travelers more security and as seeds of an occupation, the Crown, the viceroys and the two royal Courts in Mexico and Guadalajara

They also installed in New Galicia and New Spain a series of prisons (for the road to Guadalajara through the Altos: Ciénega de Portugal, 1569; for the road from Bajío and Michoacán: Comanja, 1576; for the road from Mexico: Ojuelos, 1570, Bocas de Gallardo, around 1562, Ciénega Grande, in 1564 or in 1570/71, Tepezalá, 1575, Cuicillo, around 1562, and Palmillas, by 1562; for the roads through the canyons: Tlaltenango, 1580, Colotlán, in the surroundings of the town of Santa María, around 1580 and again in 1591, and Malpaso, 1570) and founded defensive towns in strategic places (to the roads through the Altos: Santa María de los Lagos, as a town and prison, in 1563; and Aguascalientes, as a town and prison, in 1575; for the roads and cannons: Jerez, as a town and prison, in 1570),⁵⁵ in addition to granting the Spanish and mestizos numerous land grants - or turning a blind eye in cases of forcible occupation to promote cattle breeding, horse riding and goats and the planting of cereals, fruit trees and vegetables, in the first place.

Strategically and to give a stable future to the Altos, the most relevant foundation was that of the town of Santa María de los Lagos in 1563, located in a fertile valley, with a lot of water, as the name already says, and in one of the most relevant routes to supply the mines of Zacatecas, San Martín and Sombrerete. It served as an intermediate resting place on the Guadalajara-Zacatecas and eastern Bajío and Michoacán-Zacatecas routes. It soon became the nucleus to promote the permanent human and agricultural occupation of this region that until now was somewhat desolate and had never been attended to by the oi.

⁵⁵ Luis Arnal Simón, *El presidio en México en el century XVI* (Mexico: UNAM-Facultad de Arquitectura, 1995), pp. 98, 202-203 and 207.

dores of Guadalajara. By 1575 it became the seat of its own mayor, a year in which it had already acquired the status of a redistribution center for the colonists who settled in these parts. In view of the accelerated occupation of the León Valley by New Spain ranchers, Lagos functioned as a wall to stop the aspirations of the viceroys and the Court of Mexico who wanted to extend its limits, just as the origin of the town had been 30 years earlier. of Purification, in the south. That the authorities in Mexico had bad intentions in this regard had already been proven during the lawsuit between Viceroy Velasco and the Court of Guadalajara over the Comanja mines in 1561.⁵⁷

The new urban center had everything to gain. Hernán Martel, mayor of Los Llanos and Teocaltiche and in charge of the foundation, managed to bring together between 56 and 73 men, heads of families or singles, both Spanish, Creoles and mestizos. Many were originally from the region, but others came from the mines of Guanajuato and the cities of Guadalajara and Mexico, from other parts of the viceroyalty and a few directly from Spain. ⁵⁸ First they built a prison and, on the assigned lots, their private houses that seemed strong. Land was immediately distributed for orchards; The process of distributing land grants began shortly after.

During the first years, conditions were quite adverse as clashes with the Guachichiles and Guayares, to whom "war with blood and fire" was declared, continued to increase. For this reason, in 1572 there were only 20 residents left, ⁵⁹ whose number recovered to 40 in 1578,⁶⁰ to decline in 1604 to 15 or 20, but most of them were "rich people." ⁶¹ Furthermore, the last figure is somewhat misleading. Taking advantage of the pacification of Greater Chichimeca during the nineties, several families changed their residence to Jalostotitlán and its ranches, since they could now settle safely on the outskirts of the town and build, with significant investments, an infrastructure that in some cases served as the nucleus of the centers of haciendas and livestock ranches and work that for centuries would characterize the region.

⁵⁶ Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions*, p. 229 and chapter 7.

⁵⁷ Jorge Palomino y Cañedo, *On the limits between New Spain and New Galicia* (Guadalajara: author's edition, 1993).

⁵⁸ Mario Gómez Mata, *Baptisms, marriages and deaths, in the first century of Santa María de los Lagos* (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Lagos de Moreno / Casa de la Cultura/Consejo de Cronistas de los Altos de Jalisco, 2010), pp. 27-29.

⁵⁹ Gerhard, *The north frontier*, p. 107.

⁶⁰ José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization in Nueva Galicia during the 16th century* (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco/INAH/UAZ, 1993), p. 267.

⁶¹ De la Mota y Escobar, «Geographical description», p. 327.

This was confirmed by Lázaro de Arregui in the year 1621, when he described the mayor's office of Los Lagos,

which is one of the best that is provided in this kingdom, and its jurisdiction is one of the richest due to the large ranches and cattle breeding that there are throughout it and corn work, and other things like that in the countryside, in which that land to the rest of the kingdom because the fields were very long, clean and well arranged [...] it seems that its inhabitants gave to that farm, and were so good that they managed to have a large number of cattle. 62.

Regarding the town of Los Lagos, he explained that "it has more than 30 Spanish neighbors without those who live in ranches near it, and the majority are rich men with very healthy estates. It has a cleric priest, and its benefit is the largest in the kingdom due to the size of the tithes. 63

Meanwhile, through Teocaltiche and Nochistlán and in the canyons, where many of the Indian towns founded during the first years of the viceregal era managed to maintain themselves in 1604, a small number of Spaniards and mestizos had occupied many lands in the vicinity of the numerous rivers and streams. There, these settlers themselves and their laborers - or with the help of the local Indians - planted with and without irrigation a great variety of grains and fruits of the land and the Old Continent and raised cattle, mules, bu-dogs and pigs - the chicken and turkey pens belonged more to the Indians, who This is how they paid part of their tribute. This production, almost in its entirety, had their destiny in the insatiable market of Zacatecas and the other regions of the north. 64

THE MINING CORD BETWEEN ZACATECAS AND SAN MARTÍN

A little more than three and a half years after their discovery, that is, in April 1550, the mines of Zacatecas already eclipsed the capital of Compostela and the city of Guadalajara in population and economic activity. In its surroundings, another important mineral was also formed, Pánuco, and in 1554 new veins were found in San Martín - today Noria de San Pantaleón and a year later in Sombrerete. They were followed by Chalchihuites, Los Ranchos and, finally, San Demetrio, Fresnillo (1566), 65 with which it was established.

62 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 120.

63 Ibid., p. 121.

64 De la Mota y Escobar, «Geographical description», pp. 330-331.

65 Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 85 y 130-131.

a chain almost 200 kilometers long of real mines. In none of these places were there Indian towns; It was necessary to bring or captivate the labor force from other parts of the viceroyalty, first of all Tarascans from Michoacán; Mexico, Tlaxcaltecas and Otomi from central New Spain; Tecuexes of Tonalá and other Indians of the West. Characters who wanted to carry out a trade also arrived, such as bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, hat makers, coopers, silversmiths, bakers, cooks and gardeners. There were always muleteers, carters, shopkeepers, bartenders, chocolate makers, domestic staff and, surely, there were midwives, healers, tooth pullers and people with more formal knowledge of curing humans and animals. There were also those who lived badly, the lazy, highway jumpers, those who earned their living through prohibited games of chance, women who offered their services, etc. Depending on the importance of the royal estate, between one and several examined notaries and some clerks settled, the Crown sent mayors or corregidores. In Zacatecas itself were the officers and employees of the Royal Treasury and the assay house. There were always members of the secular and regular clergy who attended to the very important spiritual needs. Therefore, all these real estates were social microcosms whose stability depended on the quality of the veins, the length of time they were exploitable and the moment in which the shafts and galleries were flooded, without forgetting the impact that the constant attacks of the Chichimecas had.

In April 1550, in Zacatecas there were already 35 miners working in a total of 152 veins, the most active being Cristóbal de Oñate, who had 13 of the 54 mills (grinding, smelting and refining) and 101 of the 291 slave houses. In his shadow were Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, Cristóbal's nephew, with two mills and twelve houses; Andrés de Villanueva, Diego Hernández de Proaño, Baltasar Gallegos and his nephew Hernán Martel, Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos, Juan Díaz de Berlanga, Rodrigo Páez, Cristóbal de Argüello and Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra.⁶⁶ More than half of the extractive activities in these early years were carried out through companies, in which a rich person, usually absent because he lived in Mexico City, provided almost all the investment capital, and one or two associates contributed.

⁶⁶ AGI, Guadalajara 5, ramo 4, number 10, Zacatecas, April 19, 1550, Testimony of the mines and veins discovered in the mines of the Zacatecas of the New Kingdom of Galicia that by order of the very magnificent lord, the licentiate of the March, mayor mayor and general visitor, was ordered to be given to Bernaldo de Balbuena, notary of His Majesty of the said mines; Zacatecas, April 10, 1550, Count of mines and mills of the Zacatecas mines.

with his work and his knowledge, 67 until with the growing stability of the mines in the sixties and seventies, a rapid process of concentration of the veins in the hands of a few began, who were in charge of supervising their mines, and mills and hired butlers for this purpose.

To survive in the northern settlements and work as a miner, almost all the tools and equipment, most of the provisions, iron, clothing, draft animals, etc., had to be brought from very far away and along dangerous roads. Soon a small number of people realized how lucrative the production of food in closer places would be. The first was Cristóbal de Oñate, who convinced Diego de Ibarra, his business partner, and his nephew Juan de Zaldívar Oñate to install cattle ranches near the future town of Los Lagos. Then he asked for grants for himself for sales on the way from Mexico and financially supported Diego to accommodate the Pánuco real - the most productive mines during the first years, to share them for more than 15 years only with him. Diego de Ibarra, with capital from Cristóbal de Oñate, acquired the first oxen and carts that made the journey from Mexico, 68 which allowed him to increase the transport capacity from about five to fifteen tons per trip with a train of mules to 250 tons, and, automatically, your huge profits too.

A first crisis for Zacatecas was recorded at the end of the fifties and during the following decade. The high grade of its veins was coming to an end and, consequently, there was an exodus towards the north, mainly to San Martín and Sombrerete. However, salvation soon arrived: the benefit of low-grade metals through amalgamation, where the ground metal was mixed with mercury, an ingredient that throughout the viceregal era was managed as a monopoly of the Crown. Added to this was a large quantity of saltierra, brought from the salt flats of Santa María and Peñol Blanco, another monopoly, and masterly, a copper oxide whose deposits were located in Tepezalá. To be able to take advantage of the described process, the mills invested between ten and forty thousand pesos, which was a much higher cost than the old fire processing haciendas. The small and medium-sized miner, faced with these new circumstances and because mercury was sold at a very high price, had no choice but to emigrate to Sombrerete, San Martín or even further away, where the traditional method was used. He could also sell his metal or pay

67 Eugenio del Hoyo, *Miners' lawsuit in Zacatecas (16th century)* (unpublished manuscript, 1985), ff. 3-10V.

68 Peter Gerhard, *Synthesis and index of the viceregal commandments, 1548-1553*, *Documentary Series 21* (Mexico: UNAM-IIH, 1992), p. 250.

to one of the great lords or ladies of mines rather of benefit estates so that he could benefit. The situation was very different for rich miners or those who managed to join their family and social network. With their own or borrowed capital, they denounced mines where a promising vein was discovered. With some luck and through good administration, in a few years they could become immensely rich, like Diego de Ibarra, Cristóbal de Oñate, Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos, Juan and Vicente de Zaldívar Oñate and a few others.

After tracing the existing information, for the second half of the 16th century the names of more than 200 people were found who managed mine shafts or processing facilities in Zacatecas and its immediate surroundings. There were twenty women among them and at least one Indian. About twenty or perhaps more, before, during or after their presence in Zacatecas, exploited veins in other real estates in the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, another thirteen had mines or mining properties outside the kingdom.⁶⁹ A total of 4,370 can be described as very wealthy, 52 were moderately wealthy, and more than 100 barely survived or ended up bankrupt (figure 1).⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Despite the wealth of documents that Zacatecas has for these decades, there are still some gaps, which prevents, at least at this moment, from presenting an absolute figure.

⁷⁰ Because they are owners of facilities such as profit estates, they have normally included in this group Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, who left Zacatecas already in 1550 and later settled, with his entire family, in Guadalajara; to Don Luis de Castilla and his son Don Pedro Lorenzo de Castilla, who did not want to live in the real either, the first never came and the second only made a lightning trip in 1561 (Eugenio del Hoyo, ed., *First book of minutes of Cabildo de las Minas de los Zacatecas, 1557-1586* [Zacatecas: Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas, 1990], f. 12v); to Pedro de Páez, a great miner from Sombrerete but not in Zacatecas, and to Juan de San Pedro Ortiz y Cristóbal and Diego de Argüello, who had their own profit farm but, apparently, with an average production.

⁷¹ These calculations are based first of all on fiscal records, when the miners or their representatives delivered their silver to the Royal Treasury to tithe or quintal it and pay the right of function. AGI, Accounting 52, no. 1-3, Delivery of silver for tithing, Zacatecas, 1565, 1570, 1583 and 1597; Accounting 852B, no. 11 and 12, Delivery of silver for tithing, Zacatecas, 1595 and 1596; Accounting 852B, no. 10 and 13, Delivery of silver to quintar, Zacatecas, 1595 and 1596; Technological Institute of Higher Studies of Monterrey (ITESM), Zacatecas campus, Archive of the Caja Real de Zacatecas (ACRZ), Fifths of the silver that were paid to the Caja Real de Zacatecas, Zacatecas, 1575 and 1578-1584; Tithes of silver that were paid to the Royal Box of Zacatecas, Zacatecas, 1575, 1576, 1578, 1581-

It should be noted in this context that 75% or more of the total production of Zacatecas and Pánuco can be related to a group of close relatives (the Oñate and their large relatives), who over the years managed to strengthen themselves strategically, forming thus a complex network of interests with the other richest miners (only two of the 42 were not included in this network, because the first soon moved to San Luis Potosí and the second barely arrived in 1598). To give it more solidity and cover their backs, they skillfully extended their links to Guadalajara and Mexico, where they themselves or their closest relatives looked for a partner, established buddies, signed business companies or occupied strategic positions in the viceregal administration.⁷²

The basis of all these relationships was Cristóbal de Oñate, whose position as paterfamilias of the royal estate, upon his death in 1567, passed to his nephew Vicente de Zaldívar Oñate, who at the same time was the husband of his stepdaughter. This, until this date, during Cristóbal's long absences in Mexico City, ⁷³ in the company of Diego de Ibarra, had already taken care of the clan's matter very successfully. But by 1575, Diego retired from the scene in Zacatecas to settle permanently in the capital of New Spain.⁷⁴ He was replaced by Baltasar Temiño

1584. Also Private Archive of Pedro Escobedo Torres, Zacatecas, Zac., Manual of me, the accountant Francisco de Arbolancha, of the account that is kept with the quicksilver, that the very excellent Mr. Don Martín Enríquez, viceroy of New Spain, and officials of the Royal Treasury of Mexico, send us to supply the miners' estates. It began at the beginning of November 1000 and five hundred and seventy-three years, Zacatecas, June 14,

1575. ⁷² The reconstruction of this network was done with a large number of first-hand (documents) and second-hand (literature) sources, information that is mostly captured in Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*. See also, Del Hoyo, *Miners' lawsuit in Zacatecas*. ⁷³

Peter J. Bakewell, *Mining and society in colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Mexico: FCE, 1984), p. 25; Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *The government of Mexico City in the 16th century*, New Hispanic History Series 31 (Mexico: UNAM-IIH, 1982), p. 368; Augusto Vallejo de Villa, *Sacramental Acts of the 16th century from Mexico City*. Second book, volume 1, *De baptism of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, 1552-1563* (Mexico: Chronicle of Mexico City, 2004), 120, 121, 143, 839, 856, 974, 980, 1027 and 1186; *ibid.*, volume 2, *of baptism of the Tabernacle Metropolitan, 1564-1569*, 41, 49, 113.

⁷⁴ AGN, Indifferent 416, book 6, page 14v, San Lorenzo, July 5, 1578, Royal cedula; José Ignacio Gallegos, *History of Durango, 1563-1910* (Durango: Banamex, 1974), pp. 98-99; John L. Mechem, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (Durham: Duke University Publications, 1935), p. 239; Guillermo Porras Muñoz, "Diego de Ibarra and New Spain", *Studies in New Spain History*

de Bañuelos, son-in-law of Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, brother of Vicente and, over time, also Vicente's father-in-law, that is, a man well integrated into the family and fully trusted. Vincent died around 1594; With this, his social role was transferred to his nephew Francisco de Zaldívar Lequeitio, who a few years before had arrived from Guadalajara, where in the company of his brother Diego he had taken care of the interests of the family of the aforementioned Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, who died already in 1571.⁷⁵ Francisco continued at Baltasar's side until he died in 1600, the same year in which the long life of Diego de Ibarra ended.⁷⁶ The year of Francisco's death is unknown, however, it is known that he lived in Zacatecas in 1618,⁷⁷ when the new paterfamilias, the field master Vicente de Zaldívar y Mendoza, son of Vicente, the elder, had returned from his long absences in New Mexico and Spain to calmly take the reins and head the large family and its existing social network (figure 2).⁷⁸

Outside of Zacatecas, for more than 20 years Juan de Zaldívar Oñate ensured that his Zacatecan relatives remained on good terms with the judges of the Court of Nueva Galicia; That is why he ventured only sporadically into Zacatecas and preferred to live in Guadalajara, where he promoted the interests of his relatives and took care of their important *encomiendas* and large tracts of land for raising livestock in the vicinity of the city.⁷⁹ Upon his death, for a short time there was a void, until Dr. Diego appeared on the scene

2 (1968): 20.

⁷⁵ AGI, Guadalajara 55, Guadalajara, December 23, 1572, Letter from the bishop of Guadalajara to the king; Historical Archive of the State of Zacatecas, Second book of minutes of the Cabildo of the city of Zacatecas, 1587-1614, ff. 177rv, 198, 199-200v, 219v, 241v; Palomino and Cañedo, The protocols of Rodrigo Hernández Cordero, pp. 26, 40, 50, 51, 59, 63-65 and 72.

⁷⁶ Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 28; Porras Muñoz, "Diego de Ibarra", p. 4, no.

⁷⁷ AGI, Notary Office 28, number 2, 1618, Francisco de Zaldívar Lequeitio with Antonia Ramírez, residents of the city of Zacatecas, widow of Felipe de Lezcano and wife of Antonio de Figueroa, about the deception that occurred in the sale of a mining farm in the Zacatecas district.

⁷⁸ AGI, Contract 5279, branch 33, Catalogs of Passengers to the Indies, book 8, record 2370, Seville, June 21, 1603, Vicente de Zaldívar, with Miguel, an Indian, to New Spain from where he came; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), vol. 1 p. 7, and vol. 2, pp. 782-835, 878-892, 923-955 and 984-985; José Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *The viceroyalty, vol. 2, Expansion and defense: part one* (Mexico: FCE, 1992), pp. 152-153.

⁷⁹ Juan López, *Guadalajara and its leaders from 1532 to 1986* (Guadalajara: 79 of Jalisco, 1988).

of Santiago del Riego, between 1574 and 1578, judge in Guadalajara and later prosecutor, mayor of crime and, finally, judge of the Court of Mexico.⁸⁰ This funcionario married Doña Ana de Mendoza, Juan's eldest daughter, and with his transfer to the Court of Mexico he took almost his entire family politics, which over the years exercised a power that few had had in mind, the new kingdom. His prominent position earned him from a contemporary the following description: «a person so related in this kingdom that he almost does not there is lineage to whom he does not become indebted to his wife and his, which are shown and the said judge remains so much that, without safeguarding his office, he proceeds with note and grievances of the best of the kingdom.»⁸¹

In Mexico, the official met another important person from the Oñate-Salazar branch, Juan Velázquez de Salazar, brother-in-law of Cristóbal, whose rise had begun on August 20, 1554 with his installation as perpetual alderman of the city council of Mexico, a position that his father had inherited from him and which he held until shortly after 1600.⁸² Meanwhile, Don Fernando de Oñate, born around 1550, the first-born male son of Cristóbal and Doña Catalina de Salazar, became a mature man. His prestige reached such a level that in 1605 he was named magistrate of Mexico, a function he carried out with great success.⁸³ In this way, Dr. Diego de Santiago del Riego and Don Fernando can be called the new paterfamilias outside of Zacatecas and at the same time as the godfathers of the great Oñate-Zaldivar-Bañuelos-Tolosa clan. His fundamental role was to ensure the interests of his relatives and their northern claims in the center of power of the viceroyalty, Mexico City.

However, even the best families were not free from internal controversies, especially when money and access to the most promising silver veins were at stake. For example, in 1576, Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos, on behalf of Doña Catalina de Salazar, was forced to promote a harsh lawsuit over tasting rights in the Benitilla vein. The other party was Alonso de Mesa, in his role as guardian of the minors, children of Juanes de Tolosa, whose son-in-law was Cristóbal de Zaldivar Mendoza, grandson of Doña Catalina.⁸⁴ Or, as stated

⁸⁰ Peña, *Oligarchy and property*, p. 196; Ernesto Schäfer, *The Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies*, vol. 2 (Seville: University of Seville, 1947), pp. 453, 459, 463 U 494-

⁸¹ AGI, Mexico 126, branch 4, Mexico, May 20, 1607, Letter from Don Tristán de Luna and Arellano.

⁸² Porras Muñoz, *The government of Mexico City*, p. 153.

⁸³ Ivonne Mijares Ramírez, ed., *Catalog of protocols of the General Archive of Notaries of Mexico City*, vol. 2, Juan Pérez de Rivera, 1582-1631 (Mexico: UNAM-IIH, 2005), compact disc, records 1954 and 2176.

⁸⁴ Archive of the Supreme Court of Justice of the State of Zacatecas, Archive of

In the same pages of the document, in 1549 Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos and Diego de Ibarra formed a company to exploit several mines in the vicinity of Zacatecas, however, this relationship was dissolved very soon never to be resumed, after There there was only respectful but distanced treatment between the two.

For small miners, who did not have the alliances described here or good capital or access to credit, life was extremely hard. Some, in response, founded companies.⁸⁵ But they were always at a great disadvantage: Zacatecas never had enough qualified labor; Already in trouble to obtain the necessary tools, which were very expensive, and to boost business, they could not pay advance payments to their staff who, consequently, preferred to go with rich and generous miners. It was also not easy for them to obtain quicksilver or saltierra, due to a lack of credit options, which led them to benefit by fire, a process with a reduced return. Many never managed to get close enough to the big miners or the rich merchants for them to support them with what they needed. In such an unfavorable situation, some acquired land for planting or raising mules and small livestock; Others installed fruit and vegetable tree orchards near their homes, whose production was always in high demand in Zacatecas; Some became involved in small-scale commerce, sought paid positions in the Provincial Council of Mines, in the Cabildo or as members of the Royal Fund, or allowed themselves to be hired, if they were experienced miners, by the mine lords.

The remoteness of the northern mines, the dangers of the roads and a few other factors - unknown to date but related to the distribution of local power and the interests that some large miners had in other economic areas - prevented until the last decade of the In the 16th century, important merchants settled permanently in Zacatecas. For decades, large merchants from Mexico City, through agents and with their own or rented caravans, supplied minerals between Zacatecas and San Martín. But there were some local miners who did not want to leave this lucrative business in the hands of outsiders, so they developed and managed their own transportation system, bought wholesale in Mexico and became

Notaries, file 1, Miners' Lawsuit, 1592-1593, ff. 25-28v.

⁸⁵ José Enciso Contreras, *Zacatecas in the 16th century. Colonial Law and Society*, Elías Amador Series 5 (Zacatecas: Zacatecas City Council / University of Alicante / Zacatecano Institute of Culture Ramón López Velarde, 2000), pp. 312-314.

thus very successful miners-traders, such as Diego de Ibarra, Cristóbal de Oñate, Vicente de Zaldívar Oñate, Antonio de Salas, Hernando de Burgos and a few more.

Outside Zacatecas, towards San Martín, both the mining world and the trade were more democratic. Without a doubt, Diego and Francisco de Ibarra for some years they dominated the mining exploitation of this last real, but Francisco in 1562 went on his expedition to what would become Nueva Vizcaya; to Diego, to Starting in 1561, his multiple obligations prevented him from settling in these mines. The most relevant difference between San Martín and after Sombrerete and the others, real value of the region was the quality of its veins, which allowed benefiting by fire, easy task, since these new human settlements were surrounded by extensive forests. In this way, even the small producer could earn life honestly and without suffering extreme hardships.

The same thing happened with commerce. From Zacatecas, small groups of muleteers and solitary carters frequently left, preferably driving their neighborhood in Fresnillo or in the mines of Sombrerete and the adjacent town of Llerena. They transported both merchandise and supplies on order and some on their own. Or, in other words, Zacatecas was in the hands of a single family that knew how to reinforce itself with allies and allegations, contrary to the mines further to the northwest, whose socioeconomic networks were more open: they never knew the dominance of a clearly defined group or family, which led to more social and economic flexibility and prevented a conflict such as the one suffered in Zacatecas from 1580, with the change from mayor to corregimiento, to which we refer below.

For thirty years, the main officials in Zacatecas were mayors, all originally from Nueva Galicia and appointed by their Audiencia. The local oligarchy knew how to deal very well with these authorities, given that in one way or another these officials were known to the big miners of Zacatecas and, in the best of cases, they were friends of theirs or their relatives in Guadalajara, Guachinango and others. parts. That prevented a strong hand, because they made life impossible for the few who did not allow themselves to be corrupted or silenced.⁸⁶

The Crown, which was aware of this problem, in 1580 decided to send magistrates in their place, appointed by the king and no longer born in New Galicia. This was intended to guarantee more impartial action and with greater benefit to the interests of the Crown. Three of these new officials were quite conflictive: Don Félix de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, the lawyer

⁸⁶ Diego-Fernández Sotelo, *La primigenia Audiencia*, pp. XLVI, LX-LXII, 85, 86 and 134-170.

Don Juan Núñez, his successor, both born in Spain, and Don Antonio de Saavedra y Guzmán, the fourth mayor, who was a native of New Spain, 87 who in unison intervened in the local Cabildo, but also in the socioeconomic and power relations that for decades they had developed almost without external intervention. But for the ancient elite the situation turned out to be even worse, when Zúñiga and Avellaneda, his brother and several Zacatecans they trusted created such a scandal that the Inquisition had to intervene and, at the end of the investigations, the corregidor and his people were taken away in their capacity of prisoners to the royal prisons of Guadalajara. 88

For several years, Don Juan Núñez tried to prevent the elections of the *cadañero* mayors, a strategy with which he wanted to weaken the local power structures, because the oligarchy, in person or through *paniaguadas*, used the Cabildo to very skillfully promote its own interests and He took advantage of the fact that the *cadañero* mayors served as judges of first instance for many of the daily conflicts.

Things went worse with Saavedra and Guzmán, who discovered in Don Juan de Oñate y Salazar, son of Cristóbal de Oñate, a declared enemy. The situation became so tense that there were fights and murders between both sides and countless accusations and counter-accusations were made. Several of the city's most prominent residents, faced with this situation, fled and others, in desperation, complained to the Crown. It all ended with the dismissal of the magistrate, who years later, during a stay in Spain, where he wanted to clear his good name, in a plan of revenge he published his poetic work *El peregrino indiano*, in which with a skillful pen he described the idiosyncrasies of the natives of the land and, without accusing anyone directly, he made a parade of offenses, insults, grievances and humiliations of which, supposedly, he was a victim during his stay in Zacatecas. 90 The Zacatecans, for their part, continued

⁸⁷ AGI, Contracting 5788, book 1, ff. 185-186, Barcelona, May 27, 1585, Appointment of Juan Núñez; Palomino and Cañedo, The protocols of Rodrigo Hernández Cordero, p. 183; José Rubén Romero Galván, "Introductory study", in *El peregrino indiano*, by Antonio de Saavedra y Guzmán (Mexico: Conaculta, 1989), p. 37.

⁸⁸ Hillerkuss, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 1, A-C, pp. 66 and 124-125; "Proceedings against Don Félix de Zúñiga, mayor of Zacatecas", Bulletin of the General Archive of the Nation 7, no. 2 (1935): 207-262.

⁸⁹ Enciso Contreras, Zacatecas in the 16th century, pp. 146-155.

⁹⁰ Hillerkuss, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 3, H-I, p. 66; Thomas Hillerkuss, "Testimony of the chapters that Ensign Pedro de Quiñones gave to Don Francisco Bravo de Sobremonte...", Documentary digest of Zacatecas 1, no. 1

with his life as if nothing had happened. The Crown, to prevent new problems and not to endanger "its goose that gave it so many silver eggs", consequently began to choose more carefully those it would send to occupy this vital position.⁹¹

THE EXTREME NORTH: LAND OF THE GREAT LORDS

In the extensive spaces of the extreme north of Nueva Galicia, which corresponds to day to the mayor's office of Mazapil, to the north of that of Sombrerete and north of the future jurisdiction of San Mathías de Sierra de Pinos, during the second half of the 16th century a type of society developed to date unknown in the viceroyalty. The first exploration expeditions that left Zacatecas in the fifties culminated in 1564 in Nieves and 1568 in Mazapil, with the discovery of important silver veins.⁹² The wealthy miners of Zacatecas, the only ones who had the resources You are enough to open new companies on a large scale, in no time They intervened in these real estate. Due to the prevailing insecurity in these parts, they left this task to renowned soldiers from the Chichimeca war. Another problem was the benefit, especially in Mazapil, a very desert area, which made necessary to send the metal to mills that were installed on the banks of the Río Grande or Aguanaval and its tributaries. There was not much production here, least not comparable with that of Zacatecas, San Martín, Sombrerete or Fresnillo/Saint Demetrius; However, some of the richest characters of the years nineties of the 16th century throughout New Galicia made their fortune in these real and not elsewhere.

More than in the other regions of the kingdom, the local society of this northern area was formed around clearly identifiable characters: Juan Guerra and Juan Guerra de Reza, Alonso López de Lois, Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares, Francisco de Urdiñola and Rodrigo del Río de Losa, but also Miguel Caldera and Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor. They constituted the first generation of the great lords not of mines but of cattle as well, for a long time

(January-June 2000): 152-154; De Saavedra y Guzmán, *El peregrino indiano*, pp. 64-524.

91 José Enciso Contreras, "Consultations on appointments of magistrates in Zacatecas of the 17th century," in *Digesto Documental de Zacatecas* 1, no. 3 (2002): 202-236; José Enciso Contreras, «Corregidores of Zacatecas, the consolidation of lay justice, 1602-1650», *Vínculo jurídico* 60 (October-December 2004): 5-15, 92. Gerhard, *The north frontier*, pp. 109 and 115.

In the long term, these provided them with better and more constant returns than the extraction of metals.

The only one of these soldiers who began his biography in New Spain with promising letters of introduction was Rodrigo del Río de Losa, fifth son of a family of the small Spanish nobility, by his mother grandson of Rodrigo de Gordejuela, treasurer and confidant of the constable of Castile, who was a relative of the second viceroy of New Spain. It is not surprising that, as soon as the young Rodrigo arrived in New Spain, he immediately entered the service of Velasco, the old man, who with great skill promoted his career.⁹³ Miguel Caldera, on the other hand, was born as the natural son of a Spanish war captain and a Chichimeca (apparently Guachichil) woman. Despite his humble origins, he managed to climb his military career, gain the trust of the rulers, even several viceroys, to become, at least as far as the northern neo-Galician countryside was concerned, the most powerful man of his time.⁹⁴ Likewise Juan Bautista de Lomas was the natural son, but of a priest;⁹⁵ and the others mentioned did not belong to high-class families either. That is, they had to start climbing from very low and advance on their own merits.

The most experienced settler who entered the aforementioned region under these conditions was Juan Guerra, who had acquired his neighborhood in Guadalajara in 1543. For decades he made his fortune in the south; first, apparently, as a merchant, an occupation that took him to the distant town of San Miguel de Culiacán. Before the end of 1560, he invested in mining businesses in Zacatecas, without any evidence that he had changed his neighborhood, because he also managed cattle lands in the province of Ávalos, a few kilometers south of the capital of New Galicia. For this precise year he was registered as a councilor of the Cabildo of Guadalajara, and in 1562 he was appointed by the Court as mayor of the Guachinango royal estate, a position he received through the intervention of his powerful father-in-law, Diego de Colio, the former page of Hernán Cortés. The following year, the Guadalajara Cabildo appointed him its attorney. In the early seventies, he was in or around Zacatecas, where in 1573 he held the lucrative position of mayor of the Peñol Blanco salt mines. Around this time he bought a water mill from Juan Fernández de Castro

⁹³ Charles Foin, «Rodrigo de Río de Losa. 1536-21606?», *Archivos de Historia Potosina* 38 (1978): 112-116.

⁹⁴ Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, A-C, pp. 199-200; Philip W. Powell, *Captain Mestizo: Miguel Caldera and the Northern Frontier. The pacification of the Chichimecas (1548-1597)* (Mexico: FCE, 1980).

⁹⁵ Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, J-L, pp. 298-299.

with four furnaces for melting and two for refining lead, these facilities located in Saín, Zacatecas. There he installed his new home, processed minerals (perhaps brought from Mazapil and Avino) and extended his rustic properties to the east and north, that is, the south of the jurisdiction of Mazapil and the south of Nueva Vizcaya, where he managed large herds of cattle. Everything

indicates that he arrived in Saín as a widower, but with a good number of servants (all anonymous), with whom he could defend his house and properties. His only daughter did not accompany him and was not even the heir to his property - nor was his son Julián de Reza, apparently, due to his young age, but rather Juan Guerra de Reza, born around 1560 in Spain, at more than 200 years old. kilometers from Juan Guerra's hometown; However, we assume that Juan, the young man, was closely related to the old settler (figure 3).

Juan Guerra de Reza, still young, married Doña Ana Magdalena de Zaldívar Mendoza, daughter of the important Zacatecan miner and military man Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, in turn nephew of Cristóbal de Oñate. That makes it understandable who from 1595 financially supported Don Juan de Oñate y Salazar, son of Cristóbal, who was preparing his New Mexico expedition. Not even Juan Guerra, The old man, nor the young man, were involved in political affairs in the mining centers. Rather, without making much noise and in Mazapil under the tutelage of Francisco de Urdiñola, increased their properties and Juan, the young man, had a good number of children to whom he left important dowries and inheritances, which channeled the departure of part of his descendants towards the New Kingdom of León, where during the century XVII they were part of the first elite of local landowners.⁹⁶ The

biographies of Alonso López de Lois, Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares, Francisco de Urdiñola and Rodrigo del Río de Losa have much in common; Only one of these stories had a rather unfortunate outcome. They were all originally from northern Spain; For decades they served successfully in the Chichimeca War, which took place between 1550 and the nineties of the 16th century; Through grants, purchases and invasions, each one acquired large rural properties (Alonso along the Aguanaval River, where he even managed irrigation lands; along the Saín River, near the Tetillas hills and in Chalchihuites; Juan Bautista in Nieves and its surroundings ;

96 AGI, National Assets, vol. 265, exp. 18, Guardianship and curatorship of the persons and property of Don Juan de Reza, Don Diego de Reza, Doña Vicenta de Zaldívar and Doña Ana de Mendoza, discerned in Don Cristóbal de Zaldívar, Mexico, 1620; Hillerkuss, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 2, D-G, pp. 207 and 317-318; Hillerkuss, "The Zaldívar Family", pp. 12 and 15; María de la Luz Montejano Hilton, "Libro Sagrada Mitra de Guadalajara, México", Genealogy.com (web), April 15, 2002, consulted on May 24, 2011.

Francisco in Mazapil, along Río Grande and in the long southern strip of eastern Nueva Vizcaya; Rodrigo in the north of the mayor's office of Sombrerete and in the fertile valley that connects the current city of Durango with Gómez Palacio). With the exception of Rodrigo, the other three were also miners (Alonso, together with the clergyman Gaspar de Contreras and his future son-in-law Francisco, managed to stay for three years in Charcas, he was co-founder of Mazapil and a miner in San Demetrio; Juan Bautista dominated the real of Nieves and Francisco that of Mazapil).⁹⁷

As the years progressed, these military-landowners managed to establish true lordships, from where they followed their very personal aspirations with total freedom; expand their latifundia, because they always proclaimed that they defended the interests of the king and his vassals against the attacks of the ferocious Chichimecas, Guachichiles, Zacatecos and Tepehuanes and that is why it was necessary for them to occupy these vast spaces with their people and facilities. They were probably the first in the entire viceroyalty to build buildings on their properties that had the appearance of classic country estates:⁹⁸ a house large enough to live in, especially if they had a large family like that of Lomas and Colmenares; barns to store work equipment, weapons, gunpowder, a wide variety of merchandise, skins, bait and the harvest of their sowing lands and their extensive orchards where they had fruit trees and handled a wide variety of vegetables; covered and open stables for the numerous animals for his own use and that of his cowboys; stables for livestock; housing for their laborers, cowboys, officers of the most varied trades and at least one house for administrative staff. Nor could they be missing a temple, water wheels, wells, cisterns, water ponds for livestock and perhaps an irrigation ditch that connected with a river, stream or perennial spring of water. All of these constructions had a defensive character, with walls so high that the Chichimecas could not climb them. Surely there was a watchtower. If there were windows, they preferably faced an interior patio, they were small and protected with bars. The doors and gates were made with thick wood and were

⁹⁷ Foin, "Rodrigo de Río de Losa", pp. 152-154; Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, J-L, pp. 299-300 and 313-314; María Vargas-Lobsinger, *Formation and decline of a fortune. The estates of San Miguel de Aguayo and San Pedro del Álamo, 1583-1823* (Mexico: UNAM, 1992), pp. 22-28.

⁹⁸ See, for example, the 1594 description of the house that Captain Francisco de Urdiñola had on his benefit hacienda and mills in Río Grande: José Enciso Contreras, *Exemplary criminal processes of colonial Zacatecas*, *Cuadernos de la judicatura*, 2nd period, 2 (Zacatecas: Superior Court of Justice of Zacatecas, 2004), pp. 120-123.

reinforced with ironwork. A hull built and structured in this way, with scaled defense lines, had to seem inaccessible to any attacker. The most protected thing in this military architectural structure were the bedrooms of the master, himself and his daughters.

Being installed so far from the few urban centers in the north (Zacatecas, the town of Llerena and Sombrerete and with certain reservations also the Reales del Fresnillo and Mazapil) and their authorities, for the owners of these facilities it had the great advantage of being able to manage their affairs and their people with almost absolute autonomy. The supply of everyday products was not a problem either: there was plenty of meat and its derivatives, as well as milk and cheese; Wheat mills were soon erected, the extensive orchards provided fresh fruits and vegetables. Most simple household goods and tools could be produced locally. To bring what was not there or what could not be made on site, every few months the master organized a small caravan of cars or well-protected trains that went with preference to Zacatecas, where they bought wholesale clothing and fabrics imported from Europe, o Asia or "from the land", specialized tools, raw iron, Castilian wine, olive oil, vinegar, imported spices and some luxury items. Much of it was consumed in the master's house but much was also sold - and that with excellent profits - to the master's staff or to ranchers or small-time miners in the surroundings of Saín, Río Grande, Nieves, Mazapil and in the near the Peñol Blanco salt flats.⁹⁹

The nineties of the century, with Greater Chichimeca in the midst of a pacification process, allowed these oligarchs to promote new personal projects or seek relevant administrative positions. Rodrigo del Río de Loza, for example, between 1590 and 1594 was governor of Nueva Vizcaya; 100 and Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares and Francisco de Urdiñola disputed the right to conquer New Mexico. Although these two were friends and former companions of dangerous exploits during the Chichimeca war, the conflict broke out and Juan accused Francisco of having murdered his wife. Neither one nor the other emerged victorious from this lawsuit, because the company was entrusted to Don Juan de

⁹⁹ ITESM, ACRZ, Alcabalas box (2), fifths and tithes, Book of entries of the testimonies given by the public notaries of this city of Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas, of deeds that have passed before them, that the alcabala is due to His Majesty from January 22, 1591 onwards, f. 11V; Memory of the deeds that owe alcabala to His Majesty, which have been granted before Pedro Venegas and Juan de Monroy, royal notaries, ff. s/n.

100 Foin, «Rodrigo de Río de Losa», p. 153.

Oñate and Salazar.¹⁰¹ Miguel Caldera and Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, both very successful soldiers during the war, from 1592 onwards became miners in the new town of San Luis Potosí, a few kilometers from the limits of Nueva Galicia. The first died so soon that he could no longer unite his posts and ranches on the road between Zacatecas and San Luis into a large estate; but the second, in Espíritu Santo and La Parada, in the future jurisdiction of San Matías de Sierra de Pinos, built the first country estates about which we have concrete information.¹⁰²

However, for these characters, if they managed to grow old, there was an additional challenge: to ennoble themselves or, at least, to enter society and remove the aura of being rude men-at-arms with a *nouveau riche* tinge and nothing more. Rodrigo del Río de Loza received the appointment of knight of Santiago, a recognition that in this region he only shared with Diego de Ibarra (he became commander of this military order); However, Rodrigo had the bad luck of being left without offspring.¹⁰³ Therefore, in 1604, he inherited from his young cousin Juan de Gordejuela Ybargoyen all his mines in Nueva Vizcaya and, once his wife died as well, all his parcels and lands with his livestock. In his will he commented that "he was expected to succeed him in the defense of this house and land", so he gave him his weapons, war insignia, his decorations and his horses. Soon, the viceroy appointed Juan mayor of *mesta* or brotherhood, that is, he had to lead as captain a flying company that operated between New Galicia and New Spain and persecuted, without mercy and without the right to trial, cattle thieves. that they had become a real plague. Furthermore, Juan married Doña María de la Asunción López de Lois, born in Río Grande, legitimate daughter of Alonso López de Lois and Marina González, thus becoming a brother-in-law of Francisco de Urdiñola (figure 4). The couple had two daughters who married wealthy miners; one named Martín Ruiz de Zavala, with which Juan achieved an important approach to Agustín de

¹⁰¹ Vito Alessio Robles, *Francisco de Urdiñola and the north of New Spain* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1931), pp. 191-275; Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, J-L, pp. 299-300.

¹⁰² José Ignacio Urquiola Permisán, *Documents on the captain and chief justice Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor* (San Luis Potosí: Colegio de San Luis, 2004), pp. XXXIX, 135-136, 143-144 and 150.

¹⁰³ National Historical Archive, Madrid, Spain, Military Orders, Santiago, Test of Knights, file 6999, Rodrigo del Río de Losa y Gordejuela, 1588; box 1561, exp. 4042, Diego de Ibarra y Sáenz, 1561, Eibar; Foin, "Rodrigo del Río de Losa", p. 152.

Zavala, a very wealthy miner in Zacatecas in the first decades of the 17th century and governor of Nuevo León (figure 4).¹⁰⁴

Alonso López de Lois had already died in 1593, but his son-in-law, Francisco de Urdiñola, who emerged relatively well from the accusation brought by Juan Bautista de Lomas, held the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya between 1603 and 1613. He died on March 4 of 1618 in his ranch in Santa Elena (Río Grande), being an extremely rich man who counted among his properties the ranches and houses in Río Grande, mines in Mazapil and an important profit hacienda in Bonanza, in addition to the endless chain of ranches between Saltillo and Parras. His great-granddaughter, Doña Francisca de Valdés y Alcega, born in the north; and her husband, the Spanish Don Agustín de Echeverz y Subiza, from 1683, were the first marquises of San Miguel de Aguayo, a manor in the mountains of Burgos. A few decades later, already in the 18th century, the second marchioness and daughter of Doña Francisca and Don Agustín and her own husband managed to unite, between the current states of Durango, Coahuila and Zacatecas; Through inheritance, compositions, acquisitions and invasions, a latifundium that reached an area of 60,000 km², making the descendants of Francisco de Urdiñola the most successful of all the great lords of northern Neogalician in the 16th century.¹⁰⁵

Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor was also left without children, and his heirs, all relatives of his wife, squandered everything that this soldier, during his long life, accumulated and built.¹⁰⁶ There were also no legitimate descendants of Captain Miguel Caldera, and what remained of his great fortune, with tricks and at a bargain price, was acquired by his great confidant, the notary Alonso Hernández Bachiller.¹⁰⁷

The most ambitious and perhaps least scrupulous of all, Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares, while still alive, witnessed the failure of all his projects and saw with his own eyes the decline of his immense wealth. Already rich and as a man respected throughout the viceroyalty, he "sold" three of his not yet pubescent daughters to high officials, marrying them to an oidor of the Audiencia de

¹⁰⁴ Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, D-G, pp. 300-301.

¹⁰⁵ Vargas-Lobsinger, *Formation and Decline of a Fortune*, pp. 15-38.

¹⁰⁶ AGN, Judicial, vol. 7, single file, October 14, 1617 to August 20, 1634, Testamentary trial. Diego de Villagrán and Pedro de Paz Hernández, on behalf of Mrs. Francisca de Paz, guardian and curator of the minor children of Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, chief justice of the Chichimecas borders, begin a trial in San Luis Potosí, so that the will is opened of this and find out who the heirs are.

¹⁰⁷ Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, A-C, p. 200; *ibid.*, vol. 3, H-I, pp. 66-67.

Mexico, another with an *oidor* from that of Guadalajara and the third with the private secretary of the viceroy in turn, granting each one an opulent dowry (figure 5). In this way he wanted to push his claims on New Mexico, but he achieved nothing in this regard. Nor did he have a prominent role in Mexico City, which he began to visit frequently in the nineties, and whose neighborhood he acquired before 1601. He died in 1610, or shortly after, and from his royal *de Nieves*, where a few years before he or his homonymous son had acquired all the remaining profit farms, there was not much left, only two mining farms were still operating, that of Juan Bautista and another that belonged to his son. Both produced not even a thousand marks a year. According to public rumors, Lomas y Colmenares had bought so many properties during the last years of his life that it was impossible to work them all, so the land of Nieves was depopulated. None of his sons or daughters stood out, with the exception of Father José de Lomas, a successful Jesuit missionary in Nueva Vizcaya and a very honored member of his order, who perhaps, through his work, wanted to do penance for all the sins committed by his father. 108

* *

New Galicia and its society, or rather societies, during the second half of the 16th century were in the process of formation. Some regions depended primarily on external factors, such as the richness, duration and accessibility of silver veins; In other intermediate zones, the untamed natural environment had a profound impact; Where food could be produced, the availability of cheap labor and access to markets was very important. At the same time there was an administrative center whose impact on the kingdom, due to great distances, bad roads and one conflict or another, was always diminished. Consequently, at the end of the century, New Galicia was characterized by very varied forms of societies, some that were dominated by powerful and rich men, and others in which an elite was formed around a predominant economic activity that was linked through kinship, *compadrazgo*, customer relations and shared interests. But there were also regions where poverty and misery reigned and in which the ruling class, the Spaniards and Creoles, depended more than usual on mestizos, mulattoes and Indian chiefs who lived among them. Finally, in Guadalajara, the accumulation

108 Ibid., vol. 4, J-L, pp. 296-302.

of powers and the permanent internal struggles prevented the development of a stable society with a defined future, as Valladolid (Morelia), Puebla de los Ángeles, Querétaro, Toluca or Colima achieved within a few decades of its foundation.

FIGURE 2. SUCCESSION OF POWER
IN THE OÑATE-ZALDÍVAR-SALAZAR-
TEMÍÑO DE BAÑUELOS FAMILY-
SANTIAGO DEL RIEGO

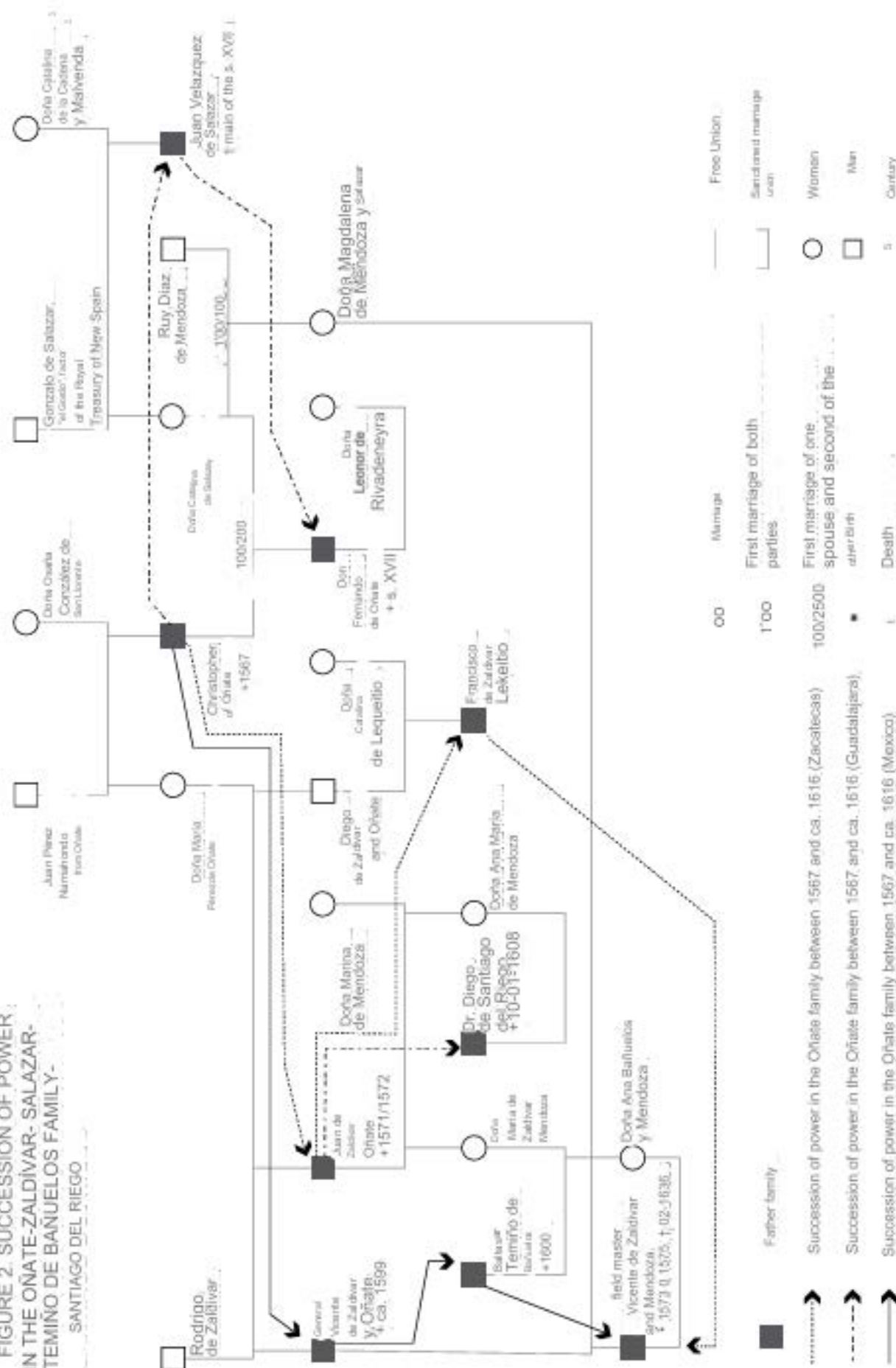


FIGURE 4. THE FAMILY OF ALONSO LÓPEZ DE LOIS, JUAN DE GORDEJUELA YBARGOYEN AND FRANCISCO DE URDÍÑOLA

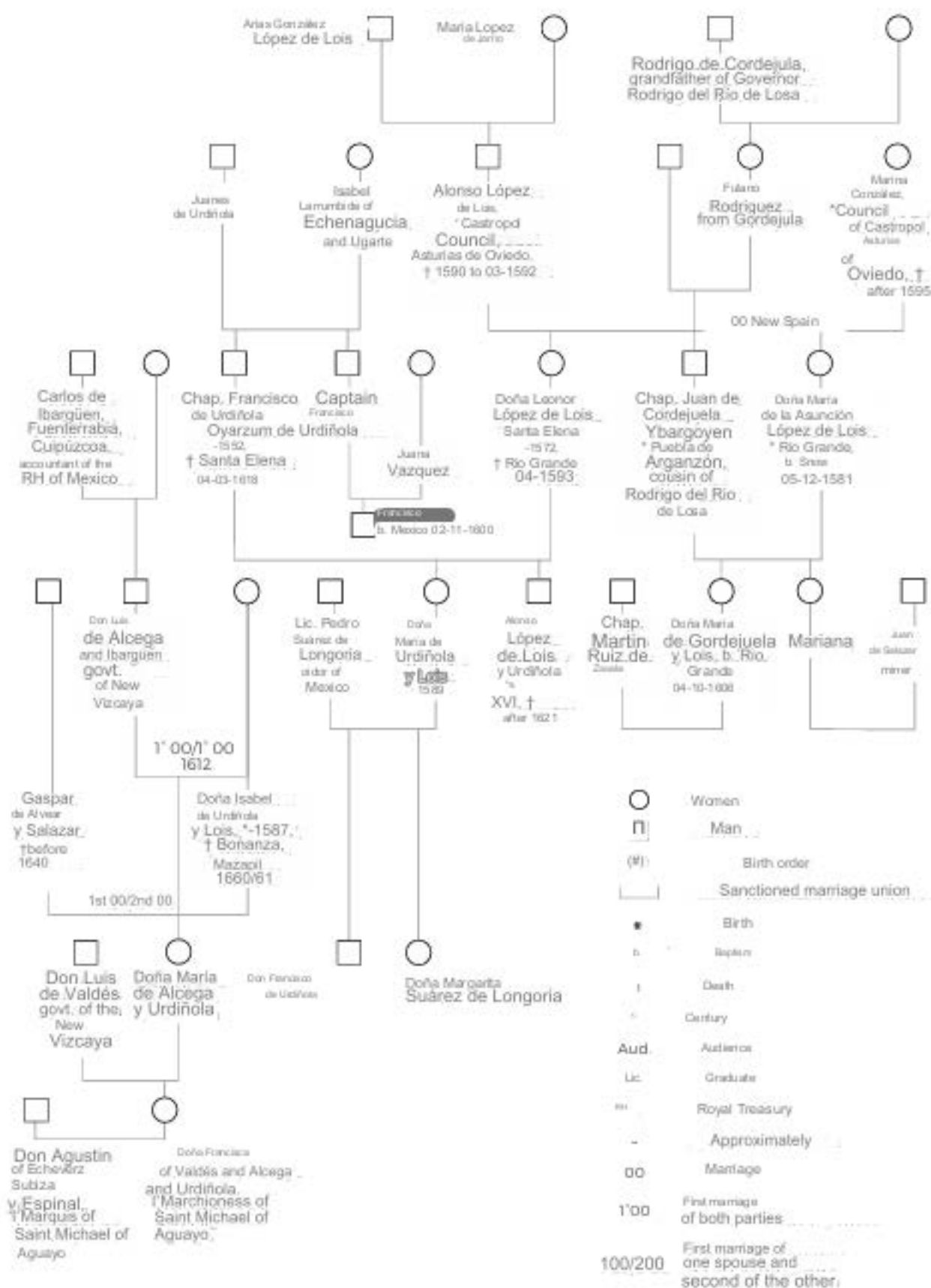
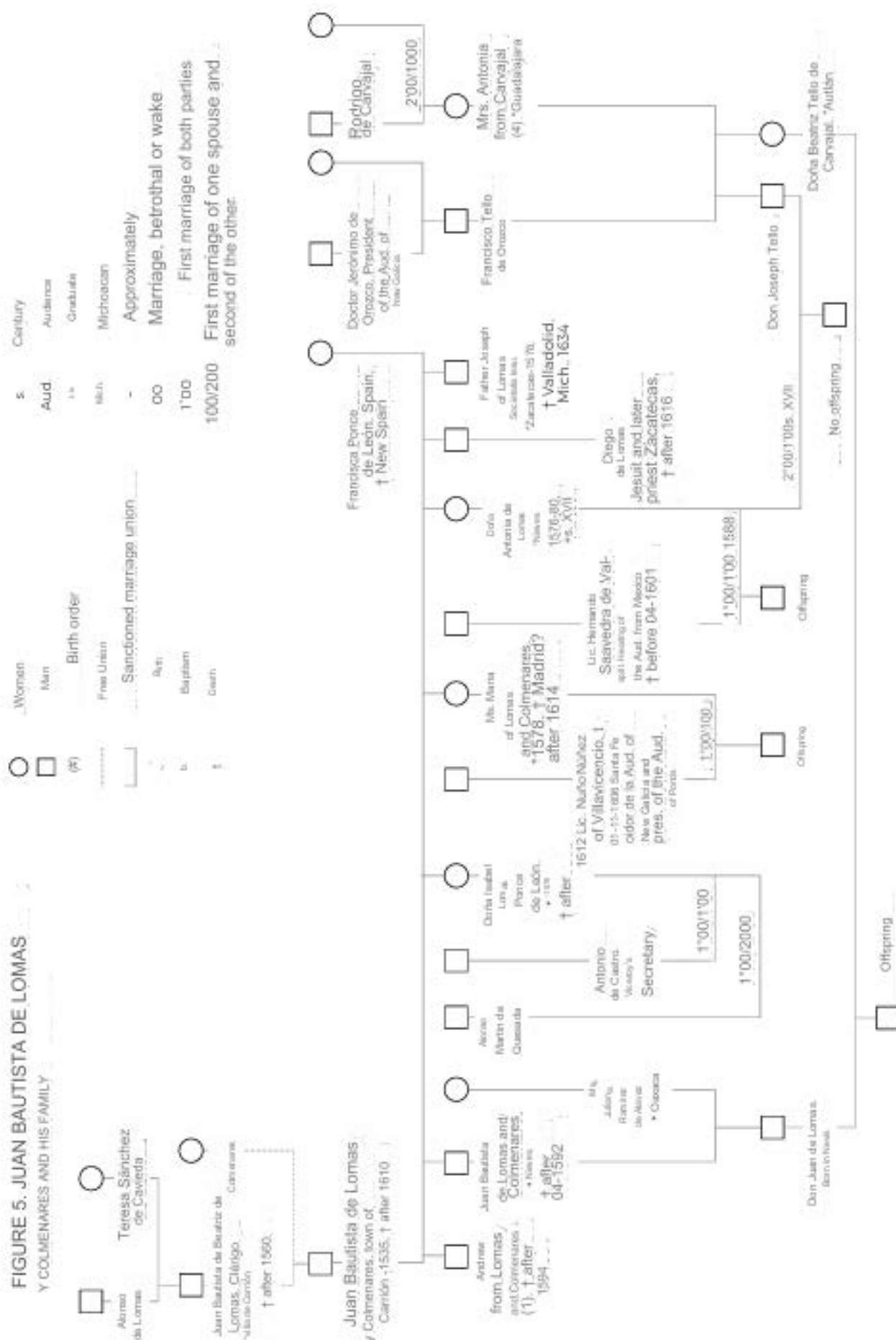
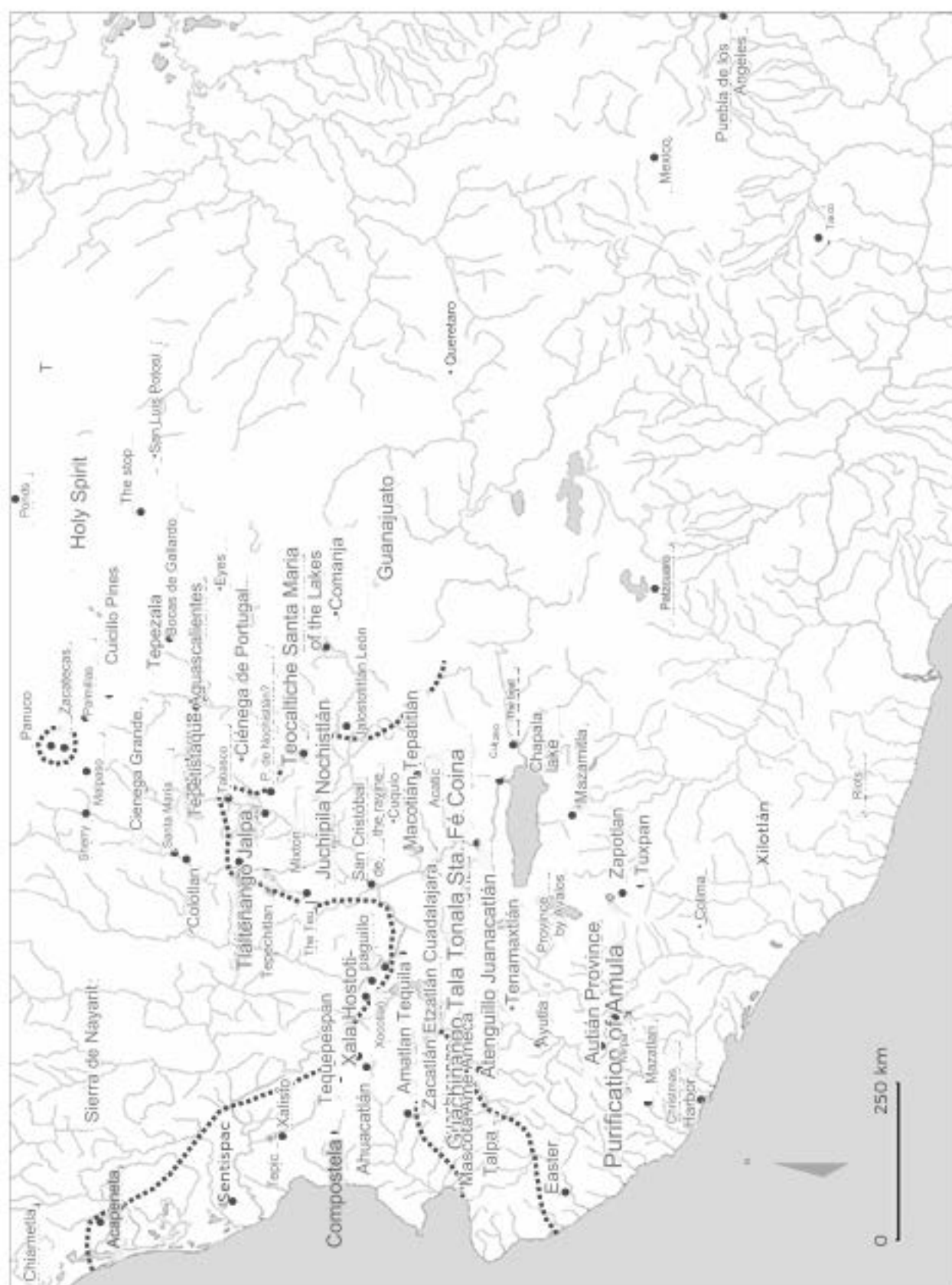


FIGURE 5. JUAN BAUTISTA DE LOMAS
Y COLMENARES AND HIS FAMILY

MAP 1. SOUTH OF NEW GALICIA



MAPA 2. NORTH OF NEW GALICIA



A HUMAN UNIVERSE IN IMPLOSION IN THE FULL 16TH CENTURY

Thomas Calvo, The College of Michoacán

As is well known, for many years now there have been in this new kingdom of Galicia great robberies and many deaths of Spaniards, Indians and blacks that have been committed along with many other insults and other crimes by its native Indians in these ways that the royal roads through which the kingdom is served and the towns and resources that exist in it are treated - especially the silver mines of the provinces of Zacatecas, San Martín, and Avino, which are supplied with the necessary things and supplies, not They can be walked or treated without great risk and danger from walkers and handlers. And they walk with armed people and great security and with all this they have stolen many arias and groups of carts and carts in a lot of pesos of gold and death of horses and oxen and other people who come with them in their custody by the Indians Guachichiles and Zacatecos of this kingdom who are the robbers of the royal roads, being as they are infidels and our enemies.

Report of Pedro de Ahumada Sámano, Zacatecas, January 24, 1562¹

INHERITIES AND INJURIES

Before turning the page on the 16th century, it is necessary to return one last time to the double inheritance that the territory and inhabitants of Nueva Galicia received since its founding. Many of the imbalances that are known over time come from these two universes (pre-Hispanic and Castilian) and the way in which they collided with each other, less from the way in which they adapted together. If this is written in indelible features until today, they are only scars in the landscapes, in the memories: in 1600 they are wounds present throughout the body of the barely formed organism of New Galicia.

¹ AGI, México 207, N. 22, fol. 1.

The Conquest is, by the way, the key moment that reveals these tensions, destroying any possibility of long-term stability and harmony: it is a conquest by blood and fire, it has been written here. But we can go back to the pre-Hispanic period: the old nomadic-sedentary conflict that endures throughout time and continents must also have had its reality here, between agricultural Indians of the central valleys or the coastal plains, mountain Indians among farmers and hunters, groups of hunter-gatherers from the highlands or Chichimecas. It was probably not a permanent war, since multiple relationships and above all exchanges must have existed between them, but it was an environment of mutual aggressiveness and distrust, in a context of survival for many of these groups, especially the most fragile, the nomads

This first imbalance was modified in the century that followed the Conquest. In some regions it progressively disappears, due to lack of combatants, we could say: the progressive annihilation of the Chichimecas, after the 16th century, reduces tensions at least in certain areas of the southern highlands (between Querétaro and Zacatecas, in a broad sense), in some parts of the Sierra Madre, such as the Tepehuana region after the repression that followed the rebellion of 1616-1617. But in other contexts, small ones it is true, the conflict could have worsened after 1530, since the problems prior to the Conquest, of material origin - fights for hunting grounds, for vital products, opposition between different modes of existence - were they add other causes of tension. Religious and cultural causes now oppose the natives who were forced to enter the Hispanic world, collaborating with the dominant one, accepting their religion; and the irreducible few who proudly continue to live - they think - like their ancestors, maintain firm forms of resistance against the Spanish and his henchmen. The Nayarit

mountain range and its surroundings constitute the most sensitive pole of this tragic confrontation. Lázaro de Arregui, an authorized witness in this context, gives us shocking testimonies, particularly about what relationships are like.

between the Coras and their neighbors: «these people come down to Guaynamota very regularly, and upon finding some careless huaynamotas in their fields they kill them and they take to eat. Even more:

The Coras usually appear on some high rocks above the river in front of Huaynamota when they see that they are sensed, and from there they blame the Christian Indians; and they call them "friars' wives" and other mischief that some fugitive Christians

² Even taking into account what was written by Salvador Álvarez in the chapter "The Chichimeca War." N. of the E.

tives and apostates of the faith who are among them teach them; and they say that they do not need cattle, what a good stay they have in Huaynamota to eat meat.³

Having read this, we must remember that those of Guaynamota were not tender lambs: "barbaric and warlike" Indians, as Friar Antonio Tello writes, martyred two Franciscan missionaries in 1584."

And it is true that the sudden and brutal introduction of a third party in discord, the Spanish, further complicated the relations between sedentary people and nomads. More so when we remember that with this upstart another entity is born, also unknown until then and that will always be elusive but correct in its actions: the apostate, as Lázaro de Arregui already points out. The Sierra del Nayar became a refuge - a rock, some testimonies say - for many of them. In 1604, the Franciscan friar Francisco del Barrio was one of the first to climb those rocks, and at one point he found himself in front of that group:

Among these there were many baptized and ladino people, who, as I have said, enter and leave the land of Guadiana. And I also preached to them, exposing their wickedness, and their communication with the infidelity of those people; and how badly they had done in returning from the land of peace where there were priests to administer doctrine to them and hear mass and the word of God.⁵

All Gentiles, apostates, even neophytes are equally dangerous, the iconography of the maps shows us this, the texts tell us this, as far as we know. It is true, over time this insecurity and agitation linked to the indigenous element declines - throughout the 17th century -. But then banditry would take over, especially from the end of the 17th century, another characteristic plague of these regions that were once border areas.

It can be said that by 1800 this is the trademark of New Galicia, especially on the border with New Spain, where it is easy for highwaymen to mock the authorities on both sides.

³ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1946), p. 84-85.

⁴ *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Province of Xalisco* (Guadalajara: IJAH, 1968), book 2, chapters 220 and 221.

⁵ Thomas Calvo, *The dawn of a new world, 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara / CEMCA, 1990), p. 265. See,

⁶ in this work, "An unavoidable actor: Between mountains and basins", by Thomas Calvo and Paulina Machuca.

The other inheritance arrived in 1530 with the hosts of Guzmán, and after these conquerors the empire of the monarchy. This distant input shapes everything it takes in its clutches; spaces, institutions and men. Let us remember the infinite and unknown spaces, the almost general absence at first of all Western infrastructure—from wagon roads and bridges to churches. That is, the multitude, the urgency and the lack of definition of tasks: everything or almost must be built according to abrupt criteria brought by Guzmán and his henchmen. Added to this is the ambiguity of the concepts, which facilitates a multifaceted enterprise: spiritual conquest is combined with military conquest, honor and wealth are the dominant values on an equal basis.

That is to say, it requires men without ties at first, whether they are soldiers or missionaries, and this in a world that is emerging from a ruthless annihilation or at least from an irreparable trauma, emptied of much of its vitality. A gigantic implosion occurs, the vacuum created by the edge of the sword and intolerance attracts a foam of adventurers who travel lands and seas: today in the Caribbean, tomorrow in Tenochtitlan, the day after tomorrow in Nueva Galicia to end up in Peru, like Juan from Oñate. Unless it is the opposite, as in the case of Pedro de Alvarado, who from New Spain and Guatemala, later Peru, ended his life on the slopes of the Peñol del Mixtón in 1541. No less globetrotters were the divine adventurers, like a friar Domingo de Alzola, bishop of Guadalajara (1582-1590), native of Mondragón (Spain), a time visitor and vicar general of Peru. It is a topic to return to.

REBUILD ON A TABULA RASA

To these circumstances, more or less common for the Indies as a whole, we must add what is specific to the universe of New Galicia. And here once again the conquest is called into question: it lasted a year and a half in its decisive phase, but it wiped out an entire part of the population, and not only on the edge of the sword. An episode, in the beginning, that the conquistador García del Pilar tells is enough to measure the abyss into which the indigenous world falls:

Then the so-called peace Indians of Ahuacatlán, like those of this aforementioned town and those here in Our days, after about twelve days, all the children died

Thomas Hillerkuss, *Biographical Dictionary of the New Spain West: 16th Century*, 4 vols. (Zacatecas: UAZ, 1997-2011), s. v. "Brother Domingo de Alzola".

that these women carried, and many other Indians [...]. And with the loads that they had carried from there, according to what they told me, which I did not see, that such great bruises had been inflicted on the Indians' backs, that they were larger than a hand's breadth, and that they had risen up again, and to rebel; And so as we went along our path, as I have said, there were four horsemen, Rodrigo Ximón and Alonso Gómez, and others that I don't remember, removing from the trees those who had hanged themselves out of desperation, which would be more than five hundred. I see; and so we arrived at the said Chiametla, where he had hanged four gentlemen, and had the land raised and elevated. ⁸

If we add to this what follows, that is, one or another rebellion, particularly that of the Mixtón; the assignment and its demands on products and labor; forced labor, especially in mines; the displacements that involve the delivery of tribute or the provision of labor in the mines and other productive centers (farms, salt mines), the epidemics that decimate the population with each generation; We are quickly approaching the *tabula rasa*. Of the 500,000-650,000 inhabitants that the region as a whole could have had around 1530, less than a century later, in 1621, only 7,196 tributary Indians remained, that is, about 20,000/25,000 indigenous people in total within the colonial system. Next to them there will be another, in the process of difficult integration, like the Indian towns of Chimaltitán: "every day they [the Franciscan fathers] go to their ranches from where they cannot be taken out until they come, and "Some barely come when others leave." ¹⁰ And the cultural model that Tlaxcaltecas and others can spread must have been relatively efficient, although Mota and Escobar seem optimistic, particularly in the rugged case of Colotlán,

where it was taken by means of bringing a number of married Indians from the Tlaxcalteca nation, so that a large neighborhood in this town would be populated by the barbarian Indians, who also populated, another set of example and model for living Christianly and politically, and so that they could see the Tlaxcalan Indians how they plowed the land, how they sowed it, how they grew their crops, how they kept them in their barns, how they built their houses, how they broke in their horses and mules to

⁸ Adrián Blázquez and Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*. Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán: profile of a conqueror (Guadalajara, Spain: Provincial Institution of Culture, 1992), p. 234. See on this the chapter by Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, "A conquest by blood and fire (1530-1536)." Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 29.9

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

chair and load, how they behaved in their treatment of people, how they went to church for mass [...]. And also so that they could take an example from the Tlaxcalan Indian women who only had one husband and how they served and gave him gifts."

Without a doubt a very complete and promising program, but one that neither the archer Indians of Colotlán nor probably their wives seem to have complied with very attentively... Above all, over time, the Tlaxcalans were the driving force of an ambiguous response, between lawsuits, legal and armed resistance to the colonial order on those borders.¹²

In a space almost emptied of its indigenous population - due to conquest, epidemics, colonial exploitation, progressively replaced by external contingents; Not only Spaniards, but also Mexicans, Tlaxcalans, Tarascans and Africans, the weak link was precisely the man. To this we must add the tense times that were the appropriation of a widely unknown nature and space, slowly domesticated, with a logical succession of failures and successes: nomadism extended to the cities. Virtually none escaped one or more relocations.

In the interior of the lands, in the highlands, where nomadism was even more accentuated, where the emptiness and the unknown were more impressive, where the mining economy was by nature uncertain, the phenomenon was even greater. To a degree that the sources and therefore our knowledge probably do not restore with all its reality and drama. Let's rescue one of these moments. The bishop of Guadalajara relates for 1589:

The damage that we receive every day is greater from these barbarians, because for two months now they have depopulated certain towns in this archbishopric and in the bishopric of Michoacán with many deaths of Indians, and there will be twenty days that they attacked and killed certain Spaniards, they took some women prisoner, left many wounded and stole all the clothes except the wine pipes, and it is not possible to tell Your Majesty where our pity and confusion comes from seeing

"Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Geographical description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / IJAH, 1993), p. 134-135.

12 For an overview of the three centuries, see Carlos Rubén Ruiz Medrano, *The somber adventures of the Tlaxcalteco king Juan Vicencio de Córdoba and the rebels of Colotlán, Jalisco, 1777-1783* (Mexico: El Colegio de San Luis, 2011), 371 p.

13 See other stories in the chapter "An unavoidable actor: Between mountains and basins", by Thomas Calvo and Paulina Machuca.

"That some naked men have us so afraid that I do not understand that there are enemies among Christians who [illegible] should be afraid of these, because the deaths they cause are the cruelest that can be feared."

This instability is in the very genes of this space: its attractions, its riches, its fluctuations make acting in this universe often like writing in the sand or plowing the sea. Cattle spread over endless plains; that traffickers go looking for them in the far north, even in Nueva Vizcaya; which they carry by thousands of heads to the butcher shops of Mexico over hundreds of leagues, mainly in times of rain. Cattle that escape the care of their owners become runaways, prey to groups of Chichimecas or some mestizos or mulattoes, outside the law, with their light donkey and their half spear. Beyond Zacatecas, Mota and Escobar testify at the beginning of the 17th century, "there are some larger cattle"; and he adds, as if to reinforce the mobile and wild tone, "and a lot of hare and a great number of deer." 15 Cattle that graze grasslands that they themselves contribute to changing, impoverishing the land, the vegetation, modifying the ecological balances as we already saw. 16 This for cattle and horses. For sheep, transhumance between Nueva Galicia and the southernmost regions is undoubtedly a fact prior to 1600. At least it was already well established in 1621, according to Lázaro de Arregui: in relation to the mayor's office of Poncitlán he writes: « Large flocks come passing the waters of Querétaro and Michoacán, and they are in this jurisdiction that has a lot of land and pasture very suitable for it until it wants to rain, end of May again." 17

Mining activity was no less unstable, we know. In 1589, the Charcas mines had already been depopulated twice, besieged by the Chichimecas, and were trying to be reborn again. Even Zacatecas, in its early days of existence, was abandoned by its inhabitants in panic: it took all the persuasion of its founders for the miners to return. 18 In the case of mines in the western region, even less stable, Lázaro de Arregui cites

¹⁴ AGI, General indifferent, 1092, N. 283, fol. 1v.

¹⁵ De la Mota y Escobar, Geographical description, p. 160.

¹⁶ "An unavoidable actor: Between mountains and basins", by Thomas Calvo and Paulina Machuca.

¹⁷ Lázaro de Arregui, Description of New Galicia, p. 60.

¹⁸ See the information presented in 1550 Juanes de Tolosa: José Enciso Contreras and Ana Hilda Reyes Veyna, eds., Juanes de Tolosa, discoverer of the mines of Zacatecas. Information on merits and services (Zacatecas: Superior Court of Justice of Zacatecas, 2002), p. 82-110, in particular pp. 86-87.

In the case of those of Izquintlan, "they were finished, or to go with what is said about it, they were left, and only one hacienda remains of its real estate without people or equipment that seems to be only preserved as a memory of that real estate." from where today, 25 years later, a lot of money was made.¹⁹ For the rest, mining activity needs the coordination of multiple efforts, which provide the products necessary for the survival of men, animals and, above all, the proper development of mining production: the quicksilver landed in Veracruz, from Spain, which rises towards the plateau at the slow pace of the trains. The Peñol Blanco salt flats, another vital product for the amalgamation of silver, require labor that in the 16th century came from places as distant as Teocaltiche and Tlaltenango.²⁰

With all this, the double logic of a border reality develops: a refuge area for many of those who try to escape the domination imposed from the centers of the empire, and an economy in need in arms. The two realities find in the north the possibility of crystallizing together. Starting from the real of Topia, but this is extendable to many of those in the north, says Bishop Mota y Escobar:

The miners have quite a copy of the Indian service, because as such a remote place it is very safe for criminals, and thus all the homicidal Indians, thieves and robbers who are fleeing from justice go to take shelter there, and although these crimes are not ignored, it is not about their punishment for the great outcry that the miners make in that they are diverted, and they allege that the Reales fifths are diminishing [...] The Christian doctrine in reals of mines is greatly undermined, because they cannot even be punished enormous crimes by Indians, nor banish them, nor make them come to mass on holy days of obligation, because even in this they are servilely occupied by the miners. And I also say that there is some kind of strong reason for allowing this bankruptcy in order to the universal conservation of these kingdoms and those of Castile, since they all depend on the amount of silver that is obtained from them, with which all needs are met. of peace and war. twenty-one

¹⁹ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 97.

²⁰ Carlos Rubén Ruiz Medrano, "On labor in the salt flats of Santa María and Peñol Blanco in the second half of the 16th century and its legal and social implications", in *Traces in the desert: work and ritual in the north of Mexico*, coord. by Neyra Alvarado Solís, Isabel Mora and Javier Maisterrena (San Luis Potosí: el Colegio de San Luis, 2011), p. 27-59.

²¹ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 205-206.

Instability of the settlements, extensive tribulations of the Spanish, from one extreme to the other: the lack of arms and heads must be made up for. We know that the Mexican Mota y Escobar, after traveling to Spain, spent a few years touring his bishopric of Guadalajara, surrounded, as he should have been, by an important entourage; We have interviewed the clergyman Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, perhaps originally from the peninsula, measuring the heights of the sun from one end of Nueva Galicia to the other.²²

In reality, and mainly for the 16th and part of the 17th century, all this great whirlwind can have its root of understanding in a simple phrase by Domingo Lázaro de Arregui: "that the majority of this kingdom is poor land."²³ Such poverty, according to the priest, concerns above all the western half, west of the Rio Grande, that is, the hottest, tropical part of Nueva Galicia. He recognizes that the eastern part, thanks to the cattle and the mines, is richer. To explain such statements, we must take into account the massive depopulation of the West: men are an essential wealth in any universe. Without labor, a good part of the regional potential, particularly cocoa crops, disappeared throughout the 16th century. In a certain way, the failures of the tropical colonial experience of the Caribbean continue to be prolonged in time and space, with desertification, economic and social instability throughout the 16th century. Pacific Rim. In exchange, some Asians arrived, perhaps Filipinos from the end of the 16th century, Japanese at the beginning of the 17th century. And we will not forget the plants (western, eastern) that also circulate, they adapt to the skies of Nueva Galicia. The eastern half, a cold land, presents fewer failures, but there are other difficulties already mentioned: mining instability, the persistence, beyond the 16th century, of a Chichimeca war, although it no longer bears that name, throughout much of the Still 17th century, with robberies, attacks in open fields. On the other hand, the fragility of the socioeconomic organisms (mines, farms, roads) is comparable to that of the ecological systems of the hot lands, but with mitigating factors: livestock here are better free from various diseases and parasites, <of which in In cold lands, care is not taken and thus more cattle are raised and with less cost and work."²⁴

However, in the 16th century and even in the times of Lázaro de Arregui, we must insist again and again on a fundamental element of the human geography of Nueva Galicia: generalized depopulation is the greatest cause of instability, with

²² "An unavoidable actor: Between mountains and basins", by Thomas Calvo and Paulina Machuca.

²³ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 21-22.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

all related aspects: «there are so many wastelands in these kingdoms that I do not know if all Europe has people to occupy them, because, in addition to not knowing the end of them, everything or almost everything is depopulated.”²⁵ In reality, the land of Nueva Galicia is not poor, it is an insecure region, poorly served, less well known and therefore marginal; It will take a lot of effort, a lot of time for everything to change. Everything is as if in a vicious circle: few men, few incentives, and vice versa: this is what the bishop of Guadalajara says, in a different way, in 1589:

In the bishopric there are many Indians scattered in the mountains and mountains and for this reason it is very difficult to be able to indoctrinate them and because like many of them, when they want, they obey and pay tribute, and when the opposite they also come out with it and even in some districts where the Indians are of peace and obedient, it seems that they pay so little taxes that there is not enough to pay the stipend to the minister of doctrine and there is no lack for the salary of the magistrate, so that if the Indians are not populated and there is no support for the ministers There are many parties where the majority are not yet Christians and those who have been baptized have not been catechized nor are they more Christian than having received baptism.²⁶

Meanwhile, the first century of life within the Hispanic world passes.

THE YEAST OF A WORLD UNDER (RE)CONSTRUCTION

Destruction, reconstruction, or rather construction, since what is born is so different that it can hardly be said to be in continuity with what came before, at least in its purely autochthonous part. And this is related to the resistance that the Indians oppose to conquest, then to ruthless exploitation. Therefore, we must accept that the reality during the 16th century is different from that of New Spain, a universe better sheltered from the continuous waves, even from the storms that can shake the north. As in the center of New Spain, New Galicia experiences a military and spiritual conquest, but here the first and the second are more linked, even confused in some characters and circumstances. It was a composite yeast, both Indian and Spanish, that gave rise to a hard, black bread, with heroic veins and dyed with blood. Outside of all rhetoric, let's take some examples of these destinies that sealed the future of New Galicia in its gestation, in its first years.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁶ AGI, General indifferent, N. 283, fol. IV.

And all this within the imperial system that has its own demands with a combination of force and accommodation: force especially in the first decades, but from which a space of borders and confrontations cannot be completely eliminated. Circumstances are even established that are like traps for future men-at-arms. In 1544, at a particularly critical moment—between the Mixtón and the discovery of the mines of Zacatecas—an ailing old conquistador abandons his encomienda. In reality it was probably an arrangement that happened with someone else: in exchange for money? The truth is that the governor of Nueva Galicia transferred the encomienda to the daughter of another conqueror, Leonor de Padilla; that is to say:

The town of Yahualica with the ranches contained above with their subjects so that you can use them in your haciendas and farms as Don Juan de Halahejos had them, as long as His Majesty's will is, and as long as until you get married, you give a man who resides in this city of Guadalajara with his weapons and horse to his majesty in the things and cases that are offered regarding his royal service. And with whatever charge you have from the industrialists and teach the Indian sayings.²⁷

We understand that at the same time that help is given, such as a dowry to a conqueror's daughter, a trap is woven capable of attracting a good young man to Nueva Galicia, who can serve with weapons and a horse. In this case the maid was paired with a certain Francisco de Olivares.

But the file only begins here. In 1612, the husband of a granddaughter of the first conqueror used disinterested abandonment as an argument? of the ancestor to ask for a mercy from the Crown. And to make the measure complete, it adds its own service report. With this, the politics and social reality within which the monarchy moves is drawn very clearly, requiring men to occupy multiple, unspecialized positions, with a background of deep loyalty, and the demonstration of their fortitude: without a doubt Weapons experience offers many guarantees. And so it is that the claimant, like many of those of the 16th century from the northern territories, has gone through all the steps of the military career, and with a speed that attracts attention. For fifteen years now (1597-1612, therefore) Captain Juan Hontoria del Corro, a resident of Guadalajara, has served the king "as a soldier, sergeant, second lieutenant and captain of infantry, and in positions of justice."²⁸ He fought in the Caribbean, was

²⁷ AGI, Guadalajara 49, N. 12, fol. 12r.
²⁸ AGI, Guadalajara 49, N. 12, fol. 21V.

later chief justice, captain of the prison, mayor and judge of the *mesta* both in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya. And what he asks for is in unity: be it a position of factor in Zacatecas, or mayor in Tabasco, Metepec, Las Amilpas; or distribution judge in Atlixco or San Pablo. A wide range of possibilities in an extensive geography, which can offer opportunities to prosper to an already tired soldier who has demonstrated his abilities and accumulated merits, his own and those of others. Suddenly he was offered a good bone to chew: in 1613 he was appointed, by the Audiencia, mayor of the Fresnillo mines. We have his (and his wife's) inventory of assets at that precise moment: 23,800 pesos in total, something more than simple well-off mediocrity.²⁹

Examples could be multiplied here, such as that of the accountant of Nueva Galicia in 1597, Francisco de Covarrubias, son of a father and married to a granddaughter of the conqueror Diego de Colio, and who for eight years was "lieutenant general in the war against the Chichimecas [...] he did not take a salary, but rather he spent more than eight thousand pesos from his treasury in the outing he made against the Indian robbers, and in money that he gave to the soldiers to be able to provide themselves with weapons and horses. 30 The king's man, but also a man of influence, although his troops do not exceed twenty warriors that he puts at the service of the Crown. Of course everything ends with the usual plea: "he is poor and has many children." However, at the beginning of the 17th century, something was already changing: when Diego de Porres, senior lieutenant of Guadalajara, presented his information in 1609, he effectively relied on the merits of the De la Mota clan, to which his wife, Doña Catalina Temiño, belonged. of the Mota; produces the same complaints - he has seven daughters to marry and no dowries - but he adds something new:

In the year five hundred and ninety-nine, as senior lieutenant of the said city of Guadalajara, head of that province, Your Majesty raised the royal banners in it, which act and service he performed very principally and lucidly with much expense of his estate in horses, weapons, clothing and accessories for his person and liveries for his servants and many other things necessary for the ornament and authority of said ministry on which he spent more than three thousand pesos.³¹

²⁹ AGI, Mexico 263. He makes his declaration of assets in 1625, but also refers to the situation in 1613.

³⁰ AGI, Guadalajara 48, N. 23.

³¹ AGI, Patronato 85, N. 2, R. 6, fol. 2r.

Compulsory dressings, liveries and decorations: the process of civilization is being introduced, as we will see, 32 at least in the capital of New

Galicia. Within that game of varied opportunities that this new world offers in movement we have other profiles, more extreme perhaps. The best known and accepted is that of the "monk and sailor", as his biographer Mariano Cuevas, Andrés de Urdaneta, described him. 33 This Basque was born in 1508, and already in 1525 he participated in the unsuccessful expedition of Jofre de Loaisa and Sebastián Elcano that left Coruña heading to the Moluccas Islands through the Strait of Magellan. Urdaneta himself, returning to Spain in 1536, summarizes his actions: "He served as a soldier and officer of the Royal Treasury in the wars against the Portuguese." During the years of captivity in the Moluccas and the trip around the world that he finally made to return to Europe, he accumulated a lot of information and experience. He stayed in the motherland for a short time: in 1538 he came to these parts [New Spain] with the fleet and company of Don Pedro de Alvarado, to go to discover the islands and because the effect of the journey had ceased, "He stayed in this city [Mexico] and went to pacify those of New Galicia, until it was over, with weapons and horses." That is to say, he was in the Mixtón twice: with Pedro de Alvarado and with the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, fighting as a soldier.³⁴

It is not surprising that the viceroy appointed him magistrate of half of the towns of Ávalos, on the limits of Nueva Galicia, in 1543. He was also commissioned to visit some settlements of the new kingdom, in particular the port of Christmas, of such importance in the future of Urdaneta's life. Suddenly they had to deal with an Indian revolt near La Purificación. 35 In 1548 he planned to return to sea, but the expedition in which he was to be admiral aborted and he stayed in Mexico.

In 1553 the soldier, sailor and officer took a decisive step: he professed as an Augustinian religious. But his talents were not forgotten, and when it came to setting up the Legaspi expedition to the Philippines, leaving the port of Christmas, Viceroy Velasco thought of Urdaneta, and Philip II wrote to the religious: «And because of the much news that you tell "What you have about the things of that land [the Malucas] and to understand, as you understand well the navigation of it and to be a good cosmographer, it would be of great effect if you were on the said ships." 36 The

32 See chapters 13 and 14.

33 Mariano Cuevas, *Monk and sailor. The life and times of Brother Andrés de Urdaneta* (Mexico: Layac, 1943).

34 *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 134-136.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 186.

The rest, the expedition, the successful return voyage that concluded in Acapulco in October 1565 belong to history.

Between secular life, weapons, and religion there were other destinations in Nueva Galicia. Since they are not as recommendable as that of the Augustinian, they must be rescued in the dungeons of the Holy Office. It is possible that Juan Sarmiento once crossed the path of Fray Urdaneta. This Sevillian was arrested in 1572 in Cocula at the request of the S.O. Indeed, in the past he had made solemn profession in the convent of San Agustín de México. He thought better of it, gave up the habit in Guadalajara, was married for a few months, and called himself a miner at the time of his arrest. He tried to mitigate his guilt, he asked for the support of his coreligionists, of course without success: such a rogue was more than a stain on the coat of arms of the religious order.³⁷

The situation of Brother Miguel Lobato is less ambiguous at the time of his testimony in the Inquisition of Mexico (1585), but the framework is considerably amplified. This man from Madrid, from a good family, a page in two families of the high nobility (the advance of the Canary Islands, the Neapolitan prince of Astillano), took part in military campaigns in North Africa when he was barely a teenager. At the age of 18 he wore the Franciscan habit in Madrid. Around 1547 he went to Nueva Galicia, where he was a missionary for six years. He returns to Madrid, but a family dispute forces him to flee, hanging up his habit. He returned to Naples in 1556, "and walked in the king's fields and forces in Naples, becoming a man of arms; and he later went to Flanders in the company of D. Lope Zapata, a native of Madrid, during the time of the Duke of Alba, in whose fields he was a soldier against the heretics, killing them and beheading them" for ten years (1567-1576). Age is upon him, as well as fatigue from the massacres; He plans to return to his first vocation, and to do so he travels to Rome "to seek absolution and dispensation from the said apostasy and deaths." ³⁸ In 1578 he was in Seville, with his habit, ready to embark. For a time he will be a guardian in Sayula and Poncitlán, but always being unstable; he seems to have sought adventure in Guatemala and Comayagua, but this time as a Franciscan.

In 1585, in front of the Inquisition court, he is a man loaded with years but above all with experiences that he testifies to. He is capable of reviving the papal court and his concubines, the Roman taverns or the religious wars that then upset Europe. For all this he is a man willing to tolerate, even with heretics! That is why the Franciscans

³⁷ Rubén Villaseñor Bordes, *The inquisition in New Galicia (16th century)* (Guadalajara: Vera, 1959), p. 136-142.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

they pursue - according to their statements and that the S.O. pays attention to it: "having said sometimes that foreigners, even though there are heretics among them, give us Spaniards an advantage in not persecuting each other, like us being Catholics." 39 Words out of their time, which is why the S.O. He judges them harmless, and lets him go and wander between thoughts and space.

What attracted Brother Miguel Lobato to Nueva Galicia? In the first moment the mirage of souls to be saved. Probably after a few years he thought better of it; He returned to Spain, although he later returned, perhaps fleeing his past as a soldier in Europe. He did not succeed, as the Inquisition file shows. There were other mirages, such as profit. Some achieved it, such as the Oñate, Ibarra, Tolosa and other Bañuelos, founders of Zacatecas in 1546.⁴⁰ Even Juan Hontoria del Corro, who began as a simple soldier; a Francisco de Covarrubias; a Diego de Porres: with everything and their complaints, they knew how to take advantage of their abilities, their marriages, to reach enviable places in the society of Nueva Galicia in the second half of the 16th century. This was not

the case for everyone, and probably not even for the majority of immigrants. Spanish people. And starting with the great man of Nueva Galicia, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán himself. When he died in 1558 at the court in Valladolid, he was certainly not poor, but according to his lineage and the positions he had held "since my childhood, both in wars and in everything else that it has been useful to send me," he was not rich. On his dying bed he still awaits the salaries that have not been paid to him (and never will be) and "money that came to me from Indian women", of which we know nothing. She is an honorable mediocrity for someone who "with his work, his sweat and his blood" has brought more than 200,000 vassals to the king.⁴¹ With bitterness, in the end he cannot help but remember the very different destiny of Hernán Cortés.

Francisco Martín was born at the beginning of the 16th century in the town of Azuaga, about 40 kilometers from the Peñarroya mines. He died in Zacatecas in 1550. There is undoubtedly a relationship between the two places for Francisco, who was employed by the Zaldívar brothers for several years, first in the mines of Izatlán, where he built or renovated a forge; and then in Zacatecas, with a mediocre salary for a Spaniard of 200 pesos per year, which he complains about. He is also a cultured man, a regular reader of Brother Antonio de Guevara. We do not know how long he spent between New Spain and New Galicia, probably between 6 and 10 years, which gave him time to have three children with an Indian woman. But it was not

³⁹ Ibid., p. 135.

⁴⁰ See, in this work, "Elite and society in the second half of the 16th century", Thomas Hillerkuss.

⁴¹ See Blázquez y Calvo, Guadalajara and the new World, p. 265-277.

enough to make a fortune: when he dies it amounts to just 557 pesos, less than three years of salary, also paid irregularly. Many other comparable fates and circumstances can be traced back to what you write in your will. 42

The reality of Juan de Ovares from Biscay, a native of Ontón, twenty kilometers east of Laredo, is even less brilliant: although he has a certain culture, particularly religious, he is illiterate, and in the end they only enter the box of assets of deceased Guadalajara, in 1589, about 86 pesos: little or nothing will reach his mother and heir! As it should be, Juan also fell under the spell of the mines, since he died in the Santelmo camp, Tinamache mines. How Martín served other Spaniards, how he fathered a child with an Indian woman. And his legacies, undoubtedly touching (and revealing), are in line with his fortune: in the last clause he mentions, "that the bedknob be given to María, slave of the said Francisco de Piña for the service she has done to me." 43

The loves of both Francisco Martín and Juan de Ovares looked towards women belonging to dominated groups, with unstable relationships: at the time of death neither of them lives with either the mother of their children or the children; and they seem to have other sentimental interests, with another Indian woman or a probably black slave. It is another profound mark of instability, fundamental, that will continue even in the 17th century, and in the urban environment, when Guadalajara will reach illegitimacy rates of more than sixty percent of those baptized. What is the future of these children? Francisco's three children are in Mexico with their Indian mother. The father gives them one hundred pesos for the three of them. There is no doubt that these little mestizos are within the indigenous sphere: will they manage to get out of it? It is not their inheritance, if they ever received it, that will help them remember their father and their part of the culture.

Juan is more attentive, he asks the said Francisco de Piña, who was his master, to pick up his 6-month-old child who is in Ahuacatlán with his Indian mother, "and take him home and raise him in the service of our Lord, and I send the said child thirty pesos of the said gold." He will be one of those innumerable servants of mixed blood who lived in the houses of high lineage, more or less integrated, and therefore more or less unstable and unruly. If such a child, deprived of its mother, reached adulthood. Let us note that in both cases the children receive what was Judas' salary, the 30 silver coins: another symbol, for

42 See Thomas Calvo, «A Zacatecan testament of 1550», *Relations* 9, vol. 3 (Winter 1982): 121-128.

43 See Calvo, *The dawn of a new world*, p. 148-153.

involuntary assumption, of the ambiguous, uncomfortable position that the members of the group in formation of the castes received as an inheritance, throughout the Indies.

However, in the case of both Francisco and Juan, the tragic seal that is that of that time is missing. This one is given to us by Bartolomé Pérez: one morning in January 1573 he left Jerez de la Frontera, he never returned. His body was never found, but "it is understood that the aforementioned Bartolomé Pérez has been killed by Chichimecas, a league and a half from this town, due to the traces of the Chichimecas and fires that they have made"; Later their horse and saddle would be found in their possession. This Extremaduran, native of "a town next to Alburquerque, on the border with Portugal," 45 went to the wrong border. Single, he died as he lived, lonely; At least in the two years he had been in Jerez he does not seem to have had established relationships with anyone. He was poor, the sale of his possessions, essentially his clothing, apart from a horse with a saddle and a blue shell, some knives and ounces of silk, amounted to a total of 85 pesos. 46 He was at the service of others, such as Francisco Martín and Juan de Ovaes, but in even less prominent activity: "and he has seen him walking with the cart crew of the deceased Francisco Ruiz and later with the crews of the wife of the same Francisco

Ruiz ». 47 However, Bartolomé had a dream that he repeated to everyone: <<<many times he told him that he would have gone to Castile if Juan García de Manzanares had paid him certain money that he owed him and that he was not expecting anything else but that he would "Juan García paid to go to Castilla"; More precisely, with that money he wanted to buy a black man, dress well "to enter his land as a good man." 48 It is the usual chimera of every migrant that the Chichimecas destroyed along with Pérez's life. In this life there is finally only one true mystery: among his few possessions, apart from an old notary, there are "some old hours of Our Lady in Latin":49 were they of his use?, the memory and relic of other times?

CONCLUSION: A FRACTURED FRONTIER SOCIETY If

we try to reflect on this human group that Nueva Galicia offers us throughout the second half of the 16th century - let us leave aside how -

⁴⁴ AGI, Contracting 476, N. 1, R. 23, fol. 1st and 6th.

⁴⁵ AGI, Contracting 476, N. 1, R. 23, fol. 8v.

⁴⁶ AGI, Contratación 476, N. 1, R. 23, fol. 5v.

⁴⁷ AGI, Contracting 476, N. 1, R. 23, fol. 1v.

⁴⁸ AGI, Contratación 476, N. 1, R. 23, fol. 1v and 6v.

⁴⁹ AGI, Contracting 476, N. 1, R. 23, fol. 3rd.

the maelstrom of the years 1530-1550 being too agitated - we are in the presence of a series of heartbreaks and tragedies that prevent any reconciliation, at least in the medium term. On the one hand, in a thousand ways - epidemics, exploitation, war - the indigenous population continues to bleed to death, in a way that still moves us today, despite the time that has passed. The Chichimecas are becoming extinct, physically but perhaps above all culturally: too much beef and horses, too many blankets, too many temptations coming from the other side, too many forms of exploitation whether in the mines, on the nascent haciendas, in the suburbs of the towns and cities under construction. The Indians of peace sigh, longing for their beliefs, their settlements on the hills, they creak under the taxes, the burdens imposed on them as *tamemes*, the blows of their *encomenderos*, *corregidores* or priests; to the point that they no longer want to procreate unfortunate people. Some climb the most inaccessible, the Nayar; They prepare to resist for a time more than secular (*Coras* and *apostates*) or they prepare a bloody rebellion (*Tepehuanos*).

Even within the dominant ones there is a patent disagreement: some, heirs of the conquerors, consider that they have not been compensated for what enough. They feel that the upstarts-the king's gang-are heard-
res, royal officials and some mayors and *corregidores* and their relatives, They marginalize them, leave them in poverty is their word, at the same time that the *encomiendas* offer them fewer resources or are taken away from them. It is true that progressively each learns to share: there are so many dangers in Nueva Galicia, there is so much wealth to exploit, that an alliance between the two dominant groups is made: the feminine capital represented by the granddaughters of the conquerors is a good treasure. Thus, in the 17th century, the Flores de la Torre, residents of Guadalajara, among them an archdeacon of the cathedral, combined the surname of Hernán Flores, conqueror and companion of Nuño de Guzmán, with that of Mr. De la Torre, governor and jailer of Guzmán himself, 50

The strength and bravery of some newcomers attracts them honor and sympathy. Francisco de Proaño is a peninsular who arrived in New Spain around 1552, named by his uncle Commander Diego Hernández de Proaño, then an active miner in Zacatecas, and later sheriff of Mexico. Immediately the young man heads to Zacatecas, where he fights over time - ten years "with weapons and horses [his own] and going to help pacify the Chichimeca and Zacatecas and Guachichile Indians." Of course it will be a factor and observer

50 AGI, Indiferent 201, N. 1.

" Peter J. Bakewell, *Mining and society in colonial Mexico: Zacatecas (1546-1700)* (Mexico: FCE, 1976), p. 51.

land of the mines. Of course, there is no shortage of adjectives: "man of great quality, noble gentleman" or "skillful and very knowledgeable man", without forgetting that he is a very good Christian." Like others of his ilk, "he is in need and has nothing to support himself according to the quality of his person." 52 Nothing distinguishes the peninsular *sondalgo* from the descendant of a conqueror; He probably married some *encomendera*, like the others.

A social barrier, although not cultural, separates these worthy and related - as they are beginning to be called - from the poor, those immigrants who arrive with the cape on their backs, some technical knowledge, sometimes with a good cultural level, and who They have to be patient, more than they thought, to achieve independent status. This is the sign of recognition, a social success, within this stratified group of peninsulars: the Indies were not always good Indies for the Castilians themselves, in the 16th century. How long do you have to be patient to achieve effective growth? Let's return to the victims of the mirage, Francisco Martín, Juan de Ovares and Bartolomé Pérez: death interrupts their progression, if they ever undertook it. In six to ten years Francisco accumulated a small capital, but still insufficient. Juan even less, but we don't know when he arrived; Although he is relatively young, nothing seems to indicate that he was in the Indies for more than a few years, probably four or five. Bartolomé seems to be an even more recent transplant into the world of the border. Another fundamental circumstance in these three cases: they do not seem to have had relatives, or even close acquaintances on whom to rely, to climb together. Isolation was undoubtedly a serious limitation, perhaps as much as an obscure origin. This difficult barrier to cross upwards made them derive part of their ties towards other groups, thus being active agents of the budding caste society, with offspring who would inherit the double frustration, that of the poor Spaniard in a country of *Cucaña*, the of a mother belonging to a world of servitude (Indian or African). With

what has been said, it is healthy to return to what we wrote in the introduction, as if to bite our tail: "it requires men without ties." Definitely, but that they pass the test, that they respond for their religious characteristics, mental, physical and cultural to the prevailing model brought from Castile, molded to the fire of the Conquest. If not, let them wait a few years of adventures or Times change, back in the 1600s. There was a golden age for loose men, perhaps for free women, even for *mestizos*, but it lasted a generation, with some exceptions, as notable as that of Miguel Caldera (1548-1597). Vol- see about this brilliant figure, with a life full of dangers but also of

52 AGI, Board of Trustees 65, N. 1, R. 8.

achievements; Remembering his dialogues with King Nayar, another mythical figure, is a way to escape an overly negative view of those times, the toughest that the region as a whole has ever experienced.

PART FOUR THE
CONSOLIDATION OF THE
KINGDOM: THE
GREAT 17TH CENTURY

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the cultural context of the research. It highlights the need for researchers to be sensitive to the values and beliefs of the communities they are studying. This is particularly important in the field of education, where cultural differences can significantly impact learning outcomes.

The second part of the paper focuses on the methodology used in the study. It describes the process of selecting participants, collecting data, and analyzing the results. The authors emphasize the importance of using a mixed-methods approach to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

The third part of the paper presents the findings of the study. It discusses the results of the quantitative data analysis and the insights gained from the qualitative interviews. The authors conclude that there are significant cultural differences in the way that students learn and that these differences should be taken into account by educators.

The final part of the paper discusses the implications of the findings for future research and practice. It suggests that further studies should be conducted to explore the cultural factors that influence learning outcomes. Additionally, it recommends that educators should be trained to recognize and address cultural differences in the classroom.

LAND, MINES AND DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH

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BREAKS AND CONTINUITIES: THE POSSESSION OF THE LAND

Agricultural production and land ownership underwent a clear transformation in New Galicia throughout the 16th century. With the arrival of the Spanish to western Mesoamerica, for example, cocoa production intensified where it was already cultivated, although towards the end of the same century its decline seemed irreversible, particularly due to the lack of labor. It is also true that other indigenous agricultural products continued to be produced by Native Americans, such as corn, and that Europeans introduced novelties such as wheat and later sugar cane. In the same way, cattle were another new element that came to stay and a part of the land was destined to accommodate them and feed them. Although during this century there were large expanses of land unused and without owners, the conquerors took little interest in them; On the contrary, they put all their interest in the *encomiendas* and then in the lands that the indigenous people were already using. In both situations, the natives worked fields whose fruits ended up in the possession of the Spanish. This reality lasted the first years of the Conquest, although gradually the cocoa orchards, corn and cotton fields were expanded at the request of the *encomendero*. But with the relative multiplication of livestock and the progressive arrival of new European migrants, the problem of using the virgin land until that moment arose. There were two difficulties in this regard. One of geographical type, namely the inaccessible or high-risk nature of certain places near the jungle coast.

¹ On this topic of the *encomienda*, you can see the chapter by Salvador Álvarez, "The first regionalization (1530-1570)", in this same work.

Lakes and swampy areas populated by alligators were common, and the mountains were the realm of unfriendly wild animals, including fearsome felines and the abundance of trees, which prevented all agricultural activity. The second difficulty was human, even social. Throughout the 16th century, many regions were still controlled by hostile indigenous people, never subdued by conquering expeditions; In those areas the Spaniards did not set foot so as not to put their lives at risk. Therefore, for many conquerors it was easier to strip the subjugated indigenous people of their workable lands or appropriate the empty fields left by those who had fled to the mountains and those left in ruins due to the disappearance and death of so many populations, following the Spanish Conquest. That is why the colonization and appropriation of virgin and idle lands was not immediate, until the cattle began to do so, venturing into those territories without owners, in those regions to which the European colonizer did not risk going.²

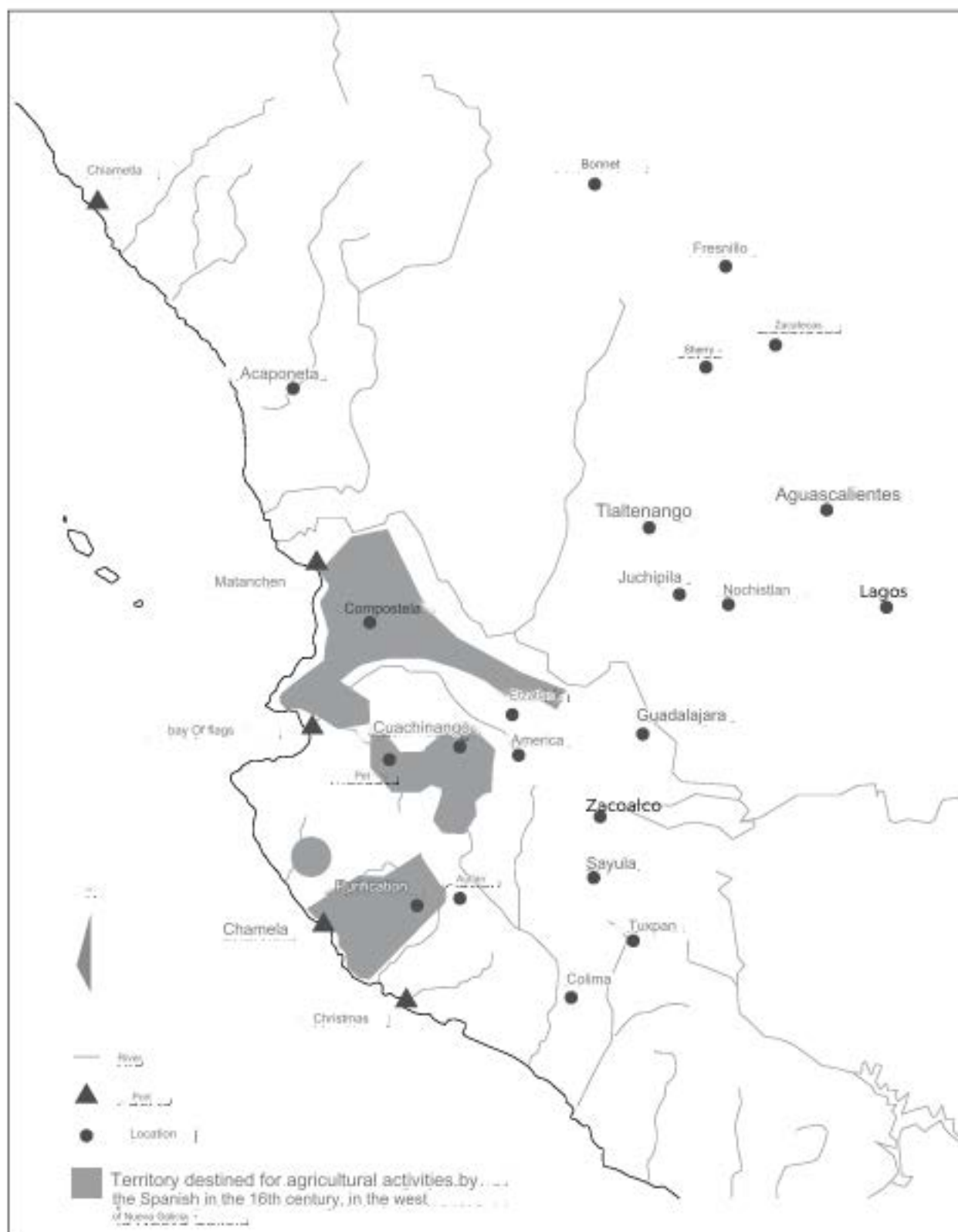
Towards the end of the 16th century, the geographical map on the use of land for agricultural purposes had quite precise and well-defined contours in New Galicia. Almost the entire municipality of Compostela was territory incorporated into field work; The Rio Grande marked the limits on one side of the mayor's office, since across it was the Nayarita mountain range, where the rebellious indigenous people had accommodation; The same thing happened with the mountainous territories that rise in front of the Banderas Valley, a dangerous place for having been a receptacle for men hostile to the conquerors. The district of Ahuacatlán, a narrow corridor that connected Compostela with Etzatlán, was a place of arable fields since pre-Hispanic times. But in the rugged district of Jocotlán the conquest of the land was slow, difficult and very uncertain: the Franciscans had devoted much effort to this enterprise despite the abuses of the miners on the indigenous people. In the Guachinango mayor's office the situation showed less vicissitudes; Since the Mixtón problem was resolved, the Spanish had definitively imposed themselves in this region and towards the end of the 16th century the colonial authorities had granted a good number of land concessions there. In the mining district of Oxtotitlán - later better known as San Sebastián del Oeste, a mountainous region like

² Esteban Barragán López, «The rancherada in México. Companies in motion, anonymous and variable capital », *Relations. Studies in History and Society* 69 (Winter 1997): 134.

³ Mylène Péron, *Le Mexique, terre de mission franciscaine (XVIe-XIXe siècle): la province de Xalisco* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005).

⁴ Cf. Jesús Amaya, *Ameca: Mexican proto-foundation* (Guadalajara: UNED, 1983).

MAP 1. OCCUPATION OF THE LAND IN THE 16TH CENTURY



none, the difficulty was more of a geographical nature and the settlers were more interested in the mines than in the land. In the province of Purificación, one of the largest in the 16th century, but also one of the most depopulated

By both indigenous people and Europeans, there was a lot of virgin territory, not incorporated into agricultural work, towards the end of the century of the Conquest. The eight or ten permanent residents of said town barely controlled half of the region, that is, from the San Nicolás River to the south: the mountains on one side, the swampy areas on the other, and the hostile indigenous people prevented the Spanish from dominating the area. entire mayor's office. The surroundings of Guadalajara, on the contrary, were incorporated into field work without obstacles, unlike the semi-desert territories located north of the Huentitán ravine, still the domain of Chichimeca insecurity.⁵

The impressive indigenous demographic collapse left arable land available, but also a growing need for labor that inhibited the urgent search for new territories suitable for agricultural tasks. Furthermore, the inhabitants of Nueva Galicia, being few in number, had their needs satisfied quickly and safely both in the areas of self-consumption and commerce. For example, in 1589, a certain Garci Rodríguez had a ranch halfway between Compostela and the Espíritu Santo mines. He raised cattle, had a wheat field, another corn field, and a boxwood orchard. He led a completely rural life and his products were sold without difficulty around his property. In 1590, for example, he had sold 400 bushels of corn, some loads of cocoa and salt to Pedro de Zúñiga, a miner from Tinamache. He also sold his products in Compostela, in Ahuacatlán and in the mines of Chimaltitlán. In other words, local farmers did not need to look for distant markets to sell their products at the end of the 16th century. Garci Rodríguez, of modest and completely rural appearance, was considered by the royal officials of Guadalajara, however, as an "honest and generous" person. About 30 years later, a priest named Domingo Lázaro de Arregui experienced the same situation. It had a wheat field, two cattle ranches that did not work intensively because it only had 22 oxen, 10 donkeys, 2 mares, 8 horses and 8 cows: it was more like a small farm equipped with the necessary tools for farming. Agricultural work. Now, even though they were considered "honest and generous" people, these farmers were incapable of paying off debts exceeding a thousand pesos. It was because the profits were found in other sectors, such as the livestock that was exported.

⁵ See in this regard the chapter by Salvador Álvarez, "The Chichimeca War", in this same work.

⁶ INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 3-73, 17th century, file 2, exp. 12.

⁷ INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 7-74, 17th century, file 2, exp. 3.

⁸ Since 1618 Lázaro de Arregui had a debt of 6,931 pesos payable in

THE AGRICULTURAL BALANCE

At the dawn of the 17th century the agricultural world was in balance. Throughout Nueva Galicia the diversity of productions and modes of production could be seen, from subsistence and self-consumption agriculture to that for commerce. It is enough to read carefully and carefully the description that Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar wrote about New Galicia around 1605.¹⁰ Except for some products such as honey, salt and cocoa, all the others were grown in the New Galicia territory. In other words, if we had accompanied Bishop Mota and Escobar on his journey, we would have seen, between Guadalajara and Cocula, the same crops that existed between Tecolotlán, Oxtoticpac and Purificación, and between Tequepespan, Sentispac and the Banderas Valley. In each of these regional blocks the bishop listed the same products from the countryside: wheat, corn, American fruits and legumes that coexisted with European ones; Fishing, hunting and livestock were activities that were also practiced in each of these regional groups. In Compostela and Purificación, Bishop Mota y Escobar observed that cocoa and salt were also produced in the latter town. Were they self-sufficient territorial blocks? Surely yes with regard to cereals and products intended for self-consumption. If the valleys of Cocula, Ameca and Tlajomulco were called to supply the capital city, Guadalajara; The western fields had been given the task of satisfying the strong demand caused by the mining centers of Ocotitlán, Guachinango, Oxtoticpac, Xocotlán, Jora, Chimaltitlán... On the other hand, the poor road network and the great distances between the Spanish populations" favored this rearrangement of the regional blocks mentioned above. By the way, when the Deceased Estates Court had to recover cereal crops in any of those regions, it preferred that they be sold there and only take the money to Guadalajara.

several years if he repaid 1,232 pesos 6 tomines annually. AHJ, Protocols notaries, Andrés Venegas, volume 1, pages. 239-239v; and for Garci Rodríguez see INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 3-73, 17th century, file 2, exp.

12. A detailed description is found in Thomas Calvo, «Guadalajara, capitale provinciale de l'Occident mexicain au XVII^e siècle» (doctoral thesis, EHESS, 9 1987), volume 1, pp. 510-523.

10 Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Geographic description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / IJAH, 1993).

11 On the subject see the work of Thomas Calvo, On the roads of Nueva Galicia: transports and transporters in the 17th century (Mexico: Universidad de Guadalajara / Cemca, 1997).

This fact reveals that the capital of New Galicia did not yet need the agricultural products harvested in distant lands.¹²

In reality, Guadalajara only needed three products that were not found in its vicinity and that had to be obtained in the west of New Galicia, not to mention in the coastal territory: cocoa, honey and salt. Cocoa production had decreased significantly with the decline of the 16th century, but even in 1615 there were merchants from Guadalajara who requested specific orders for cocoa. Diego de Zúñiga, for example, a merchant from Guadalajara, desperately sought to buy two loads of cocoa in Valle de Banderas that year of 1615.¹³ Honey from the coast was also highly coveted in the capital, at a time when cane was just beginning to enter the market. the fields of Etzatlán, Ocotlán and Tequila, in a still very incipient manner. That is why the honey trade was a very profitable activity in the time of Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar. We know the case of a Portuguese man named Rodrigo Tavares, who spent his days trading honey from the province of Purificación. We know that he bought each arroba of honey for two pesos, but we do not know the price at which he sold it. ¹⁵ Compared to salt, it was an expensive product, since a bushel of salt cost four times less than an arroba of honey. The beekeeping harvest was obtained almost exclusively on the coast, as it had its origin in the work of a native American bee that lived on the coast.¹⁶ Salt, honey and cocoa from the coast were the only products from this area that were present in the Guadalajara market during the 16th century. However, towards the middle of the 17th century, none of these three products resisted the demographic crisis. Cocoa production stopped, salt production decreased significantly and honey production was replaced by sugar cane.¹⁷

A characteristic of the agricultural balance existing at the beginning of the 17th century in New Galicia was its highly precarious and inevitably unstable nature, due to the growing demographic decline and the uncertainty that this caused in the agricultural sector, especially in those activities that required a lot of labor, not to mention that the new field tasks, such as breeding

¹² To exemplify a case, that of the death of Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, see INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 4-74, 17th century, file 2, exp. 3, f. 9.

¹³ AHJ, Notary Protocols, Andrés Venegas, vol. 1, fs. 1947-195.

¹⁴ De la Mota y Escobar, Geographical description, pp. 35-37.

¹⁵ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 254a, exp. 4e, f. 162.

¹⁶ Woodrow Borah, Price trends of royal tribute goods in Nueva Galicia, 1557-1598 (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco / El Colegio de Michoacán, 1994), p. 93.

¹⁷ Calvo, Guadalajara, capitale provinciale, volume 1, pp. 502-506.

of cattle, were still in the making. In such a way that we can only speak of conjunctural agricultural balance. It was enough for cattle thieves to kill a good number of cattle or for ranchers to sell more females than they should to see this balance disturbed and the price of meat skyrocketing. ¹⁸ It was enough for a family patriarch, or any member of a landowning family, to die to trigger an endless judicial process among the heirs, accompanied by disruption and decline in production. The crisis that the rural world of New Galicia went through in the mid-17th century was also fueled by this type of random situations.

MINING IN THE WEST OF NEW GALICIA

In 1536, towards the end of the year, Nuño de Guzmán left Compostela with a view to Mexico, then Spain. He was accompanied by some of his captains, such as Juan Fernández de Híjar, Pedro Ruiz de Haro, and other conquistadors, such as Antonio de Aguayo. When they arrived in Ahuacatlán, according to Aguayo, Guzmán was informed of the recent discovery of some silver deposits very close to there, in a place called Zacatlán.¹⁹ Governor Guzmán immediately appointed a mayor for the mines with precise instructions for that no one exploited the veins until his return and he baptized them: Zacatlán de Nuestra Señora. In April 1537, despite the mayor's efforts to enforce Nuño de Guzmán's instructions not to distribute mines, there were already owners, starting with the governor himself, who had been awarded at least ten veins of silver, where His waiter employed the indigenous people of his encomiendas. In less than six months the number of silver mines exploited in Zacatlán was greater than 20.²⁰ In 1538 they were still being worked on, but the site was suddenly abandoned shortly after.²¹ This first discovery put the Spanish on the trail of other important silver veins, because Zacatlán was not far from Guachinango. In fact, from Purificación to the Nayar and beyond, the mountain range contains important deposits of silver that during the 16th and 17th centuries made the fortune of some and the misfortune of others. It was a metal with a law

¹⁸ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 28.

¹⁹ Declaration of Antonio de Aguayo, 1537, response to question 37, in AGI, justice 337, *passim* fs. 263-277.

²⁰ Declaration of Alonso López, Martín de Mondragón and Pedro de Soto, on April 14, 1537, in AGI, justice 337, pages. 55-59.

²¹ AGI, Guadalajara 5, R. 1, N. 5, paragraph 2.

lower than that of Zacatecas, but enough to stimulate the dreams of wealth of many Europeans.

The example of Zacatlán illustrates the fate of mining throughout the entire 16th century in the west of Nueva Galicia: the discovery of a silver vein mobilized many people and improvised populations were created in the mountains, steep slopes, near the mines. Ephemeral towns that disappeared with the same cadence with which they had been formed, because the silver veins quickly depleted, and hostile Indians often contributed to the collapse. depopulated without the improvised miners attempting the rescue again of silver. It was the fate of almost all the mines of the 16th century in the west: Guachinango, Xocotlán, Guajacatlán, Amajaque, Espíritu Santo, Ocotitlán, Copala, Chimaltitlán, Zacatongo... These mining centers all suffered the same symptoms of instability. It was not a temporary problem but rather a structural.²² For the mining activity to work, a certain amount of number of essential elements were gathered. Appropriate veins, labor, tools, animal motive power, installation of infrastructure (mills, foundries, laundries), chemical products (salt, copper, quicksilver), abundant wood and water, supply of food and clothing for the population, etc. If a main element was missing, such as quicksilver, water, wood or salt, production was irremediably stopped. Finally, you had to have the ability to ensure the maintenance of facilities and deal with to natural threats. Unusually heavy and prolonged rain It could flood a mine forever or paralyze production for years. The mining activity in western neo-Galician was one of the economic occupations of high risk. It was a source of enormous power of attraction but those who invested in That sector was always as close to wealth as it was to catastrophe. To a large extent, the problem was reduced to the lack of economic resources to invest in the mine and to resist in case of crisis.²³

At the arrival of the 17th century there was a slight displacement of mining activity in the west of Nueva Galicia: the silver production of Xocotlán, Tinamache and Chimaltitlán, successful at the end of the 16th century, was surpassed by the bonanza of Oxtoticpac (and later even again by that of Guachinango). The reasons were not geographical, since the Oxtoticpac mountains were the furthest and steepest compared to the other veins in question. They were the worst located mines in relation to the sources of salt and

²² Calvo, Guadalajara, capitale provinciale, vol. 2, pp. 526-569 and 585-603.

²³ See the chapter by Jaime Lacueva, "Zacatecas: imperial north", in this same work.

There was no abundance of labor in its surroundings. In other words, the Oxtoticpac area had no geographical, administrative, or natural resource advantage over the other mines in the west and yet it surpassed them in production throughout the 17th century. Whose fault was it, then? We must look for the reasons in what the men of that time did or did not do. Indeed, the mines near Ahuacatlán (Xocotlán, Chimaltitlán, Tinamache), which somehow had the privilege of connecting with the Camino Real that led from Compostela to Guadalajara, located in an area with sufficient and nearby labor, and adjacent to an agricultural area that supplied it with basic supplies, prosperous mines at the end of the 16th century, suffered decline because their owners faced judicial processes that seemed like poisoned darts, coupled with the deaths of their owners, which in turn triggered succession conflicts that led the mines to ruin and abandonment.²⁴

On the contrary, the mines of Oxtoticpac and then those of Guachinango experienced a kind of unprecedented golden age during the first half of the 17th century. The reasons are diverse but they all indicate that success was achieved thanks to the dedicated and constant work, the correct management and the good administration of its owners. In addition to the fact that the Oxtoticpac miners managed to escape exhausting judicial processes, they obtained credit and financing from Guadalajara merchants to inject capital into their mines and keep them in constant production. Furthermore, they were able to maintain good relations with the royal officials of the government of New Galicia to obtain the quicksilver and the necessary supplies. The most representative example was that of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, owner of Guachinango, who managed to establish privileged relationships with royal officials to promote the smooth running of his production. In other words, the bonanza of the western mines during the 17th century was linked to the support of Guadalajara merchants and the favor of Guadalajara officials.²⁵

²⁴ Antonio de Carbajal, owner of Xocotlán, died in 1607 and bequeathed to his son Rodrigo de Carbajal some mines with a heavy debt and an endless judicial process; Pedro de Narváez, owner of Chimaltitlán, died in 1592 and left no successor in the work of his mine. Cf. Arístarco Regalado Pinedo, *L'Ouest mexicain à l'époque des découvertes et des conquêtes (XVI-XVII siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013), pp. 255-264.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-275.

THE CRISIS OF 1635 AND 1690

In 1635 the mining sector was shaken by the crisis. It had already been seen for five years when the supply of quicksilver decreased significantly and because all supplies for the proper functioning of the mine cost more. All in all, the miners managed to postpone the crisis for a few years thanks to the financial support of the Guadalajara merchants, but its arrival was inevitable. Since 1620 the agricultural crisis continued to worsen, seeming eternal, as it lasted until 1640 when it timidly began to be overcome.²⁶ The price of cattle had reached unimaginable heights in 1621,²⁷ and a decade later its value had remained stratospheric.²⁸ The epidemics, present throughout the century, aggravated the crisis by decimating, above all, the representative population of the labor force: in 1637 the epidemic that hit the mayor's office of Compostela was particularly fatal,²⁹ and in 1648 it attacked with virulence to the mine workers, to the extent that the president of the Guadalajara Court explained in a letter dated April 24 of that year: "the mines of this district were in incredible need of people, and today with this accident that [the plague] has come, they will be in the detour."³⁰ So since 1635, when the crisis hit the mining sector, there was already a generalized crisis in all productive spheres of New Galicia. In reaction, Guadalajara merchants decreased their financial presence in the mining sector. Faced with this withdrawal, the merchants of Mexico made their appearance but in an insufficient manner and in a mined and diminished terrain, since the miners could not present large guarantees to support their credit requests because their assets, including their mines, were already pledged to the merchants from Guadalajara.

During the crisis that lasted from 1635 to 1656, many miners succumbed and lost their assets without remedy and handed over their mine to the merchants of Guadalajara who were trying to recover their investments and loans. Others tried to rent out their silver deposits and estates in order to escape the blows of the crisis and at least guarantee a safe inflow of money. Some others, finally, redirected their efforts towards other productive sectors with the aim of alleviating the losses: they planted sugar cane, raised livestock, joined associations.

²⁶ Calvo, *Guadalajara, capitale provinciale*, vol. 2, pp. 626-627.

²⁷ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia* (Guadalajara: UNED/Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 1980), p. 85.

²⁸ Thomas Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / Cemca, 1989), p. 127.

²⁹ INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 4-74, 17th century, file 2, exp. 3, fs. 46-48.

³⁰ AGI, Guadalajara 10.

With other miners, they sought to obtain official positions as mayors and there was no shortage of those who tried to make a living as a merchant or simple huckster. The common trait of the miners who succumbed and emerged ruined from the crisis was monoactivity, that is, their only occupation was work in the mine. Because other men like Francisco Rodríguez Ponce³¹ managed to go through the crisis with positive results, even when they came out of it they were converted into prosperous men.

Heir to a fabulous fortune after the death of his father (124,685 pesos), Captain Francisco Rodríguez Ponce had all the luck on his side to become one of the most prosperous men in New Galicia in the mid-17th century. It is advisable, first, to observe the arrival of his father Alonso Rodríguez Ponce, at the beginning of that century, accompanied by Diego, his brother, and the young Francisco, his son - the captain's future father and whom we will nickname "the old man" to avoid confusion. Their first attempt to integrate into the society of Nueva Galicia was made in the mining center of Oxtotitlán, where in 1607 Diego Rodríguez Ponce already owned a mine with a ten-mallet mill.³² That same year, the *oidor* Juan Paz de Vallecillo handed over a mine in Guachinango to Alonso Rodríguez Ponce. He lived near the old town, in Zacatongo, where a mine was already operating and an eight-deck hydraulic mill installed.³³ On these mining bases, at a time of still favorable economic situation, the Rodríguez Ponces made some fortunate maneuvers that later protected them from the silver crisis. In 1618 Alonso Rodríguez Ponce became administrator of the quicksilver tobacconist for the Nayar district, which included the mines located between Etzatlán and Jora. His son Francisco, "the old man," became a miner in Guachinango and his brother Diego emigrated to Guadalajara where he became a merchant.³⁴ With access to positions of trust (responsible for quicksilver), the Rodríguez Ponce had become meritorious, a traditional group to which few belonged and for whom certain royal positions were reserved. This privilege was achieved through the marriage that Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, the elder, contracted with a daughter of Sancho de Rentería, a veteran miner from Guachinango and colonizer of the first

³¹ For more information about this character, see Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, <Fields, towns and villages>, in this work.

³² Jean-Pierre Berthe, Thomas Calvo, Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, *Societies under construction. New Galicia according to the visits of oidores (1606-1616)* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara / CEMCA, 2000), p. 60.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 64 and

³⁴ AHJ, Protocols of notaries, Andrés Venegas, volume 1, pages. 282v-308.

hours of Nueva Galicia.³⁵ The wife and mother of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, the waiter, was called Francisca Rentería y Velasco. Another important change was the move of Diego Rodríguez Ponce. He got rid of the Oxtoticpac mine and became a merchant behind a counter in Guadalajara, where he had lived at least since 1616.³⁶ From the capital of Nueva Galicia he managed to multiply his contacts and relationships with influential men who later benefited his entire family.³⁷

Between 1607 and 1627 Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, the elder, devoted himself to mining activity, where he managed to make significant sums of money. He owned three mining estates: Guachinango, El Rojo and Mezquitán. It was the main consumer of mercury in the jurisdiction of Guachinango.³⁸ In this context of mining bonanza, the agricultural activity it carried out was aimed at sustaining its silver production. He had a cattle ranch and two caballerías of land near his mine, obtained at an uncertain date, perhaps as a dowry when he married.³⁹ In 1618 he received as a royal grant a ranch of cattle and two caballerías in the same province of Guachinango, in exchange for one hundred pesos. However, he was still unable to obtain sufficient agricultural supplies for his mining activity. He was obliged to buy products from the countryside in Autlán, in Guadalajara and even in the Purificación tithes.⁴⁰ However, between 1618 and 1638 agricultural activity and livestock raising took more and more place in the economic strategy of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce. During 1638, in fact, he regularized the possession of nine cattle sites and four caballerías, equivalent to 16,000 hectares of land. No doubt he had been working those domains for years, but with the arrival of the crisis of 1635 he probably preferred to regularize his possession while adding some royal rights.⁴¹

³⁵ Amaya, *Ameca*, p. 546.

³⁶ INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 3-73, 17th century, file 1, exp. 13.

³⁷ Some of their actions and efforts in this regard are reflected in: AHJ, *Protocolos of notaries*, Andrés Venegas, volume 2, f. 158; volume 1, pages. 258v-261; volume 2, pages. 155-155v, 454-455v and 460-463; INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 3-73, century XVII, file 1, exp. 13.

³⁸ AHJ, *Protocolos of notaries*, Andrés de Venegas, volume 2, pages. 454-455v, 460-463; AGI, Guadalajara 9.

³⁹ The first owner had been Juan Fernández de Híjar, companion of Sancho de Rentería. Amaya, *Ameca*, p. 546.

⁴⁰ INAH, Guadalajara section, roll 4-74, 17th century, file 1, exp. 22; AHJ, *Protocolos of notaries*, Andrés Venegas, volume 2, f. 158, fs. 263-266.

⁴¹ AGI, Guadalajara 39, N. 2, pages. 253-262.

The merit of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce was to have dedicated himself to agricultural activities at a time when that sector was in full crisis (1620-1640). It is true that at the beginning it was a complementary activity to mining, but it soon became the main pillar that provided stability to the family economy. And Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, the waiter, followed the same strategy as his father with the diversification of activities. Since his wedding, between 1638 and 1640,⁴² Captain Rodríguez Ponce showed a desire to increase his lands, even if sometimes the cost was high. In 1644 he again regularized the domains inherited from his father and between 1649 and 1653 he made eight new purchases of land, which in total were equivalent to 16 cattle sites and 25 caballerías. But if his father did not pay more than a thousand pesos to secure his properties, Captain Rodríguez Ponce had to pay 30,000 pesos. Although we take into account that the father only paid a regularization, and that the son's purchase was, we can still sense an increase in the price of land⁴³ that confirms that the agricultural crisis had been overcome. Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, the young man, decided to continue with his father's economic strategy without appreciating that the situation had changed.

The economic strategy of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, the Elder, was accompanied by a well-defined marriage policy with which he tried to strengthen his social and economic ties with important figures in the region. The marriage of his only son, Francisco, was not left to chance: he married Doña Juana de Ávalos y Bocanegra, granddaughter of Alonso de Ávalos, the young man. With this maneuver, Rodríguez Ponce turned almost definitively towards the agricultural sector, especially the raising of larger livestock, since on the one hand the bride belonged to the most important family in the province of Ávalos and, on the other, she was descended from the most influential man of the mayor of Compostela: Juana de Ávalos. y Bocanegra was the cousin of Pedro Dávalos Bracamonte.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the non-

⁴² Jesús Amaya assures that he married in 1638 (Ameca p. 551), but in the will of Captain Rodríguez Ponce, signed in 1660, the captain says that his marriage took place 20 years before, that is, around 1640, without giving a precise year. AHJ, Protocols of scribes, Tomás de Orendain, fs. 12ff.

⁴³ In 1652, Captain Rodríguez Ponce regularized two ranches, a pasture and two cocoa farms that his mother had inherited. He paid 1,063 pesos to President Fernández de Baeza for the composition, that is, a high sum compared to the same procedure carried out in 1638. AGI, Guadalajara 39, exp. 2, fs. 253-262.

⁴⁴ Amaya, Ameca, pp. 546-547; Rodolfo Fernández, *Latifundios and dominant groups in the history of the province of Ávalos* (Guadalajara: INAH / Ágata, 1994), pp. 43-64.

Via had contributed an impressive dowry of 22,000 pesos in "steers, mules and mares." Finally, Captain Francisco Rodríguez Ponce sought judicial and administrative positions between 1640 and 1660. First as mayor of Compostela in 1642 and then when he purchased, in 1655, the office of chamber and government secretary by paying 10,000 pesos.⁴⁵ By that year in which Captain Rodríguez Ponce became chamber secretary, the work he carried out in his mines had decreased significantly: only the El Rojo hacienda was operating and the other two (Guachinango and Mezquitán) They were already thrown away. On the contrary, cattle raising had become their most flourishing activity. There is no doubt, as a result of the mining crisis the Rodríguez Ponces became increasingly interested in the agricultural sector. Between 1655 and 1660 they bought the Ocotitlán mines from Andrés Martínez de Quevedo, but only because it was a necessary condition to obtain the three cattle sites and the ten caballerías of land where they were located.⁴⁶ The example of the Rodríguez Ponce family explains the trend that the rural economic dynamics of New Galicia followed throughout the 17th century, especially in the west, its most vigorous region during the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1655, mining was the only economic sector that was still in crisis in New Galicia. For a decade the agricultural world and livestock raising had been in clear recovery. There was no need for miracles because the demographic rise was already noticeable. In effect, the decline in population had plunged New Galicia into a generalized economic crisis; but towards the middle of the 17th century, baptisms were more numerous both in Guadalajara, Zapopan and Tlajomulco and in Lagos, Ameca, Guachinango and Compostela, that is, in all of New Galicia.⁴⁷ In the same way that the demographic aspect had been Decisive in plunging the entire kingdom into crisis, it was decisive in keeping it afloat. On the other hand, livestock raising and agriculture had taken over the productive baton in Nueva Galicia; they had responded quite well to avoid a total crisis in the mining sector. What would have been the fate of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce and many others without cattle raising and agriculture? Thanks to these economic pillars, mining, left in the lurch, did not stop completely. Because the mines changed

⁴⁵ Amaya, Ameca, p. 552; AGI, Guadalajara 39, exp. 2, fs. 245-262; Calvo, Guadalajara, capitale provinciale, volume 4, pp. 1665-1687.

⁴⁶ AGI, Guadalajara 39, exp. 2, fs. 250-262; AHJ, Protocols of scribes, Tomás de Orendain, fs. 12ff.

⁴⁷ Calvo, Guadalajara, capitale provinciale, volume 2, pp. 570-585; Calvo, La Nueva Galicia, pp. 19-91; APC, Books of baptisms and burials, volume 1.

owner in many cases, sometimes they went into ruin a little, or were thrown away, they deteriorated, the extraction of silver decreased, but the mining farms continued to operate waiting for a new boost, for the arrival of a fortunate bonanza. And it came with the demographic recovery, including that of slaves, 48 and from 1655 with a more generous supply of quicksilver, 49 even if sometimes the miners complained (as they always did) that the distribution of quicksilver was carried out with too many irregularities and arbitrariness. Finally, the new impulse towards the mining sector involved the restructuring of the distribution. 50 For all these reasons, the year 1656 left behind the mining crisis and along with it the entire economic crisis of New Galicia.

Since 1655, the winds that blew in the mining regions of western New Galicia, unlike those that passed through Zacatecas, had a taste of bonanza. The improvements in the mining estates began to be visible and the merchants of Guadalajara were already seeking to once again conquer the markets of Oxtotitlán, Jora and even Chiametla, in Nueva Vizcaya, where veins of silver were discovered around that time. 52 The renewed interest that the merchants of Guadalajara showed in the mines of western Nueva Galicia should not be viewed with surprise or surprise, because, as F. Braudel has stated, merchants tirelessly change their investment niches, because profits do too. The essence of capitalism is found in the conjunctures: «si le grand marchand change si souvent d'activité, c'est que le grand profit change sans cesse de secteur. Le capitalisme est d'essence conjoncturelle. 53 Some merchants from Guadalajara teamed up to vigorously win the Oxtotitlán markets in 1659, where after six years of work they managed to place credits greater than 14,000 pesos. 54 The capital of the Guadalajara merchants also invaded the mines of Nueva Vizcaya, especially the El Rosario mine. Although quite far from Guadalajara, its miners did not escape the clever proposals of the Guadalajara merchants: Agustín de Gamboa or Juan Bautista Panduro were well known in those mines, as they multiplied the loans and financing to their miners.

48 Thomas Calvo, *Power, religion and society in 17th-century Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: CEMCA / Guadalajara City Council, 1992), pp. 243-252.

49 Calvo, *Guadalajara, capitale provinciale*, volume 2, pp. 599-603.

50 AGI, Guadalajara 11, N. 92.

51 AHJ, *Protocols of scribes*, Thomas of Orendain (1655), f. 37.

52 AHJ, *Protocols of notaries*, Diego Pérez de Rivera, volume 6, f. 71 and 118; took 7, fs. 51-52; AGI, Guadalajara 11, N. 92.

53 Fernand Braudel, *La dynamique du capitalisme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), p. 65.

54 AHJ, *Protocols of notaries*, Diego Pérez de Rivera (1666), fs. 441-445-

pioneers.⁵⁵ Work in the mine was always a high-risk occupation, both for the miners and for the merchants who supported, financed and supplied them. But after the crisis, the miners learned their lesson and many of them decided to diversify their activities and distrust the shine of silver. So, in addition to working the mines, they were ranchers and farmers. With this strategy they divided the risks and acquired a relative but secure independence with respect to external financing, that is, that of the Guadalajara merchants. In the west of Nueva Galicia the miners found most of the natural resources to operate their mines without the need for creditors from Guadalajara: salt from Purificación and Tepic, wood from the surrounding forests, abundant water, quicksilver that came from the metropolis via Mexico, livestock produced on the ranches themselves, also self-generated supply of cereals. Towards the second half of the 17th century, in some regions of western New Galicia, human conglomerates, towns, were formed, which in their economic and political organization no longer obeyed the logic of the indigenous communities or that of the Spanish foundations of the 16th century; They were something new, autonomous, a social reality that existed around the cattle ranches and mining estates. At this moment the basic urban structure of the current Mexican West was born.⁵⁶

In 1690 the crisis hit again. In the west of New Galicia it worsened because the merchants of Guadalajara around 1688 began to withdraw their capitals from this region to place them in the area of Los Altos, an intermediate area between Guadalajara and Zacatecas. It was a strategic withdrawal of the Guadalajara merchants and also of the ecclesiastical capitals, because the most important profits were changing regions. And indeed, between 1688 and 1696 the Altos region experienced strong growth in the agricultural sector, noticeable through tithes. The five *dezmatories* of this region in the aforementioned period showed an index of 176, while in the rest of the 22 *dezmatories* of the bishopric they barely reached the index of 133.⁵⁷ This growth irresistibly attracted the capital of Guadalajara, whose merchants became interested definitively in this region and without mercy they turned their backs on the west of the

⁵⁵ AHJ, Notarial Protocols, José López Ramírez, volume 1, pages. 24 and 29; volume 2, f. 70; volume 3, pages. 29-30, 39, 46, 56 and 72-75; volume 4, f. 141; F. 160.

⁵⁶ A more detailed study in this regard is found in Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, *L'Ouest mexicain à l'époque des découvertes et des conquêtes (16th-17th century)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013), pp. 278-281.

⁵⁷ Calvo, *Guadalajara, capitale provinciale*, volume 2, pp. 639-640.

New Galicia. The decisions that were made from Guadalajara already weighed decisively on all the productive sectors of Nueva Galicia.

CATTLE BREEDING

In 1605 Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar wrote that there was a shortage of livestock throughout Nueva Galicia.⁵⁸ Some years later the oidor Juan Paz de Vallecillo corroborated the bishop's observation.⁵⁹ Can we talk about a crisis in this productive sector? Let's look at the situation first. The demand for livestock came from all sectors of society and from all corners of the kingdom, including the northeast of New Galicia, as witnessed by the activities of the Anda brothers,⁶⁰ and especially from New Spain; Although perhaps the most needy were the miners, since at the beginning of the 17th century mining activity was experiencing unprecedented strength and was in full expansion. We could say that this strong demand pushed the livestock sector into crisis. But before stating this, it must be considered that there had never before been so much livestock production in Nueva Galicia and that demand had always been greater than supply. Furthermore, new systems had just been invented in the marketing of larger livestock that made it possible to better respond to the demand from Mexico, although it required time and various operations before the cattle arrived in New Spain. The feeling of crisis was provided by the droughts of the years 1620-1622, which prevented the livestock from reproducing in a sustained manner to replace the heads that had been sold. But even before the droughts, weren't Bishop Mota y Escobar and the oidor Paz de Vallecillo alarmed by this at the beginning of the century? - the lack of livestock was worrying, in the image and likeness of the livestock ranch of the Augustinians in 1618: «all the livestock has been consumed and finished of it, so that they only have the said place depopulated and without houses.⁶²

The 17th century saw a new way of selling New Galicia cattle in Mexico, thanks to Francisco de Pareja y Rivera,⁶³ who was not a producer but an intermediary. It appeared just at the time when the demand for livestock was at its peak. In 1630 his system had already proven its great effectiveness;

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, volume 1, p. 498.

⁶⁰ Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, pp. 103-119.

⁶¹ Calvo, *Guadalajara, capitale provinciale*, volume 2, pp. 627-631.

⁶² AGI, *Guadalajara* 49, N. 16.

⁶³ See the study carried out in this regard by Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, pp. 121-133.

It was based on a complex network of people who lived in different provinces, sometimes very far from each other, dedicated to very diverse tasks: they were church men, royal officials, muleteers, ranchers, merchants... Couple and Rivera had to orchestrate all these characters who followed different scripts in a common work, that of the production and sale of livestock. In a context of agricultural crisis and strong demand for cattle in New Galicia, there were still a good number of modest livestock breeders, especially in western New Galicia. This was the case of Juan Michel Ordóñez, who had 200 cows on his Purificación ranch around 1621.⁶⁴ This was the case of Sebastián Aguayo, a resident of Autlán, who in 1619 had sold 30 work oxen to a resident of Guadalajara.⁶⁵ And also that of Francisco de Villalobos, a clergyman, who had about 400 mules in his Purification ranch in 1648.⁶⁶ To all these people, after having paid the tithe and having placed a part of their production in the local market and in Guadalajara, they had a surplus left on their ranches, which wholesale livestock buyers despised and which, because it was small, was not profitable to take to sell to Mexico. Although it must also be said that these small livestock producers lacked, for the most part, direct links with Mexico. Francisco de Pareja y Rivera, on the contrary, became interested in these small ranchers, from whom he bought their surplus production. He did the same with the religious institutions of Guadalajara (with the Augustinians and with the convent of Santa María de Gracia), buying their cattle. He also participated in the purchase of tithes related to livestock. All these maneuvers allowed Pareja and Rivera to appropriate about five thousand head of cattle annually. He gave priority to the purchase of steers between one and three years old, which he bought in the west of Nueva Galicia and took to the provinces of La Barca and Poncitlán, where they grazed for a few months or years, waiting for their muscles to strengthen and mature, and were able to make the long journey to Mexico without danger of death. At this point the work was almost completed. Their merchandise was at the gates of Nueva Galicia. All that remained was to receive the request from the clients in Mexico and obtain the exit authorization for their livestock. A procedure that should not have been very difficult for the son of Mr. Francisco de Pareja, judge of Guadalajara between 1585 and 1607,⁶⁷ from whom he had undoubtedly inherited some influence in the power and administrative means of the New Galician capital and a good number of contacts. im-

⁶⁴ AHJ, Notary Protocols, Andrés Venegas, vol. 2, fs. 263-266.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pages. 92v-93v.

⁶⁶ AHJ, Protocols of notaries, Hernando Enríquez del Castillo, vol. 1, fs. 29-32.

⁶⁷ Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, 1989, p. 121.

bearings that helped him carry out his activity with relative ease. When Francisco de Pareja y Rivera died in 1638 he left a fortune that exceeded one hundred thousand pesos thanks to his work as a livestock seller.⁶⁸ He was not the only livestock intermediary in Nueva Galicia,⁶⁹ but he was undoubtedly the one who reached the highest level of complexity and specialization, and the greatest fortune. Of course, the great cattle breeders, such as the Ahumada, the Porres Baranda, the Bracamonte or even Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, did not need these types of intermediaries to place their merchandise in Mexico. But the case of Pareja and Rivera reveals two new aspects for the 17th century that did not exist in the previous century, two historical structures that had already come into force. On the one hand, Guadalajara had become the undisputed regional center, where Pareja y Rivera lived and from where he had managed to articulate an entire region around the livestock trade, and on the other hand, the Guadalajara merchants began to show their great influence on all productive sectors (mining, agriculture), even livestock. The activity of merchants like Pareja and Rivera also contributed to stimulating livestock production among modest ranchers and in doing so also helped the agricultural crisis of the mid-17th century to fade more quickly.

THE HIGHLANDS

For the second half of the 17th century, the eastern area of Nueva Galicia experienced a time of prosperity when it became a supplier to the northern mines, those of Zacatecas and even those of San Luis Potosí, at the same time that it continued to take its cattle to sell to Guanajuato, Puebla and Mexico. Decades ago it had already been part of the network that supplied Master Pareja y Rivera, but there were also people who delivered animals directly to the consumption centers. There is information about three owners of ranches on the Altea plateau who in 1621 sold two thousand cattle each to New Spain on their own. The good conditions for raising large and small livestock on the plains of northern Neogalicia and the recovery of mining activity allowed a type of ranch to progress at the end of the century where livestock played an important role.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁹ AHJ, Protocols of scribes, Tomás Orendain, vol. 4, fs. 26, 28-29, for the example of the cleric Francisco Quijada; and others can be found in Calvo, Guadalajara, capitale provinciale, volume 1, pp. 490-496.

⁷⁰ Jiménez, Haciendas, pp. 40-41; Becerra, Justice, pp. 185-193.

Lower density of towns of pre-Hispanic origin, large expanses of pastures and sufficient water combined so that, at the end of the 17th century, the region located between Guadalajara and Zacatecas, with Lagos and Aguascalientes at the head, became an area of great production of gained, displacing with its fame other regions that also maintained an important activity in that field, such as Acaponeta and Compostela. In such a way that, by the end of the century, the person responsible for the supply of Guadalajara, that is, the person in charge by contract with the City Council of supplying the animals necessary to feed the entire city for a year, was a person who signed as "merchant from the town of Jalostotitlán and breeder of large cattle", Captain Diego de la Mota Padilla, who in 1691 had exported 3,000 bulls and 300 horses to New Spain and, two years later, 1,800 and 800 heads of each of those species, in addition to 500 mules.

Captain Mota Padilla can be considered an example of the landowner and businessman of the northwest of Nueva Galicia during the 16th-17th century. He had inherited cattle lands from his ancestors on the Alto plateau and, in addition to increasing breeding on his farms, he bought animals to other producers in the region, to take them to sell to cities and mining centers. Such achievements could not be explained if it were not within the framework of a complex strategy that included relationships, support and representatives, especially in the capital of the kingdom. But influence at the local level was equally crucial, which is why, in many cases, the landowners of the regions became interested in participating in their respective councils and in justice services, a strategy that continued to be important for the families of the Guadalajara elite. end of the colonial period." The merchant and cattle breeder Mota Padilla must have known this when in 1688 he purchased the title of royal alferéz alderman, which gave him the right to occupy the first seat in the Cabildo, justice and regiment of the town of Santa María de los Lagos and to be the first to propose candidates for the annual election of the ordinary mayors. These were those in charge of dispensing justice on all matters that arose between the residents of a republic of Spaniards. In the case of the town Mariana the royal lieutenant occupied an especially influential position because his ordinary mayors enjoyed a special privilege that allowed them to extend their authority to the entire territory of the mayor's office and not only to the residents of the town. In this way, the members of the Cabildo and especially the royal lieutenant had in their hands the election of justices favorable to their interests.

— Lindley, *The Estates*, p. 49.

That same year, 1688, De la Mota Padilla reinforced his influence in the region by establishing a very important link with the recently arrived mayor. In order to take possession of their position, it was essential that those appointed to occupy these offices present a guarantor, who had to be a person with economic and moral solvency, whose assets were guaranteed before the Royal Treasury that, at the end of their term of office, they would present "residency", a procedure of accountability both in the collection of taxes and in other amounts that the mayors had to collect for the Crown. Because he was a peninsular sent from the metropolis, without having ever set foot on American soil, the new mayor did not have the relationships or acquaintances to seek the required support. However, Captain Mota Padilla did not hesitate to provide him with the support he required, certain of the benefits that this relationship with the highest representative of royal justice would bring him, who would remain in office for five years. The alliance of merchants with representatives of the Crown in the districts of the Indies was a widespread practice since the first half of the 17th century. The Guadalajara merchants were no exception and frequently became guarantors of the provincial rulers. As a businessman of the time, Mota Padilla had followed the same model for years by supporting the mayors of Tequepespan, Tlacotlán and Tequila. The offices of justice did not lose interest and in 1698 he was appointed mayor of Juchipila by the Royal Court.⁷²

New Galician farmers and ranchers of this era had learned that to consolidate a farm two factors were essential: diversification of activities and access to credit. This is demonstrated by the case of Don Diego de la Mota Padilla, who since 1683 had ventured into one of the most lucrative businesses of that time, the administration of tithes. On that occasion, in the company of two other characters, he promised to pay 2,535 pesos annually to the bishopric and in exchange to take charge of the collection and administration of decimal income in the Lagos district. In these cases, the landlords had the advantage of knowing the region and the level of its yields, therefore they knew how much they could collect in a year and thus offer the cathedral an amount that assured them a significant profit margin. In the case of livestock dealers, the collection of tithes put a significant number of animals in their hands to cover the sales commitments they had made.⁷³

⁷² Becerra, *Government*, p. 279.

⁷³ The returns from this activity and the growth of production in the region are reflected in the constant increase in the amount paid by those in charge of decimal collection, which in 1699 reached four thousand pesos.

On the other hand, having a good record before the bishopric authorities was essential for rural men, especially from the last years of the 17th century, when ecclesiastical institutions became the most important source of obtaining capital. Since 1684, at least, the rancher from Jalostotitlán had been concerned about approaching the characters who could open the doors of ecclesiastical credit, when he supported the new mayordomo and administrator of the cathedral's decimal income as guarantor. It did not take long for Captain Mota Padilla to appear before the diocese authorities to request three thousand pesos to levy on his properties, agreeing to pay five percent interest. Dependence on credit sources was a factor present throughout the life of landowners and one of the most frequent reasons for leading an owner to auction off his estates. In 1694, for example, Captain Mota Padilla had to request another 4,300 pesos, now from the Dominican convent of Santa María de Gracia. After his death, unpaid debts constituted a serious problem for his heirs. This was a frequent situation among landowners and constituted one of the main causes of property instability in the colonial period by forcing debtors to sell estates and ranches due to not being able to cover capital and interest. It has been considered that, on average, in the Guadalajara area the lands remained in the hands of the same owner for only 25 years, although in the southern region of Zacatecas the average increased to 35 years within the same family and its owners. direct heirs.⁷⁴

Maintaining returns and not burdening a property with debt required great ability to combine sources of income, productive investments and access to capital and to weather crises and bad times. Even the large estates were threatened by these circumstances despite the strategies that their owners could resort to, such as the founding of estates, etc.

POPULATION GROWTH

Since the end of the 17th century, the population of almost all the Neo-Galician regions began to rebound, although with different rhythms and intensity. However, nowhere was such significant growth observed as in its capital. Around 1650 Guadalajara had 5,500 inhabitants. By the end of the century they were close 10,000 and in 1740 it reached 15,000, counting the city and its periphery.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Van Young, *The City*, p. 127; Jiménez, *Haciendas*, p. 55. ⁷⁵ Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, p. 52.

The whole kingdom included three cities (Guadalajara, Compostela and Zacatecas) and eight towns, four of them with an attached township (Lagos, Aguascalientes, Jerez and Fresnillo); in addition to ten reales of mines. The only explanation for this urban growth is the constant migration of families and individuals from different regions of the countryside to the city. It was the countryside where the vitality and drive of demographic recovery was found, with a vigor that allowed part of its inhabitants to be transferred to the city. Already well established in the fourth decade of the 18th century, the illustrious neo-Galician historian Matías de la Mota Padilla calculated the existence of 200,000 souls throughout the kingdom. Their figures indicate that the indigenous population was around 60,000 individuals, of which 8,000 must have been tributaries. According to his point of view, there were at least ten other settlements that deserved the title of towns, both because of the number of their neighbors and because they had a greater number of Spaniards, as was the case of Jalostotitlán, San Juan de los Lagos, Teocaltiche, Ahuacatlán, Xala, Mascota, Tepic and others.⁷⁶

The hierarchy of Guadalajara was not limited to its character as the capital of the kingdom. It was also the seat of a Royal Court and in this capacity the jurisdiction of this court exceeded the limits of the kingdom. Towards the south to more than 95 New Spain towns in the jurisdictions of Ávalos, Tuxpan and Sayula, whose inhabitants, according to Mota Padilla himself, represented a number close to 20,000 Indians and more than 9,000 Spaniards, mestizos and mulattos served by the judges, attorneys and other officials. To the north, the rulings of the Guadalajara magistrates reached the provinces of Sonora, California, Texas, Coahuila and Nuevo León. In the same way, the task of the Guadalajara bishop went beyond the limits of New Galicia and reached Saltillo and Nuevo León, although certain territories, such as the parishes of Sombrerete and Nieves, had passed to the diocese of Durango from the moment of its creation in 1620. While Therefore, part of the area bordering the bishopric of Michoacán was still under the care of that prelate, this was the case of La Barca, Ayo and Ocotlán. Likewise, the New Spanish parish of Jalpa was served from Guadalajara, while Comanja, in the New Galician mayor's office of Lagos, corresponded to Valladolid.

The increase in the Guadalajara population constituted a boost for the economy and social relations of the period, by increasing the demand for food, textiles, construction materials and all types of manufactured products. This required the intensive use of larger areas of land and a greater number of workers. From now on, the urban market would become one of the most important stimuli for the functioning of the Neo-Galician economy. Urban demand and mining fever made a

⁷⁶ Mota Padilla, *History of the kingdom*, p. 508.

empty world will be populated. The owners of the land needed arms to work the land and produce cereals, especially wheat, which the people of Guadalajara sought in an increasingly wider radius. For its part, the extraction of metals required not only sweepers, loaders and choppers, but also food, shelter, tools, animals, coal, tallow, iron, etc...

The organization of production had to respond to the new circumstances. Since the second half of the 17th century, the old farms and farms had been transformed into centers of agricultural and livestock activities whose owners strove to produce profitably for markets, whether regional or provincial. Around that time, the use of the term *hacienda* began to become widespread to refer to those entities that intensively cultivate land and raise livestock. These companies became population centers, the heart of economic activity and important sources of wealth for their owners. Some landowners managed to successfully combine their agricultural activities with commerce, mining, tithe collection, and even with legal professions. Those who managed to balance their knowledge of the commercial circuits and the possibilities of their lands managed to use each of their activities to maintain constant income and compensate the losses of one area with the profits of another.

Following the recovery that the royal miners of northern New Spain were experiencing since the end of the 17th century, they became centers of attraction for products and people. As a result of this process, the regions between Guadalajara and Zacatecas became strategic areas for the supply of animals, cereals, jars, leather and many other essential goods to ensure that the silver bars reached His Majesty's coffers. The old and depopulated Chichimeca plains, where villas and presidios had had to be founded to strengthen the Hispanic presence, with their high and temperate lands, had become an area of attraction for Indians, Spaniards and castes, who consolidated haciendas oriented to the markets. mining and urban. For their part, miners who achieved fortune rushed to acquire conveniently located land to obtain production that would allow them to satisfy the needs of their workers and have the ability to influence the prices of the main inputs. Silver from Sombrerete and Zacatecas helped successful miners pay for some of the most extensive and productive haciendas in Aguascalientes since 1680, as well as in Juchipila, Nochistlán and Teocaltiche. In the north of New Galicia, in the fertile valleys such as Súchil and Poana, close to the real estates of Nieves and Mazapil, the miners invested in agricultural and livestock lands and, in many cases, their capital allowed them to acquire large properties and even acquire land titles. nobility

such as the county of Santa Rosa, granted to the Bravo de Medrano family, or that of San Mateo de Valparaíso, which the Campa y Cos. obtained.

Demographic changes were not only seen in terms of the number of residents. They also included transformations in the characteristics of the population according to their ethnic origin.⁷⁷ The *cocoliztli* of 1631 and the *chichimeca* cough of 1633-1634 marked the end of the prolonged decline of the Indian population of New Galicia which, after reaching its lowest point in that decade, a slow and bumpy recovery began. In some areas, such as Tlajomulco, the Indian population was still the majority (92%) at the end of the 17th century, but in others, such as the parish of Ameca, it only constituted half of the parishioner.⁷⁸ A very different situation was that of Santa María de los Lagos, a parish where the Spaniards did not find any settlement upon their arrival, and where the establishment of new settlers was hindered for decades due to the Chichimeca War. For the second half of the 17th century, the parish of Lagos experienced the same demographic and economic growth that spread throughout the Neo-Galician countryside and as a consequence its population acquired an important weight with respect to that of the entire kingdom. In this case, only 41 percent of the baptisms corresponded to Indian children, while the percentage of mestizos had grown with the rise in mining activities in the north and in Guanajuato; Livestock farming and mestizo ranchers increased rapidly on the Alteño plateau, as was happening in the neighboring region of León, on the New Spain side.

The priest of Santa María de los Lagos had counted 134 Spaniards of confession and communion as residents in that town in the year 1669 and a decade later there were 358. By 1742 the town of Lagos alone had 700 inhabitants among Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes. Here parish baptisms can be taken as a sample of the evolution that the region was experiencing. In the first decade of the 18th century, 3,398 entries were recorded, while between 1750 and 1759 the number was 6,184.⁷⁹ The other change observed in this parish refers to the quality or ethnic origin of the inhabitants. Throughout the first half of the century, Indian baptisms decreased slowly but steadily, while those of mestizos and mulattoes increased. Contrary to what happened in parishes such as Jalostotitlán and Teocaltiche, where the majority of the population

⁷⁷ For more depth on this topic, during the 18th century, see the chapters of this work: «The evolution of the population in the 18th century» and «Crisis demographics and epidemics», written by Lilia Oliver Sánchez.

⁷⁸ Thomas Calvo, "Demography", p. 586.

⁷⁹ Becerra, Government, p. 120.

India was concentrated in towns, in Lagos families of Indian origin resided on ranches and haciendas, which shows that settlement patterns could vary from one area to another.

The figures offered by the careful servant of the Crown José Antonio Villalord in his *American Theater* provide a panorama of the Neo-Galician population as the middle of the century approached. At that time it was difficult for the authorities, whether temporal or ecclesiastical, to maintain the separation between the two universes indicated by Indian legislation since the first times of the conquest. It was impossible to sustain the existence of Indian settlements without the presence of a population of other origins. The same town of Analco, in the Guadalajara leaks, was home to 16 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes, along with another 40 of Indians (see table 1).

Zacatecas was the most important concentration of people with five thousand families of all origins. The northernmost mining districts, where the population fluctuated according to the booms and the metal crisis, never ceased to be inhabited. While in 1742 in the Real de Charcas 50 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattos were recorded, "with many dispersed Indians", in the district of Mazapil 40 Spanish, mestizos and mulatto neighbors were recorded, as well as a "large number of Indians".⁸⁰ However, neither of the two came close to the numerical importance of Sombrerete, a parish that in 1712 had more than 4,000 inhabitants, followed by Nieves, with 2,434.⁸¹ By 1742 the mines of Sombrerete were flooded and despite this it maintained a population "whose number of families will reach four to five hundred", thanks to the fact that work in other minerals continued in the surrounding area.⁸² Along with the real miners, the coasts were the other districts that did not maintain a constant rate of population increase. The coastal regions did not constitute a strong attraction for Europeans. The town of La Purificación constitutes an example as it reached the 18th century with a smaller number of inhabitants than the previous century.⁸³

Thus, in Teocaltiche it is said that "many Indians, mestizos and mulattoes and some Spaniards live", while in Juchipila it is noted that "it is a neighborhood of Indians for the most part, although in its territory there are many families of mestizos and

⁸⁰ José Antonio Villaseñor y Sánchez, *American Theater* (Mexico: UNAM, 2005), p. 586.

⁸¹ Arenas Hernández, *Migration*, p. 216.

⁸² Villaseñor, *American Theater*, p. 641.

⁸³ Gerhard, *The northern border of New Spain*, p. 155.

TABLE 1. THE NEW GALICIA IN THE AMERICAN THEATER (1746)

JURISDICTION	POPULATION (NUMBER OF FAMILIES)	
	PARISH	HEADBOARD
Guadalajara	8 000 a 9 000	
Zacatecas	5 289	5 000 Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes
Sayula	4 048	500 of Spaniards, mestizos and 30 of Indians
Tepic	714	95 of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes and 75 of Indians
Aculm	659	400 of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes and 5 of Indians
Amula	650	
Aguascalientes	500	
Sentispac	453	
Tonalá	222	
Tequepespan	181	65 of Mexican-speaking Indians and 10 of mulattoes and mestizos
Hostotipaquillo	125	60 Indian families
Quilich	100	
Compostela	100	
América	83	40 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes and 43 of Indians
Anasco	86	
Guachinango	50	
Village of Pineda	70	70 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes and many of Indians
Poncha	50	50 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes with many scattered Indians
Mazapil	40	40 families of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes and a large number of Indians
Nayarit and its missions	Unfindable number	
Zapopan		Neighborhood overgrown with Indians, Spaniards and mestizos
Tlajomulco		Neighborhood of Spaniards, mestizos, some mulattoes and many Indians of the Mexican language
The town		Large neighborhood of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes, mainly populated by many haciendas
Village of Purificación		Considerable neighborhood of Indians and many mestizos and mulattoes
Tecolote		Many Indians, mestizos and mulattoes

Source: Villaseñor, American Theater, pp. 543-589.

mulattoes, and some of Spaniards, mainly on the surrounding haciendas». 84

During the century between 1670 and 1750, the mining boom and demographic recovery in New Galicia promoted the development of an agricultural and livestock economy that laid the foundations for the growth that would come in the final stage of the viceregal period. Guadalajara experienced sustained growth that required efforts from the rural world to feed a growing number of inhabitants, and it became the point of concentration of authority and resources for all the inhabitants of the kingdom. The city became the engine that set the system in motion, 85 but it did not manage to recover its autonomy from the viceregal capital that never gave up in its attempts to maintain its presence in northern lands.

84 Villaseñor, *American Theater*, p. 579.

85 Calvo, "Demography", p. 600.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF A CAPITAL: GUADALAJARA

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The military column sent by the viceroy from Mexico and composed of 500 troops took positions in Analco. Opposite, on the other side of the river, Guadalajara loomed, rebellious, disobedient, irritating because it did not bow to the viceregal voice of Mexico and because it sought to establish itself as the effective and only capital of the vast, rich and still unknown north. The Marquis of Villamanrique, an energetic man like the expression on his face, with black and arched eyebrows, small but sharp eyes, a straight nose, and a thick, pointed goatee beard, was the viceroy of New Spain that year 1589. He had taken the throne, risky decision to subject Guadalajara by force, with military methods, with the more or less covert intention of controlling its political life and its institutions, since it complained that the Guadalajara (or proto-Tapatia) authorities ignored its mandates and provisions. The forbidden marriage of the oidor Juan Núñez de Villavicencio with a well-born Zacatecan woman with long surnames was enough as an example. The viceroy, protected by a royal provision that prevented the marriage of magistrates and prosecutors with women from the jurisdiction where they exercised their responsibilities, proceeded to carry out the punishment and decreed that the oidor Núñez de Villavicencio be stripped of his investiture and his seat vacated, the court. The Guadalajara Court as a whole ignored and disdained the viceroy's efforts and pretensions and, as there was a royal treasury in Guadalajara, the disputed oidor continued to receive his salary without alteration, as without

¹ Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara, provincial capital of Western Mexico XVII century*, t. 2 (doctoral thesis, EHESS, 1987), pp. 1074-1075; Matias of the Mota Padilla, *History of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia in Northern America* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara / IJAH, 1973), pp. 243-244-

² *Compilation of the Indies*, book 2, tit. 16, law 82.

IMAGE 1: VICEROY OF VILLAMANRIQUE



Oil on canvas, unknown author, National Museum of History, Mexico.

alteration continued with the exercise of his functions. The Marquis of Villamanrique ended up losing his temper and decided to show his authority in Guadalajara itself, even if it was the hard way. That is why he sent Captain Gil Verdugo to lead a military column as his commissioner, who upon arriving in Analco took positions to carry out the final assault on Guadalajara from there.

The civil and religious authorities of Guadalajara called on everyone to defend the city and, armed with what they could, raised a current calamo militia that must have seemed a sad copy of those armies prepared by the indigenous people of the place, sixty years ago, when they knew that The hosts of Nuño de Guzmán were approaching. Like suicidal gamblers who bet their rest on a single card, the improvised soldiers of Guadalajara defiantly placed themselves against the viceregal army right there in Analco. Before the battle began, the Dominican Domingo de Alzola, bishop of Guadalajara, intervened, dressed as a pontifical and with the Blessed Sacrament in his hands. He came escorted by his Cathedral Chapter and accompanied by Dr. Jerónimo de Orozco, president of the Audiencia. Addressing his speeches to Captain Verdu-

go, they made him responsible for the deaths, damages and misfortunes that could result from the imminent confrontation; For them, no reason was worth enough to take them to the extreme of weapons, and even less so in New Galicia, where the Chichimeca country was still in a bonfire. Perhaps due to the eloquence of the speeches, the requests of the Audience, the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, the resolute attitude of the improvised military platoon or everything together, the captain of the viceregal army turned around and returned to Mexico as a defeated man who didn't even fire a shot from the harquebus. This event became known very soon in Spain and before the end of the year, the Marquis of Villamanrique was removed from his position as viceroy.³

This episode could symbolically mark the beginning of the consolidation of Guadalajara as the regional capital of northwestern Mexico, that is, as the largest city and articulator of human activity in Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and a part of the New Spain. From this moment on, and given the deposition of the viceroy, Mexico dared little to interfere in the internal affairs of the Neo-Galician kingdom. In reality, Guadalajara had already become - and as it itself made it see - a city almost as important as the viceregal capital: not because of the number of its inhabitants, but because of its political determination, its economic dynamism, its judicial investiture, for his administrative performance and for his religious dignity. The historian's words are fair when referring to this Guadalajara as the second political head of colonial Mexico, whose royal officials (civil servants) depended more on Madrid than on the viceroy of Mexico: «The seconde tête politique du Mexique coloniale, dont les fonctionnaires dépendent davantage of Madrid than vice-roy to Mexico. However, fifty years before, no one had glimpsed it, no one could have predicted it, as Guadalajara was experiencing days of uncertainty and terrifying urgency. It was still a nomadic town, which on average changed settlements every two years. At the end of the 16th century it was already a consolidated capital, or at least in clear and unfailing ways of consolidation. Nobody could ignore him anymore, neither in Mexico nor anywhere else, and he enjoyed an unprecedented autonomy that allowed the plenitude of rulers like Santiago de Vera, bishops like Alonso de la Mota and Escobar, wealthy people like Agustín de Gamboa and Juan de Páez, of literate and cultured men like Antonio Tello and Matías de la Mota Padilla."

³ Mota Padilla, History of the kingdom, chap. 48; Thomas Calvo, Power, religion and society in 17th century Guadalajara (Guadalajara: CEMCA / Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), p. 8.

⁴ See, in this work, "Trajectories of light and shadow", by Thomas Calvo.

POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION

In 1593, Dr. Santiago de Vera arrived in Guadalajara, and under his arm he carried his appointment as president of the Audiencia and governor of New Galicia. His career in the New World was long. He had started in Santo Domingo, as an oidor, then he was sent to Guadalajara, with the same responsibility, and to Mexico later, as court mayor; until finally, in 1584, he was promoted to the high position of president of the Audiencia..., but in the Philippines.⁵ So his appointment as governor of Nueva Galicia and president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara in 1593 is proof. It is undeniable that Dr. Vera was well regarded in the royal palace and that there were important, powerful people there who interceded for him before the king. His appointment as president of Guadalajara was a kind of reward, like a finishing touch to end a successful career. In fact, about twelve years later (late 1605, perhaps) he died in Guadalajara and was buried in the temple of San Agustín.

Fray Antonio Tello did not know President Santiago de Vera, but he said of him that he governed with rectitude, prudence and respect for everyone, so that the balance of his government, according to Tello, was positive: "in his time he flourished in everything, very much." this Kingdom." Antonio de Morga, oidor of Manila from 1595, also wrote favorably about his predecessor Santiago de Vera, stating that he had governed the Philippines "with much use of the land." He added that Vera, although she had had military failures in Maluco and on the island of Terrenate, had managed to pacify a good number of Asian islands. Likewise, he explained that he successfully quelled a rebellion in Manila and began the fortification of said city." Both sketched, therefore, a good image of Dr. Santiago de Vera as a hard-working, industrious and active man. But neither of them met him in person, none lived with him. Likewise, although his words were not of admiration towards the president-governor, they were not of resentment or hatred. However, we must accept that the information they offered about Vera in their writing is

meager. On the other hand, Jerónimo Conde did know him very well. They shared the same city, Guadalajara, for more than a decade. And perhaps from Santiago de Vera's first stay in that city, when he was only a magistrate, they came to have misunderstandings and bitterness. Jerónimo Conde remembered the judge very well from the time of his first stay in Nueva Galicia, according to what

⁵ Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, vol. 3, p. 203.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Antonio de Morga, *Events of the Philippine Islands* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007), pp. 29-30.

He wrote in a letter he sent to the king in 1602: "There were more than twenty-seven years that he was a judge in this city and since then he had some anger with some residents of this city and how he came to be the president and governor of it." "He can't see them and he does them all the harm he can." With the necessary distance in time, and armed with the tools of a historian, Thomas Calvo only described him as a "hard and skillful" man. But the chief sheriff of Guadalajara in those years, Jerónimo Conde, accused him several times of being "the most cruel, inhuman and vengeful man in the world." He also said of him that he was a bad Christian, a person with "bad guts and little charity"; and regarding his government, very far from the good references of Tello and Morga, he assured that he was "the greatest tyrant in the world." There is no doubt: Jerónimo Conde hated Santiago de Vera. On the other hand, it should be noted that he also feared him, because he considered that President Vera was a very powerful man, since he had no counterweight in Nueva Galicia. Therefore, when he sent his extensive letter of accusations directly to the king, he must have prayed several novenas, rosaries, psalms and everything that could be prayed, so that the letter did not fall into the hands of a relative, friend or spy of the governor of the Nueva Galicia, because he knew that it could be his ruin: "it would be a great destruction of me and my wife and children [...] because the power that the said Santiago de Vera has to destroy us and do us a lot of harm and damage is great without." "There is someone here who can remedy it in any way."

Knowing the hatred and fear that Jerónimo Conde, also the councilor of Guadalajara, felt for Santiago de Vera, the letter he sent to the king represents one of the clearest documents to understand the way in which a man could act as president of the Court and governor of New Galicia at a time when Guadalajara had just shaken off the tutelage of Mexico and had become a completely autonomous city, as free or more free than the capital of the viceroyalty itself, due to its distance from the ports that They linked with Europe and the viceroy. This, combined with the power represented by the Audiencia (in the terms of 1574) and its jurisdiction and power over a territory larger than that of all of Spain and which represented, in territorial terms, at least half of the viceroyalty, all these characteristics made the president of the

⁸ Jerónimo Conde, Accusation against Dr. Don Santiago de Vera, president of the Royal Court of Guadalajara, sent to King Felipe III by Jerónimo Conde, mayor and perpetual alderman of Guadalajara (1602). Document presented by Juan B. Iguíniz, section 42. All textual and reference quotes to Conde's letter were taken from this document.

⁹ Thomas Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / Cemca, 1989), p. 136.

Audience of Guadalajara and governor of Nueva Galicia a potential kinglet. And according to the perception of the chief sheriff of Guadalajara, Jerónimo Conde, his hated Santiago de Vera acted as such: "contravening the laws, he gave himself the commands and will of Your Majesty."

In other words, Dr. Vera granted himself the power of king in Guadalajara or at least his alter ego. This situation was possible, according to John Parry's analysis, because the Audiencia had no counterweight: "Hence no authority in the Indies, between 1572 and 1600 succeeded in maintaining a jurisdiction in New Galicia in the face on the audience's opposition."¹⁰ The historian Parry was ultimately right. Although it was since 1574, but especially after the failed battle of Analco in 1589, no one from Mexico attempted to intervene in Guadalajara affairs. Santiago de Vera knew it, like many in Guadalajara, including councilor Jerónimo Conde. In fact, for Conde, the culprit of the ill-fated confrontation had not been Viceroy Villamanrique but the judges of Guadalajara: "it would have cost your Majesty the ruin of this kingdom and that of New Spain and Mexico due to the war that the said Dons Nuño [de Villavicencio] and the prosecutor [Miguel de Pinedo] raised charges against the Marquis of Villamanrique, viceroy who was of New Spain when the said viceroy wanted to suspend them for the said marriages."¹¹ In his letter, Jerónimo Conde accused both officers of having been co-opted by Santiago de Vera to control New Galicia, since he knew that both would be capable of confronting the Mexican authorities again if the case arose. So the president-governor, who was already old in the job, with more than 30 years of experience, was able to govern as he pleased, without major obstacles.

Santiago de Vera, according to his biographers,¹² acted as a patriarch, above all. And that was also his way of governing, with a deep, authentic paternalism, even medieval although perverted by contact with the reality of Guadalajara at that time. He also appears as a harsh and hateful person, like almost all the rulers of that time, since he administered New Galicia with a heavy hand. In fact, he used his nine offspring (children, grandchildren and sons-in-law) and his 37 relatives and relatives to exercise almost total control of the Guadalajara Court and the government. All his relatives counted for him, even

¹⁰ You can consult the Spanish edition: John Parry, *La Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia in the 16th century* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán-Fideicomiso Teixidor, 1993).

¹¹ Count, Indictment, paragraph 42.

¹² The main study is that carried out by Thomas Calvo, whose book can be consulted, *La Nueva Galicia*, pp. 135-156.

the bastard son, along with his father-in-law and his brother-in-law, or the mestizo Theatine friar, or the murderer Francisco Pérez. In a world where people were few, everyone could find a use to strengthen power every day and not leave voids that others could fill. Jerónimo Conde, in the midst of his hatred against President Vera, accused him of enrichment, corruption and nepotism. He wasn't entirely wrong. The attitude of his son-in-law Fernando Altamirano is revealing. Since 1594, when he learned that his father-in-law was returning from the Philippines with the title of president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, he rushed to sell his assets, including his Tacubaya workshop, because he knew that new opportunities awaited him in New Galicia. And he was not wrong. Altamirano was one of the men in whom President Santiago de Vera trusted the most, and whom he most favored from power. Fernando Altamirano, furthermore, was not just anyone: he was very close to Viceroy Velasco, he was the heir to an estate in New Spain and could boast of being a knight of Santiago. Perhaps that is why he managed to have a certain influence over the worthy people of Guadalajara, some of them the husbands of nieces of the president-governor.

In a short time, and with the deployment of his family, friends, followers and allies throughout New Galicia, Santiago de Vera managed to have important control over the wealth of the kingdom he governed: the mines of Zacatecas, the cattle from Lagos, wheat and corn from Tlajomulco. The Vera clan (as Thomas Calvo has called it) had an important participation in trade, since both Santiago de Vera and his son-in-law Altamirano were true businessmen. The president of the Court was even accused of selling in his house what was likely the tribute of the indigenous people: "corn, butter, chickens, eggs, honey, water are sold publicly in the house of the said president," Conde denounced. of orange blossom, fish, firewood and many other things for maintenance and regatonería that is a great scandal for this entire city and kingdom and there is no one to remedy it.¹³ Likewise, the Vera clan granted usurious loans at fifteen percent and obtained large profits from the sale of items from Mexico. That is to say, the governor of Nueva Galicia participated in the commercial business in all areas, from wholesale and retail sales to prohibited and sinful loans. And the Vera clan accompanied all this with irregularities (they used false weights and mistakes in the butcher shop), pressure (they forced certain merchants to buy only from them) and even crimes (their cattle invaded indigenous lands and destroyed their cornfields). These were some of the accusations made by Sheriff Jerónimo Conde against the family of Santiago de Vera: illicit enrichment that, according to him,

¹³ Count, Indictment, paragraph 13.

had reached the sum of 300,000 pesos in less than five years, through crimes, irregularities and abuse of power.

Economic control and enrichment passed through territorial control through the mayors and townships of Nueva Galicia. Santiago de Vera was also very careful in that area, as he distributed them with great skill. The richest and most important jurisdictions in strategic terms were placed in the hands of his relatives and friends (Sombrerete, Acaponeta, Culiacán, Purificación). Jerónimo Conde wrote it in the following way: «of all the said positions that he has to fill, he has made a list of the best of them and the most useful, and these he keeps and has for those of his house in this way that they "He provides and gives to his relatives, servants, friends and companions and his household and has them provided for." 15 However, in this area the old president-governor was scrupulous and tried to ensure that his appointments were legal, since he put in them the worthy ones, although many of them, it is true, were his sons-in-law, however, he had a concern for Comply with the standard. In this way, from 1593 to 1605 Santiago de Vera managed to set up an effective control system that worked without setbacks due to the great autonomy that Guadalajara and its jurisdiction had recently acquired. Continuously, in his letter, Sheriff Conde complained about the helplessness in which many found themselves in the face of the almost absolute power of the president-governor. To prevent a counterweight to his will from arising within New Galicia, President Santiago de Vera sought to win the favor of the ministers of the Audiencia and established good relations with the religious authorities. In addition to the complicities he established with the prosecutor Miguel de Pinedo and with the former magistrate Nuño de Villavicencio, he also did so with the judges Juan Paz de Vallecillo and Francisco de Pareja. "The said president is so crafty and artificial that of the three judges he has, he has two of them as his own and so subject to his will," explained Jerónimo Conde, and at the same time assured that the only - and isolated - independent magistrate of the The president-governor was Dr. Palma de Mesa, "because the said president has never been able to stop him." 16 As if that were not enough, in Spain Santiago de Vera had strong support. In the Council of the Indies, the highest governing body for the New World, magistrate Eugenio de Salazar was a relative of Dr. Vera, and according to Sheriff Conde, the governor of Nueva Galicia "is under rescue in

14 Ibid., section 7.

15 Ibid., paragraph 15.

16 Ibid., paragraph 43.

him>»." To all this control mechanism in which Santiago de Vera masterfully combined the use of social networks with the management of institutions, we must add his heavy hand and intimidation against the inhabitants of Guadalajara and of Nueva Galicia, because he did not hesitate to punish with fury those who raised their voices against him. But the president-governor did not do it directly, with his own hand, for this purpose he used the prosecutor Pinedo: "he is destroying them and devastating the said prosecutor and disturbing them and raising a thousand things [...] and the president helps him and favors him greatly."¹⁸ On the other hand, those who collaborated with Santiago de Vera were favored with some position in the of the Court or the governorship. Jerónimo Conde made calculations, counted the houses of Guadalajara and found that of the 160 that were in the city, 120 ate on the palm of President Santiago de Vera: <so that after removing these there are forty neighbors "that they have no command."¹⁹ In this way, the one who presided over the Audiencia of Guadalajara and who governed Nueva Galicia from 1593 to 1605, the year of his death, managed to become all-powerful.

URBAN CONSOLIDATION

What was that autonomous and growing city of the 17th century like? Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar described it around 1605 in an unusual way due to the precision and details he wrote. It was a Spanish city - it should be noted - that the most spoken language was Spanish: "the Spanish language is generally and commonly spoken in it," he said.²⁰ Located in an extensive valley and despite its abundant rains in summer, the quagmires that formed due to the nature of its soil were rare: "It is besieged on a flat seat whose earth is made of pumice stone," he said.²¹ At that time Guadalajara had only eleven streets oriented from north to south and ten streets that ran from east to west, all wide and straight like a chessboard. The houses were all built of solid adobe and rare were those that had an upper floor. The heights were not necessary because there was plenty of space for everyone and the land did not hold the humidity so feared and so friendly to diseases. "Are

¹⁷ Ibid., section 2.

¹⁸ Ibid., paragraph 54.

¹⁹ Ibid., section 3.

²⁰ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Geographic description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / IJAH, 1993), p. 24.

²¹ Ibid.

All of them come down from the first floor without having any stops because the ground is very dry and without any moisture," he said. But the building that housed the Royal Court and that served as accommodation for its president was a two-story house, although it was also made of adobe. It had large rooms where the magistrates held hearings and where they met to reach agreements. The town hall houses where the mayors and councilors carried out their functions were only one story with adobe walls. At that time the cathedral building was still unfinished, although it was already very advanced, since Alonso de la Mota y Escobar calculated that there was little left to roof the work: "it is already at a height that its vaults can be closed shortly," he said. It was a transcendent work, without a doubt the most important of the century, with three very spacious main naves and solid stone, as befitted the greatest house of God in the American north.²² Prelate Mota y Escobar was surprised to find a city without gardens. Not even the houses had them, but he found a convincing explanation: "the city lacks water and fountains," he said.²³ There were two main public squares, one next to the cathedral and its town hall houses and another next to the royal houses. In the latter, capital sentences were carried out on terminally ill criminals, but a flea market was also set up every week where clothing, handicrafts, supplies, vegetables and poultry were sold: "it is a general market for the entire Indian region every five days, in which they sell things of their small clothes and other things that each one makes of their art," he said.²⁴ The bishop had a notable concern for the accuracy of his description, so he gave the exact number of the houses in Guadalajara: There were 180, not counting, of course, the houses of the people who lived in the suburbs. ²⁵ No other urban center in North America hosted a real audience with its president and hearers, its prosecutor, its chief sheriff and its secretary. In addition, for the city government there were eight councilors who met in the town hall houses, with their chief bailiff and clerks. That was the structure of earthly government, whose main responsibility and task in these Renaissance societies was to dispense justice. Both the president, the highest authority of the Court and the government, and the two ordinary mayors, the most basic authority, were, first, judges. For the relief of souls there was a cathedral, with a bishop and Chapter formed with the five common dignities, eight canons and three *racioneros*. There was only one priest in

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁵ However, it must be remembered that in those same years the aforementioned mayor of Guadalajara, Jerónimo Conde, stated that the city had 160 houses.

The Sagrario, the parish of the city, four mendicant monasteries that surrounded the city as if they were walls to contain demons: that of Santo Domingo, that of San Francisco, that of San Agustín and that of Carmen; in addition to the presence of the Jesuits who preached in the cathedral. There was also a monastery of nuns, "of the Dominican order."

The bishop and his Chapter were in charge of the administration and proper functioning of the San Miguel hospital. There were 20 beds equipped to receive the sick of any quality and condition, "all types of people are admitted," said the bishop. At his service he had a doctor, a pharmacy, a barber, a chaplain and five black slaves, men and women, also in charge of serving the sick. There was another apparently more modest hospital, which was supported by alms. It was called Hospital de la Veracruz and patients with sores and gallic morbidity, above all, were treated there. Its administration did not depend on the cathedral, like that of San Miguel, but on regular religious: "the brothers who call from the order of Jus de Dios keep in mind the administration of the house and the sick," recognized Bishop Alonso de Mota and Escobar. But he lamented the almost total absence of educational institutions, especially higher education: "there is no study or university in this city," he said. But his pessimism was tempered by explaining that there was a school, founded by the Society of Jesus at the time when Brother Domingo de Alzola was at the head of the bishopric, and which he supported with ten thousand pesos to build it, and that it was where the Jesuits now. They taught Latin and rhetoric. Maybe what really filled Bishop Mota y Escobar with regret was the absence of a seminary, since the priests had to come from abroad and there were no seminarians to support the religious services of the cathedral: "there is also no seminary school, because of which the cathedral suffers great hardship." in the choir and altar service, regarding which His Majesty has already been begged by bishop and chapter to give his royal permission for it to be founded and it has not been useful to respond to this just request.²⁶ In full view of everyone, the San Juan de Dios River passed with water in its bed throughout the year. The residents of the city did not drink from here, its water was brackish and was only useful for washing clothes (it must be emphasized that its waters were naturally beneficial when used to clean white clothes) and to power the life of four wheat mills without stop neither day nor night, which belonged to some residents of Guadalajara and who ground up to 40 bushels each in 24 hours. To drink, they regularly supplied themselves from nearby sources, although the taste of the water was not reputed for its quality or good taste, since according to

²⁶ For the religious aspect, see the chapter by José Refugio de la Torre and Laura Fuentes, "Religious foundations in the 16th century", in this work.

the observation of Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, those who could preferred to obtain the crystalline liquid from more distant springs: "the gifted ones drink from other rivers and better sources that are two and three leagues away."

On the other side of the river, populated by mills and laundries, was Analco, which the bishop considered a suburb of Guadalajara: "This city has a suburb populated by Indians from many nations, especially from Mexico, where there will be up to sixty residents." ». Analco had been established by the Franciscans shortly after the definitive founding of Guadalajara. There they decided to establish an evangelizing mission that brought together indigenous people from the surrounding area, especially from Tetlán; so that in addition to the Nahuas, as indicated by the ecclesiastical leader Mota y Escobar, Tecuexes and Coca indigenous people also lived there.²⁷ However, the name of the settlement was given in Nahuatl and its meaning, in effect, referred to its condition and geographical location as an appendix of the city: Analco means in Spanish "on the other side of the river." The bishop of Guadalajara explained that this indigenous population was very skilled in the various trades they practiced and that they were, almost all, manual work, and that these men originally from America fulfilled the task of serving the capital of New Galicia. "They serve all the needs of the Spanish residents of the city with which they earn very long for their life and livelihood." So Analco, with its multicultural indigenous people almost as thick as those of Guadalajara, had settled on its side of the river to live at its service and will.

Since the time of Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Analco was already considered a suburb of Guadalajara; Twenty years later Mexicaltzingo was placed in that same category. Towards that direction the city extended like a silent snake. It was normal, since the residents of Guadalajara not only obtained cheap and nearby labor from those neighborhoods to carry out the service activities that no Spaniard agreed to do; In these marginal neighborhoods - also literally - the descendants of the conquerors began to build houses of solace and recreation, which often became "casas chicas", that is, homes where married men hid forbidden loves. There were also several gynoeceums there, with libertine but discreet activity. In those places inhabited almost exclusively by women (as there could be some children), registered in 1629 and 1633 by the Church, men of all categories, of any profession and of any origin were received. Muleteers from Colima and Compostela, residents of

²⁷ See also Juan Iguíniz, *Guadalajara through the times* (Guadalajara: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1950), volume 1, p. 18.

Celaya, young noblemen from Culiacán and even religious without a definitive seat who went from convent to convent. Not everyone visited those houses of little women to satisfy the demands of the flesh but also those of the heart. Because there the moments of recreation, revelry and play were consumed alongside withering advice to make businesses prosper, accurate recipes to tame abusive bosses and masters, and risky spells to succeed in desperate loves. A magical world enveloped those houses that were forbidden to many with its halo, because if some of these women were masters in the art of love, others were learned in the art of spells and spells.

Almost all the women who entered these homes - because women also visited these places - did so with the hope of leaving there with an infallible potion and some effective magic words to finally trap unruly love or to exact revenge on the victims. that they were excessively licentious. 28

In the 180 houses in Guadalajara that Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar counted, there were 173 men living with the category of neighbors, but when taking into account the entire population - women and children included - the prelate calculated that more lived in the city. of 500 people considered Spanish. Almost all the residents of Guadalajara were "men of the plaza and courtly habits," he said. An army of mulatto and black slaves also lived in Guadalajara. At best, there could be more than 500, although the bishop did not explain whether this estimate included children. He only said: "The common service that [the Spaniards] serve are mulatto and black slaves, of which today there are more than five hundred, without other free people of this lineage who also serve." Only the Spaniards escaped servitude in Guadalajara, perhaps because they clung to the idea of belonging to that caste of feudal knights, already anachronistic, in the middle of the century of Don Quixote: "there is no Spanish man on this earth, no matter how miserable he may be who serves another in the city in any trade," he said. And like American quixotes, at home they had no weapons other than a pair of swords, although some also had mailboxes and perhaps a gnawed harquebus that they used more for hunting than for war: "and I don't know anyone here who is skilled or skilled in them." experienced with eminence. Likewise, there were weapons for the defense of the city in the royal houses, but nothing that could intimidate enemies or reassure friends: «His Majesty has in this city some harquebuses, mailboxes and weapons of respect for the needs of his service, although not a matter of importance or consideration" - and in this the bishop was decisive. 29 This description by a seventeenth-century contemporary is invaluable: however, it remains

²⁸ Calvo, *Power, religion and society*, pp. 199-238.

²⁹ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, pp. 23-29.

being a partial view and therefore incomplete. Fortunately historians have already been here and done their job.

DEMOGRAPHIC CONSOLIDATION

During the 17th century, Guadalajara maintained an uninterrupted increase in its population, unlike the indigenous world throughout the American territory, which did not stop decreasing until well into the second half of the century. Other notable things happened as well. One of them was that before the middle of the century the city had already assimilated the sites of Analco and Mexicaltzingo as its own, ³⁰ due to demographic growth, which also "occurred without sudden shocks," according to the analysis of the parish archive. from El Sagrario. ³¹ And we add that during this increase there were three strong moments in which the population practically doubled: 1600-1624, 1655-1674 and 1680-1700.³² In other words, baptisms in Guadalajara were six times more numerous at the end of the century than at the beginning.³³ The vigor in Guadalajara's population rise not only came from immigration - servile in many cases - but also, and in a very important way, from reproduction. It must be reiterated, the number of births was a continuous and constant increase, although it must be made clear that more than half of them were bastard children or born out of wedlock, that is, illegitimate.³⁴

We can assure that in the "marriage market", Spanish women were the most coveted. For this reason, almost half of them got married before the age of 20, some of them even from the age of 13, with one concern always in mind for the family: to prevent their daughter from falling into concubinage. It must also be admitted that a high percentage did so after the age of 25, although this reality was typical, above all, of women who were not Spanish.³⁵ Spanish men (peninsular or Creole) usually delayed their marriage with the intention of first look for an economic situation

³⁰ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia* (UNED/Government of the State of Jalisco, 1980), pp. 114-120.

³¹ Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, p. 40.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³³ Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, p. twenty-one.

³⁴ Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, pp. 40-41. At the end of the 17th century the average decreased at 45%. Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, pp. 34-35.

³⁵ Calvo, *La Nueva Galicia*, pp. 40-42. Non-Spanish women took longer to marry because they lost time in exhausting work, because they fell into concubinage, or because they saved up to be able to provide an appropriate dowry.

and favorable social; Meanwhile, it was common for him to vent his feelings with mestizo, mulatto, slave, or other caste women.³⁶ In general, Spanish men married between the ages of 20 and 24 (50%), a third did so after the age of 25, but they almost never married after the age of 40.³⁷ It was a fact that, even towards the end of the 17th century, 90% of Spanish men married Spanish women; On the other hand, 20% of Spanish women married men from the castes at the end of the century: an even lower percentage if we take into account that a quarter of a century later, around 1724, only 30% of them married with a Spaniard.³⁸ In any case, we can conclude that the Spanish maintained, broadly speaking, an endogamous marriage tendency throughout the 17th century: Thomas Calvo estimates that it oscillated between 80 and 90%.³⁹

The reality was quite different for the indigenous people. The men, stigmatized, dispossessed, oppressed, without economic resources, were condemned to look for a partner in their own indigenous community, and ninety percent of them did so. On the contrary, indigenous women were highly sought after and married men from all social categories, because Guadalajara was a city where it was practically impossible for black slaves and indigenous people, above all, to marry women of higher categories.⁴⁰ And if the black slaves sought nuptial ties with the indigenous women, it was because they intended to prevent their children from inheriting their slavery, since slavery was transmitted through the womb. It is for this same reason that slave women were the least sought after to establish a marriage with men of a different category than their own. Within so much endogamy, mestizo women and free mulatto women represented a social bridge between the upper and lower categories of Guadalajara. Well, they managed to establish marriages with both Spaniards and indigenous people. And the mulattoes, who at the beginning of the century looked for indigenous women, towards the end of the century preferred to marry free mulatto women. These are the great demographic trends of the 17th century: endogamy in indigenous and Spanish men, a greater exogamous tendency in indigenous women and black slaves, but a clear social openness on the part of

³⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

³⁸ Without a doubt under the social pressure of the mestizos and mulattoes, according to Calvo, *Guadalajara, capitale provinciale*, tome 4, pp. 1602-1604.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 1600.

⁴⁰ "A city or certain categories found difficulties among married women." Ibid., p. 1602.

⁴¹ Of the black slaves, 44% married indigenous people. Ibid., p. 1601.

the free mestizo and mulatto maidens. The twilight of the century marks a new dinámica: greater exogamy in practically all groups, with the exception of Spanish men. 42

RELIGIOUS CONSOLIDATION

Parallel to the demographic consolidation of the city comes religious consolidation, manifested mainly in the construction of a cathedral. The construction of the Guadalajara cathedral "represented a monumental effort", although not disproportionate, for the city.⁴³ It was the great construction of the 17th century. And although the master builder Martín Casillas claimed in 1617 that the main house of the bishopric was about to be completed, in reality it was not completed until the second half of the century, around 1660,⁴⁴ once the generalized crisis (agricultural, mining, health, demographic) that shook New Galicia since 1635.⁴⁵ The cathedral also tangibly represents the consolidation of Guadalajara as the capital of the kingdom, as the regulatory center of an entire extensive region. The historian is right when he states: "the temple [that is, the cathedral] was not built until the city was established, between 1600 and 1620, even though it was still apparently a town." ⁴⁶ It was the visible sign of the strength that the Guadalajara church, that is, the bishopric of Guadalajara, had gained: with the collection of its tithes in a wide territory, with the appointment of priests throughout its jurisdiction and with the solemnity that it gave to the public events of the society, without counting the important group of people who worked for it.

With the construction of the cathedral there was a slight displacement of the city center. That is to say, there was a slight but very significant urban modification: the cathedral migrated towards the west, separating itself from the central space that it shared with the royal houses. However, towards the middle of the 17th century, the headquarters of the Audiencia also moved following the route of religious power and was installed in the future main square of the city, against the corner

42 Ibid., pp. 1600-1605.

43 Thomas Calvo, "A shepherdess and her flock in the meadows of time: cathedral and city (16th-18th centuries)", in *The Cathedral of Guadalajara. Its history and meanings*, coordinated by Arturo Camacho (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2012),

volume 1, pp. 100-101.

44 Ibid., pp. 102 and 132-133.

45 Regalado, *L'Ouest mexicain*, pp. 265-281.

46 Calvo, "A shepherdess and her flock", volume 1, pp. 132-133.

of the cathedral.⁴⁷ This new urban center, marked by religious and civil powers, would henceforth be the new axis of Guadalajara from which the city would grow and widen in the direction of the temple of El Sagrario and the convent of Carmen. The cathedral construction was already a source of pride in 1664, although it still lacked the towers, although there were only 3 bells in use, on the façade of the largest religious building there was already a clock, forcing everyone to a certain extent to look at the cathedral, thus out just to see the time. ⁴⁸

The cathedral was the imposing, modern symbol of the strength with which the religious power of Guadalajara was consolidated, but the Cathedral Chapter and the collection of tithes were the reality of that symbol. The chapter, or the senate of the bishopric, as the cathedral chapter has also been called, was made up of the dean, a defined number of canons, racioneros and various dignities. In the time of Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar there were eight canons, three racioneros and five dignities. ⁴⁹ It was an ecclesiastical body with superlative importance in the decisions of the bishopric: they were in charge of the administration of the tithe, for example, but also of religious justice, the appointment of diocesan priests throughout the episcopal jurisdiction and the administration of worship. It was evaluated that, counting the parish priests, there could be close to 200 people who depended on the decisions of the bishop and his chapter, with the objective of fulfilling a very precise mission: "to guide, discipline and unite a community dispersed from coast to coast, between cities, towns, mine estates, towns and farms. ⁵⁰ Furthermore, it must be considered that in the absence of the bishop, this capitular body assumed command of the Church, and in Guadalajara, during the first 153 years of episcopal life, there were 37 vacant sees. ⁵¹ The consolidation of the bishopric of Guadalajara is observed by the strength that this cathedral Chapter was acquiring, but also by the profile of the members who formed it. Once again, the historian offered an analysis in this regard: of the 95 canons, 20 were originally from Guadalajara, and of the 48 capitulars who began their careers between 1620 and 1700, 13 had a doctor's degree, one had a master's degree, 16 were graduates, 13 They were high school graduates and only 5 lacked a degree of study. ⁵² This fact makes us conclude that the reins of

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

⁴⁹ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Calvo, «A shepherdess and her flock, volume 1, p. 110.

⁵¹ Thomas Calvo, *Power, religion and society in 16th-century Guadalajara (Mexico: CEMCA / Guadalajara City Council, 1992)*, p. 90.

⁵² Ibid., p. 92.

The episcopal administration of Guadalajara were being led by a highly prepared university elite.

As its name indicates, the tithe was the tenth part that a parishioner gave to the Church annually of the fruit of his work. For the 16th and 17th centuries in the bishopric of Guadalajara we can understand that this production, naturally, was closely linked to agricultural and livestock activities. We know that in the 17th century the main source of ecclesiastical income through the tithe was livestock activity.⁵³ Each bishopric was sufficiently autonomous to arrange the manner of collecting and administering the tithe in its jurisdiction. The direct administration of this income required a work team trained to establish and control the *dezmatoria* established especially in the most remote places of the bishopric, and the mechanisms (such as on-site auctions) to deliver cash to the cathedral coffers, and sonant instead of products. Now, a royal decree⁵⁴ of February 3, 1541, signed in the city of Talavera, instructed on the way in which the tithe should be distributed: half had to be distributed between the bishop and the ecclesiastical chapter, and the other half, in turn, it was divided into nine parts. The bishop's part was called the "episcopal fourth", the other "capitular fourth", and the rest, "ninths". Two ninths were for the king (called "royal ninths")., three of them must have been allocated to the construction of the cathedral and the hospital and their maintenance (they were known as "ninth and a half of the factory" and "ninth and a half of the hospital"), the remaining four ninths were intended for the support of the parish priest.⁵⁵

The tithe was one of the mechanisms used by Guadalajara to consolidate its role as head of the kingdom, in this case as a religious capital. Each year the canons recovered part of the fruit of the work of an entire extensive jurisdiction that went from the coast of the Pacific Ocean to the Chichimecan plains. It was a way to obtain resources, obviously, but also a way to impose oneself on the regions. We know the evolution in the collection of

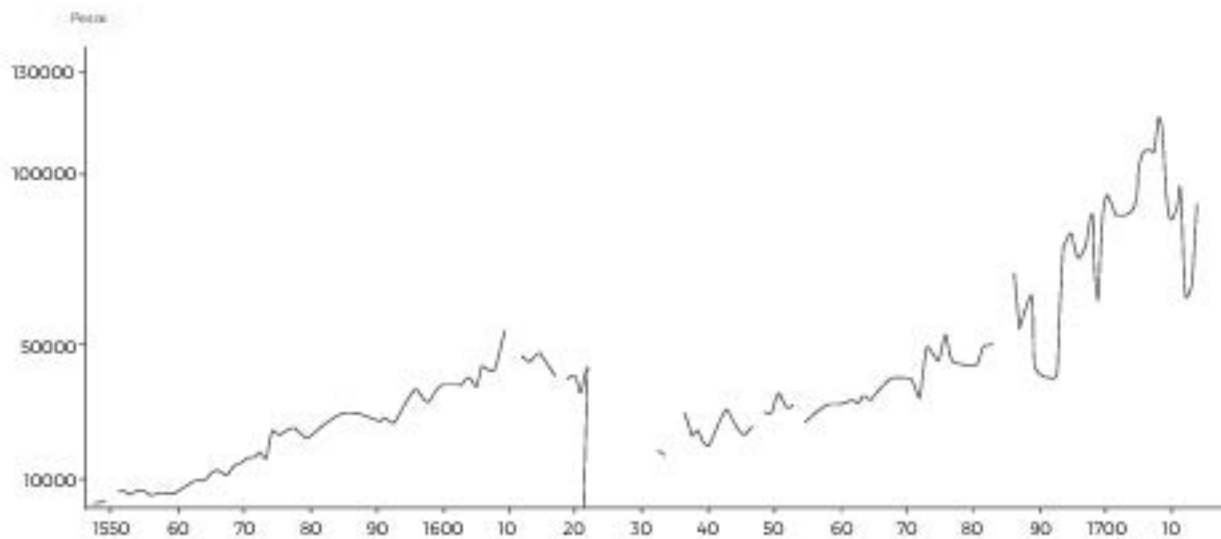
⁵³ Thomas Calvo made an excellent analysis on the type of production, the amount of the tithe and its evolution, as well as on the dynamics of collection and recovery of the tithe by the bishopric of Guadalajara in the 16th centuries and XVII, with details and examples that are beyond the scope of this synthesis, but the person

If interested, you can go to Calvo, Guadalajara, capitale provinciale, volume 2, pp. 616-644.

⁵⁴ Let us remember that the Spanish Crown had this power due to the Royal Patronage.

⁵⁵ Guillermo Porras Muñoz, Church and State in Nueva Vizcaya (1562-1821) (Mexico: UNAM, 1980), p. 308.

GRAPH 1. THE TITHES OF THE DIOCESE OF GUADALAJARA (1547-1714)



tithing over a century and a half (1550-1714). As graph 1 indicates, two blocks can be seen in the evolution of tithe collection for the bishopric of Guadalajara. The first extends from 1550 to 1624, with a clear rise but abrupt decline in the middle of the third decade of the 17th century. The sudden fall coincides with two important events: the split of the bishopric to create a new one, that of Nueva Vizcaya in Durango in 1620, whose tithes stopped feeding the coffers of Guadalajara; and secondly, the agricultural crisis that began with a major drought in the 1620s and continued with the mining crisis that gripped all of Nueva Galicia since 1635. The second block has extended since that year, and in a slow but progressive five-year recovery we observe that the year 1709 reaches its maximum height. Two points of this positive evolution must be highlighted: firstly, the capacity of the bishopric to use administrative machinery with an adequate response for greater collection and, secondly, that if said collection was increasingly higher it was because they were incorporating new parishes, new jurisdictions served by the bishopric and that previously came out of its influence, specifically from the Los Altos region. This inertia of adhesion of these new territories to the bishopric of Guadalajara did not occur in a completely natural way; cohesion work had to be done from the capital of the kingdom, especially because other urban forces such as Zacatecas and even San Luis Potosí were nearby. Suffice it to say, to verify this last assessment, what the historian Thomas Calvo has already demonstrated:

the use of a strategy by the bishopric of Guadalajara to grant, through tithe, credit to the ranchers of the Altos, an element that helped definitively to the economic and demographic stability of that region. We are going to

conclude this section with a phrase of his that accounts for this territorial "conquest" of the capital of Nueva Galicia: "les Altos appartenait à Guadalajara, ils devaient lui revenir, et plus forts, plus peuplés, plus puissants ils renforceraient à leur tour le primat de Guadalajara sur l'Occident".⁵⁶

ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION

By the second half of the 17th century, a small but powerful group of Guadalajara merchants constituted one of the most important engines of the regional economy. These were people with enough capital to support neo-Galician miners and farmers, sometimes with interests that exceeded the established limit of five percent. Some of them would manage to sneak into the circle of greatest prestige and power, often at the hands of the authorities of the kingdom. Skill and good fortune accompanied a handful of newcomers to New Galicia who decided to dedicate themselves to commerce, giving rise to a "golden age of Guadalajara commerce", the result of an extraordinary concentration of silver, which led to a monopoly that almost it upsets the relationship of strength with Mexico City, when the merchants of Guadalajara took over a good part of the money market.⁵⁷

Among the Guadalajara merchants who stood out in the mid-17th century are two characters who concentrated transactions and wealth: Juan de Páez and Agustín de Gamboa.⁵⁸ The first was an oriental man who came to be described as the businessman of the Guadalajara cathedral for his participation in the finances of the bishopric.⁵⁹ He was born in Osaka and arrived very young in Nueva Galicia, around 1618, which without doubt it facilitated his adaptation to the new environment where he ventured into commerce. By then there were other orientals established in Neo-Galician lands, to whom the adjective "Chinese" was generally applied, many of them arriving through the Philippines, although others, like Páez himself, had traveled directly from Japan. One of these characters, Luis de Encío, "from the Japanese nation," had arrived years before, managing to make a modest fortune, first as a merchant in Ahuacatlán and then in association with another Japanese, until he managed to establish himself in Guadalajara, where he opened his store, in front of the parade ground. Later he had obtained the administration of the coconut wine tobacconist, a very lucrative business for the time. Páez and Encío

⁵⁶ Calvo, Guadalajara, provincial capital, pp. 641-643.

⁵⁷ Thomas Calvo, Guadalajara and its region, p. 448.

⁵⁸ See the chapter by Thomas Calvo, in this work, "Trajectories of light and shadow."

⁵⁹ Thomas Calvo, Power, religion and society, p. 287.

They met in Guadalajara and their shared origin gave rise to a friendship that would be sealed with the Osaka man's marriage to Margarita, Encío's only daughter.⁶⁰ At the end of his life, when luck had stopped smiling on him, Encío had the support of his son-in-law, who by then had become one of the most influential figures in the city and the kingdom.

The ability demonstrated by Páez in business earned him the trust of the people of Guadalajara, to the point that both parish priests and prebendaries of the cathedral, oidores and other royal officials decided to name him executor of his will. In these tasks Páez must have shown efficiency and good management, because in 1654 he was appointed steward of the Guadalajara cathedral, a privileged position since the holder of this office was in charge of the administration of the income of a cathedral, which included both the tithes of the bishopric and the part that corresponded to the cathedral factory. Furthermore, among its obligations was the maintenance of all the properties and assets of the Cathedral, as well as the legacies and donations of the faithful. Páez obtained the position, thanks to the good relations and prestige he had earned among the prebendaries, but also to the offer of a bond of ten thousand pesos that he presented. Within a few years, the Japanese had also become treasurer of the assets of Our Lady of San Juan (today San Juan de los Lagos) and their administrator. By then, the devotion that this Sanctuary aroused attracted pilgrims and generous donations from all over New Spain, which turned it into another source of loans to which the inhabitants of the region could turn.

A multi-talented businessman, he did not miss any opportunity to accumulate profits and relationships: he had been mayor of Zapopan in 1640; In 1651 he had leased the tithes of Compostela, thereby gaining experience in that field. Once he became butler of the cathedral and taking advantage of his privileged position, he maintained his participation as a collector but now in the canyons of southern Zacatecas, which constitutes proof of the prosperity of these regions, which made them attractive to landlords. most influential, although at the end of his life he had chosen to change to the dezmatory of Jocotepec and Cuisillos.

Páez's efficiency as steward of the Guadalajara church had a lot to do with the capacity of his main collaborator, the accountant and secretary of the Cabildo, a clergyman with some experience and knowledge of the characters.

60 Cf. Melba Falck Reyes and Héctor Palacios, *The Japanese who conquered Guadalajara: the story of Juan de Páez in the Guadalajara of the 17th century* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara / Public Library of the State of Jalisco, 2009).

and problems within the Cathedral Chapter, Francisco Quixada, with whom he was soon united by ties of kinship and *compadrazgo* and who became his successor in office after the death of the oriental, which occurred in November 1675. Japanese with New Galician life and fortune, His good offices earned him the distinction of being buried inside the church he had served for years and to which he also left several donations. Although he was survived by a son and several daughters who had married, it was his widow, Margarita de Encío, who took charge of the family businesses that were later passed to Juana de Páez, one of his daughters.

The most important Guadalajara merchant in the second half of the 17th century was Agustín de Gamboa, a peninsular native of Toledo, who began to appear around 1648. For the following decade he lent several thousand pesos and bought large quantities of textiles that he distributed in Indian towns. According to Matías de la Mota Padilla, by 1663 Agustín de Gamboa was already the man "with the greatest wealth in all of Northern America."⁶¹ Around 1670, when he was over 50 years old and without having had a legitimate son, he brought a nephew named Alejandro Bravo de Gamboa from Spain to become his assistant and successor. The arrival of young Alejandro coincided with the recovery of Neo-Galician mining and then Gamboa realized that the best possibilities for profit were in the underground mines and decided to invest in that field. His contacts and commercial agents located in various parts of the kingdom made it easier for him to organize a system that began with the recruitment of Indians in places like Tlajomulco, from where an agent he trusted was in charge of sending them to the mines. There they were received and placed in their respective positions by one of the merchant's slaves.⁶² On the other hand, although in his early days as a businessman he had not participated in the leasing of tithes, an activity that represented a lower profit margin than others, he ended up becoming a collector in the Teocaltiche district in view of the importance demographic and agricultural that this region had acquired.⁶³

One of the best proofs of the importance of his activities is the existence of eleven thousand pesos in reales in a chest in his bedroom, recorded in the inventory that had to be made after the death of the Toledo merchant. The shortage of currency was one of the chronic problems of the time and there were few sources that Galicians could turn to when they needed hard cash. Only two or three merchants had liquidity to meet the demands.

⁶¹ Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest*, p. 134.

⁶² Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, p. 427.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

emergencies of miners or farmers, but none had figures as important as this one that appears at the time of Gamboa's death.⁶⁴ True money dealers, these characters monopolized currencies for their own benefit, through various means. One of them was his closeness with temporal and spiritual authorities. Gamboa undoubtedly knew how to value the gains that good relations with the representatives of the Crown could bring. A part of his profits have an explanation: his close connection with the presidents after Fernández de Baeza.⁶⁵ The trust that President Calderón y Romero gave him led him to appoint him as executor of his will. Shortly after, in 1691, he managed some branches of the income that belonged to His Majesty by order of President Ceballos, who found in Gamboa the necessary security to order that various payments be given to him such as licenses to put looms in the workshops throughout the country.⁶⁶ He also benefited from the need that ecclesiastical authorities had for people in whom to deposit the funds of various institutions. In 1666 he had in his possession nine thousand pesos in reales, belonging to the dowries of the nuns of the convent of Santa María de Gracia, which the prelate had ordered to be placed in deposit with the royal lieutenant and captain Agustín de Gamboa.⁶⁷

His capital and business network allowed this merchant to establish direct commercial contacts with Spain, without having to go through Mexico City, although it was not a unique case among the Guadalajara businessmen at the end of the 17th century. In fact, Gamboa could afford to "colonize the market of Mexico City in turn by diverting part of the merchandise he received from Spain or Asia there"⁶⁸ and shortly before his death he had received thirty one thousand pesos

in silver. Already in 1666 Gamboa had demonstrated his economic capacity by obtaining the position of provisional royal lieutenant to have the right to carry the royal standard in the ceremonies that took place in Guadalajara and which implied, in addition to the honors and preeminences, the obligation to acquire clothing, steeds and other accoutrements necessary for the case, as well as offering a refreshment for the participants once the parade is over. In that occasion

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 313.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 287.

⁶⁶ AIPEJ, Government 7, doc. 152, f. 153f-156f.

⁶⁷ AIPEJ, Prot. DPR, vol. 13, f. 344f-345f.

⁶⁸ Calvo, Guadalajara and its region, p. 428-430.

Gamboa achieved for a merchant the shine and prestige of the military uniform, when he was at the head of "a well-trained piece of Spanish infantry."⁶⁹ By

1679, the Toledo merchant's house was the one with the greatest number of inhabitants in Guadalajara. Although he had not fathered children with either of his two wives, he housed under his roof several adopted children, as well as sons-in-law, grandchildren, servants and slaves, as well as his nephew and heir, Alejandro Bravo de Gamboa, whom he had married Nicolasa Gamboa, the result of the marriage of one of his adopted daughters with Miguel de Siordia, one of his trusted assistants.⁷⁰ He thus built a family network that served to ensure the closeness and loyalty of his collaborators. Great merchant and true "hidden master of Guadalajara", at the end of his life he became a landowner when the lands and mines of the families who could not pay the amounts they owed him remained in his hands. This is how he built the Santa Lucía hacienda, one of the richest in the Tesislán valley. After his death, which occurred in 1692, his heir took over the management of the businesses although with results much lower than those achieved by his uncle." Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, in 1694 it was Sergeant Major Bravo de Gamboa who had in his possession the amounts belonging to both the convent of Santa María de Gracia and the Sanctuary of Our Lady of San Juan, in addition to being described as a powerful man, owner of more than 600,000 pesos and very close to President Don Alonso de Ceballos.⁷³ Despite all this, he did not inherit the same abilities as his uncle, since his achievements did not go further and the fifteen years that survived him were enough to end the inherited fortune.

Páez and Gamboa were protagonists of a golden era for Guadalajara trade. Firstly, they developed their careers and managed to accumulate significant capital without depending on the large New Spain merchants. Even more, on several occasions their businesses managed to attract resources from Mexico City to Neo-Galician lands. At the end of the 17th century, Guadalajara did not submit to the dictates or demands of the merchants of the viceregal capital. On the other hand, they had the resources and links to deal directly with the commercial houses of the Peninsula without the need for intermediaries. Gamboa had business with merchants from Cádiz and handled their orders directly.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 291.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 385.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 276.

⁷² AIPEJ, Prot. NC, vol. 2, f. 50f-52f.

⁷³ Calvo, Power, religion and society, p. 289.

with that port and with Seville.⁷⁴ Both characters agreed on their ability to gain the trust of the bishopric authorities and become the depositaries of the tithes of the cathedral, the dowries of the convents, as well as other alms and legacies. Peeps. In the absence of a banking system, large merchants constituted a necessary option to which ecclesiastical institutions and individuals had to resort for the proper management of their funds.

In the absence of a banking system, ecclesiastical institutions also played an important role in the American economy and became the main source of credit. Cathedrals and convents gave their funds to individuals through the imposition of a lien or mortgage on real estate (farms, mills or urban properties). Through ecclesiastical credit, religious institutions obtained five percent annually in interest for the maintenance of worship in the cathedral and for the support of the members of the secular clergy or female religious congregations, in the case of nunneries. In the case of Guadalajara, decimal income had been increasing since the mid-17th century. These incomes corresponded to one tenth of the production obtained by each farmer or peasant. As in other dioceses, given the difficulty of traveling from Coahuila and Nuevo León to Villa de la Purificación, to collect the corresponding products and amounts in each of the districts or *dezmatories* into which their territory was divided, The bishopric resorted to leasing it to individuals interested in carrying out the task for periods of two years, who agreed to pay annually an amount agreed upon by both parties. The supervision and administration of the income represented great complexity and in 1648, shortly after Dr. Juan Ruiz Colmenero took office as bishop of Guadalajara, the members of the ecclesiastical chapter complained that they could not know exactly the income and expenses of the cathedral for not having a person in charge of accounting. Since 1622 the bishop had been solely responsible for the cathedral's three-key chest without stewards being appointed. After a long dispute that reached the Council of the Indies, the king ordered that a holder be appointed for said office and the prelate had to consent to the election of a person who met the qualities of honesty and good administration that the case required. It was at this point where commerce and ecclesiastical finance intersected in the Neo-Galician capital.

The golden age of Guadalajara trade ended with the death of Agustín de Gamboa (1692) and his main competitors, among whom were Juan

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 305.

Bautista Panduro (1703) and the Martín de Urbina-Gutiérrez binomial. The next generation did not know how or could not maintain the pace of their activity or recognize the new circumstances that arose to take advantage of them for their benefit. By 1726 the heirs of the great Guadalajara businessmen had died or were on the verge of bankruptcy. The important fortunes were no longer in the city, but in the countryside. Thus "things return to their normal course: the thirst for real forces forces us to fall back into dependence on the capital of the viceroyalty."⁷⁵

TOWARDS INTELLECTUAL CONSOLIDATION?

With this question we want to close, without the intention of exhausting it, even without trying to answer it, only with a brief reflection that highlights a certain intellectual dynamic through the trail of books, their circulation, but also the writing of a couple of important works for Guadalajara that were written in this capital of New Galicia.

Elsewhere we have talked about the circulation of books since the 16th century in this marginal kingdom. A limited circulation, even insignificant compared to those existing in the large European capitals. However, books on history, religious philosophy, spirituality and Christian doctrine were already present even in Compostela in the second half of the century of the Conquest. To mention a couple of examples, in 1554 Baltazar González bought at auction in this city a book titled *Enquiridión* or *Manual of the Christian Knight*, by Erasmus; He also acquired *The Mirror of Human Life* by Rodrigo Sánchez. A merchant who passed through said city in 1574 sold books of Christian doctrine and in 1567 Diego de Peramato owned law books.⁷⁶ Let us also remember the library of the priest Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, which actually exceeded 40 titles.⁷⁷ "With him we are already in the 17th century, it is true, and we will hardly imagine Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar devoid of books, and before him to the bishops who preceded him, to the clerics and evangelizers who traveled this *finis terrae*, to the rulers and listeners who passed through Guadalajara. But we know almost nothing about those books that accompanied them. We know that even Nuño de Guzmán carried I get several books, both on law and history.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, p. 431.

⁷⁶ Regalado, *L'Ouest mexicain*, pp. 210-211.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

⁷⁸ On May 5, 1537, the resident judge confiscated several books, among which he cited *The Departures* and *The Decades* of Titus Livy. AGI, Justice 337, pages. 90-91V.

On the other hand, in their own way, these characters were producing knowledge about New Galicia as they passed through this kingdom. Some works were mere descriptions, although very important, including the reports that the oidores had to deliver, such as that of Hernán Martínez de la Marcha or that of Lebron de Quiñones; or like the description of Bishop Mota y Escobar emanating from his pastoral visit. And what can we say about the text produced by the priest Domingo Lázaro de Arregui about Nueva Galicia, divided into two parts: the first in the form of a natural history and the second more similar to an administrative description, accompanied by a map in which the efforts for precision were great.⁷⁹ All of these works require a bibliographical support of which we know little, and have been of great importance for the understanding of the past, of nature and for forging the identity of New Galicia in full construction.

However, there are two works that went beyond the scope of description and that made an effort to carry out a profound interpretation to establish the place of Guadalajara and New Galicia in the concert of the world. One was written by the friar Antonio Tello in the mid-17th century: *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Sancta Provincia de Xalisco*. The other was completed in 1742 by the graduate Matías de la Mota Padilla: *History of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia in northern America*. Antonio Tello may be criticized for being erratic in his dates, for his descriptions being exaggerated, for involving saints in history, for believing in miracles and in the manifestation of God through irrational natural phenomena... It is true, Antonio Tello believed that God guided the destiny of history like the vast majority of his contemporaries. It is true that his work is enveloped in an epic atmosphere and that he wrote, like the great writers of his time, in a baroque and elaborate style. It is true that in his work there are good and bad, martyrs and infidels, saints and demons. It is true that in its history the good, even if they find themselves in the greatest adversity, will always emerge victorious. This is what happened with Guadalajara, on the verge of being razed in 1541, in the end it emerged victorious thanks to divine help. It is a work that inscribes Guadalajara, New Galicia, in a universal struggle alongside the Church of Rome during the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. It is a work also inscribed in the medieval historiographic style, since, like the exempla and the lives of saints, history becomes a tool to support the works of evangelization, to show God omnipotens and omnisapiens, but also God kind to the who love him That is why there are good and bad conquerors: good like Cortés,

⁷⁹ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*. See also the chapter "An unavoidable actor: between mountains and basins", of this work.

bad guys like Guzmán, violent, irascible, whose death, by the way, in Tello's work, is that of the enemies of God: an end that was actually different according to other sources.⁸⁰ The complete work - unfortunately there is a part that is still lost - covers from the creation of biblical times to the actions of the Franciscans in the New World, specifically the works of the friars in the province of Xalisco; one of the regions where the missionaries also had dramatic goals, where martyrdom was not lacking. In the work, the Franciscans accompanied, in this way, the main historical events of this region, guided, of course, by the hand of God.

We can call Antonio Tello a historian with all his letters. His *Miscellaneous Chronicle* is based on various sources appropriate to create a historical work in the style of the 17th century. He cites printed or manuscript books by other religious people, almost always Franciscans, such as Torquemada, Mendieta, Bartolomé de las Casas, but also those who were not, such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo. It was based on local sources, such as the indigenous chronicles of Xalisco and those of other towns that we do not know, B1 such as the manuscript of Esteban Perea and the report of the chief Francisco Pantecatl. He consulted the local civil and religious archives, from which he transcribed minutes, letters and complete documents in his book. Fray Antonio Tello produced a historical work taken almost to the extreme of the craft, attached to the Catholic timeline from the creation to the final judgment and the combats of the Church of Rome. We would not be fair if we reproached him for this, nor for the indoctrinating nature of his book.

Antonio Tello was a Franciscan who achieved a great mastery of baroque letters like few other works: it can be seen in his writing, in the care of his text, in the quality of his far-fetched phrases, undoubtedly thought out and rethought before being written. He died in the middle of writing his unfinished work... In 1652 Tello was fully involved in writing the episode of the Mixtón War, which suggests that the writing part of the conquest was left at the end.⁸² One year Later, in 1653, he died in the Franciscan convent of Guadalajara. He had arrived in the New World in 1619, at the age of 26, with twelve other religious who had New Galicia as their mission. He took the habit in Sala-

⁸⁰ Adrián Blázquez and Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and the New World*. Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán: profile of a conqueror (Provincial Institution of Culture Marquis of Santillana, 1992).

⁸¹ We still know some of those chronicles. Thomas Calvo et al., *Xalisco, the voice of a people in the 16th century* (CIESAS / CEMCA, 1992).

⁸² Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle*, vol. 2 P. 295.

manca and initially belonged to the Franciscan order of Santiago, from Spanish Galicia. 83 He died, therefore, according to our calculations, at 60 years of age.

Matías de la Mota Padilla wrote a historical work of equal parallel to that of Antonio Tello a century later. He was not a friar like Tello but a lawyer. He was not a peninsular but an American, a native of Guadalajara. He had not studied in Salamanca but in Mexico. He had no intention of creating a universal history but rather a local one that would rescue "the memory of the glorious deeds of the first conquerors"; but also so that it would serve as an example of good, that is, to perpetuate "the heroic deeds that illustrate families, enlarge kingdoms and, delighting in their lesson, always leave some benefit." But without a doubt - and Mota Padilla does not hide it - his work had every intention of showing the greatness of Guadalajara, its two centuries of history and its role as provincial capital: "and wishing to serve the public something, satisfy the wishes of the kings, and publish something of the glories of my homeland Guadalajara, capital of the kingdom of New Galicia. The main objective was not the evangelization of the indigenous people, nor the expansion of the Spanish kingdom, but the glory of his hometown. The book is titled *History of the conquest of the kingdom of New Galicia in northern America*, completed in 1742 but published a century later. It must be said that it had as its main basis the work of Brother Antonio Tello: «but when I came into my hands a chronicle learnedly written by the R. P. Brother Antonio Tello, in the year 650 [...] I noticed the buried memory of different subjects worthy of having it perpetual in sheets of bronze. I then accused the omission of my compatriot ancestors as guilty, and accepting my guilt, I tried to satisfy the world. Tello's work was the basis of Mota Padilla's book, but he found it lacking. For this reason, the lawyer-historian took on the task of investigating the local archives: «And not finding in said chronicle everything necessary for my matter, I insisted on registering files, ID cards, Council books, processes, executions, foundations of convents and other papers that seemed relevant to me, from which, having taken notes, I did not find time to coordinate this volume. 84 A complete program for an arduous task of historical research on the two centuries of life of Guadalajara.

Both works written from one century to the next by "intellectuals" who lived in Guadalajara perhaps suggest, at least, that in the capital of New Galicia it was already

83 Thomas Calvo, "L'univers religieux dans le Mexique du XVII^e siècle à travers la chronique de fray Antonio Tello", in *Caravelle. Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien*, no. 62 (1994): 81-96.

84 Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest*, pp. 16-18.

The yeast existed, at least the germ of an "intellectual" life in clear paths of consolidation. They were very important works that helped strengthen (forge?) the identity of the neo-Galician people. Should we consider the impact of Tello's work, for example, due to the plagiarism it suffered in the centuries immediately after, ⁸⁵ even when Mota Padilla took it up again? On the other hand, should we attribute it to chance that shortly after Matías de la Mota Padilla's work was completed, the foundation of the Royal and Literary University of Guadalajara was achieved in 1791? Probably not. A work of the magnitude of those we have just mentioned is not born in a sterile world of letters...

⁸⁵ Francisco Mariano de Torres and Antonio Gutiérrez y Ulloa.

PATHS OF LIGHT AND SHADOW

Thomas Calvo, The College of Michoacán

Although the number [of Guadalajara's inhabitants] seems small, the competition is greater, because as a court, it is the common home city of all those who live in the kingdom, and of all those who trade outside of it and have business to litigate or follow [...] in the royal Court.

MATÍAS DE LA MOTA PADILLA, 1742

THE BEING OF A CAPITAL

What does it mean to be the capital city, within the Catholic monarchy? Something similar, more complex, to what was its model in the Roman Empire. It is the same idea of geographical and political centrality, of splendor, of cultural irradiation: of domination and of acculturation model, in other words. But if this became overwhelming, almost disproportionate in the first centuries of the Roman Empire, precisely with Rome, it was not so in the Hispanic monarchy, although Alonso Núñez Castro was proclaiming that Only Madrid is court (1658). In Spain itself, Seville since the 16th century has had an aura superior to that of Madrid if it is related to the Indies, for which it is the true head, headquarters of the Casa de la Contratación, an emporium of goods that come and go, however - migrant chain, a model in many areas, from architectural to metrological. Even at the beginning of the 17th century, Valladolid tried to recover its lost supremacy over Madrid; and the religious capital of Castile is located in Toledo.

If we turn from Spain to the Indies, the complexity increases even more, and not only in relation to Madrid, a distant metropolis. Each kingdom, since its foundation, has the right to its head with its preeminent court: Mexico since 1521-1523, Lima in 1535, Manila in 1571, to name a few, at the extremes of the monarchy. In reality this multiplication is not a difficulty in itself, since the administrative hierarchy (viceroalties, hearing districts, general captaincies, provinces) orders the capital cities into a set of

networks with relative coherence. Guadalajara is located in the middle, within the network woven from Mexico; at a third level, after Madrid and the capital of the viceroyalty, almost on a par with Guatemala: the Praetorian Court of the southern city having more prestige than the togada of the northern one. Under its rule Guadalajara should have, in theory the adjustments here are delicate, secondary centers such as Zacatecas, Durango, Culiacán, Purificación: the list in the 17th century is not yet very extensible; Aguascalientes, Santa María de los Lagos, are just emerging from lethargy; Parral is very far away, although not forgotten.

There is more dilution of the capital's power, sometimes even confusion, when an indigenous capital (Cuzco, Pátzcuaro) is displaced by another with a Hispanic foundation (Lima, Valladolid); or in a more limited way, Tlaxcala through Puebla as the seat of the bishopric. Sometimes the struggle for preeminence can be secular. It is true that in the spaces where New Galicia was going to be created there was no pre-Hispanic urban tradition capable of rivaling it. Nor Tonalá, only notable for the demographic importance of the settlement, perhaps for a certain regional political supremacy, and the fertility of its lands. The urban absence was such that, after having known the great cities of Anáhuac, the Spanish had to populate the north with mythical cities Cíbola, the Seven Cities, cities of Gold: they could not conceive a barren universe of urban presence.

Nueva Galicia was faced with another circumstance: the displacement of capital, from Compostela to Guadalajara, in 1560. This is not an isolated case: in 1544 Gracias a Dios (Honduras) became head of the Audiencia de los Confines. In 1549 it was transferred to Santiago de Guatemala; A long decline then began for Gracias a Dios, comparable to that which Compostela experienced. Not only were the cities nomadic, changing places, but also the institutions sometimes. The examples could be multiplied, Santiago de Cuba leaving the place as capital of the island to Havana in 1556; As for the Audiencia of Chile, it was founded in Concepción in 1565, it moved to Santiago in

1607. Of course the schemes become diluted as we move away from the central nuclei, as the urban tradition weakens, as we internalize. We live on the imperial margins, on the borders. At least for a while, until civility and police in their etymological sense have achieved impose. How long is it necessary to achieve the feeling of the capital, that beneficial and tax irradiation be realized? The case of Nueva Galicia and of Guadalajara - its urban engine - can be a good reference on the matter.

IN SEARCH OF A COURT

When Guadalajara de Atemajac was founded in 1542, after the trauma of the Mixtón revolt, no glorious future was thought of. Even in haste, an urban planning clumsiness is committed - so we can think, with the passage of time, that will later have to be remedied. The only square, later Plaza de San Agustín - which occupies the current Degollado theater, and supposed center of the nascent city, is as close as possible to the mediocre San Juan river, that is, it is bordering a steep slope that makes it difficult to urbanization. Without much hope, in the years that follow, what is actually a hamlet falls asleep: in 1549 it already lost about half of the 69 inhabitants of 1542, only 35 Spanish neighbors remain. The arrival of the Audiencia at the end of 1560 - the bishop had settled in Guadalajara without waiting for the royal decree - did not change much at first: being the capital requires a lot of pageantry ("only Madrid is a court"), with a minimum of possibilities that the city at that time was far from being able to achieve.

However, some urban changes appear: a second square (future main square) was founded on the western limit, on one side of which work on what would be the definitive cathedral was opened. This was done slowly and without much thought about the urban planning aspect: the church had no façade over the square. For one reason or another, in 1570 there were about 50 to 60 Spanish residents;² the first portals, a hospital and the seminary school were beginning to emerge from the ground. The work is such, without forgetting that required by the surrounding farms, that the Indian labor force is beginning to be lacking, even with 2,500 to 3,000 indigenous people in the city neighborhoods.

In 1575 a clock, still very rudimentary, came to adorn the only tower of the Gran Jacal, the provisional cathedral. It is more than a symbol or an isolated artifact, it is an instrument of social, economic and religious regulation, apart from its cultural implication. In a very short time, other capitals, or cities with *infulas*, will follow their example: Zacatecas and then Durango. Is Guadalajara already capable of influencing other destinations, of proposing common schemes? You can argue... and doubt. If by 1570 Zacatecas must be more similar to

¹ See Luis Pérez Verdía, *Particular history of the state of Jalisco: from the earliest times of which there is news to the present day*, volume 1 (Guadalajara: Gráfica, 1952), p. 250. Franciscan Codex, "Relation that the Franciscans of Guadalajara gave", in 2. Collection of documents for the history of Mexico, by Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico: Porrúa, 1980), pp. 155-166.

³ Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region in the 17th century: population and economy* (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara / UNAM, 1992), p. 13.

a camp that is a regular settlement, although it still does not have the title of city (given by Philip II in 1585) or a Cabildo house, it is already inhabited by 300 Spaniards. The young capital still lacks legitimacy to impose itself on that mountain of silver that is within its Audiencia district and its bishopric. Zacatecas continues to lead in some aspects. It concentrates not only the wealth and fame that results from it, but also the essential features of the new kingdom at that time: in particular the tendency towards instability. «The intention of the Spaniards who settled here at the beginning was never to remain in this position, but only to get the greatest amount of money they could, and that is how they made their houses, or rather slums, like people who were pilgrims and who were going passed". But over time, change here also introduced a certain stability: "So much has been put into this city that it will never be abandoned and it has been left with short, low houses and no order in the streets." It follows the unfinished vision, common among the cities of the Indies at that time, but here it is consubstantial.⁵ In other parts it is isolation that stops all civility or courtesy. As we know, Culiacán takes the cake: climate and remoteness give rise to a circumstance unheard of in almost all of the Indies at the beginning of the 17th century, since "the bread that Spaniards commonly eat are tortillas made of corn, because wheat is not for many leagues around. Insecurity continues on the roads, and Lagos, that settlement that has its origin in a fort at the crossroads of the roads from Guadalajara and Mexico to Zacatecas, has not yet lost its defensive character: "this town has the houses not in good order nor layout, but each one in the manner of a tower and prison, very distant from each other. They are all made of adobe; There will be fifteen to twenty neighbors, most of them rich people.

Even though it is a capital of the Audiencia and bishopric, we cannot expect too much from Guadalajara. In 1605, except for the new cathedral that was under construction, already rapidly and "of distinguished work of ashlar and stonework", all the other public and private buildings were made of adobe, and all only ground floor,

⁵ According to López de Velasco, cited in Françoise Chevalier, preliminary study to *Description of New Galicia*, by Domingo Lázaro de Arregui (Seville: Consejo Superior de Ciencias Científicas-Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1946), P. LXIII.

⁶ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographic description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León* (Guadalajara: Government of the State of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / Jalisciense Institute of Anthropology and History, 1993), p. 141.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 122.

except for the royal houses that are "of highs and lows." As for the Great Jacal, "it is made of humble adobe, narrow and ruined." But its inhabitants, who now have 173 Spanish neighbors, are "almost the most men of the plaza and courtly habit": of course they are the Spanish. But, on the other side of the coin, they have already lost the essentials of warrior practice, and the few weapons they have are used above all for hunting: a page has been turned in this Guadalajara of Bishop Mota y Escobar, now far from the hustle and bustle of the borders.⁸

Furthermore, New Galicia is already taking shape: a certain pacification has been achieved, although there are other tragedies to come, such as the Tepehuana rebellion of 1616-1619, but it will only reach like an echo as far as Guadalajara; The belt of Franciscan convents has been completed around the Sierra del Nayar, the cattle of the north have multiplied in a way that will not be surpassed for a long time, and up to 20,000 head of them are exported to New Spain each year at the beginning of the century. XVII, essentially through La Barca-Poncitlán and Sierra de Pinos. Sierra de Pinos was precisely founded in 1592, after the discovery of promising mines.

In fact, mining activity, to the west of Guadalajara and in the northeast of Nueva Galicia, around Zacatecas, is booming: in 1605, according to Mota and Escobar, in the Guadalajara box (Ocotitlán, Guachinango and other real estates) there are more of 31 mining mills and farms, most of them powered by hydraulic power. And the number is short; When the oidor Juan Paz de Vallecillo visited the same district in 1606-1607, he counted about sixty establishments.¹⁰ It is an incentive for the economy of Guadalajara, for its merchants, but it is little compared to Zacatecas, overflowing with economic health, with its 50 stores, which have between 2,000 and 30,000 pesos in value.¹¹ The whole was to benefit whoever wanted to be the head of such an organization; unequal, undoubtedly unbalanced, fragile in many of its aspects, but for this very reason plastic, full of potential.

Another more circumstantial circumstance, more difficult to appreciate in its effects, allowed the awakening, this time definitive, of the dynamism and capital vocation of Guadalajara: the return in 1593 of an old acquaintance, the president

⁸ Ibid., pp. 44-46.

⁹ Thomas Calvo, "Works and sorrows of a Mexican rancher," in *La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / Center for Mexican and Central American Studies, 1989), p. 118.

¹⁰ See their report, in Jean-Pierre Berthe, Thomas Calvo and Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, *Societies under construction. New Galicia according to the visits of listeners (1606-1616)* (Mexico: Cemca, 2008), pp. 87-102.

¹¹ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 146.

Santiago de Vera.¹² This had been a judge of the young and weak Audiencia of Nueva Galicia 27 years ago. But now he was returning under different circumstances. for 6 years had been the first and experienced president of the Court of Mexico. He was the first man of weight, strong and good administrator, who took into account hands the until then quite transparent company that governed the kingdom, and He would remain in power until his death in 1606. He was the element of stabilization that he needed a ship just emerging from the storms. On the other hand it was a man loaded with years, and therefore with family and friends. In a small town where there were perhaps about 100 Spanish residents upon arrival, suddenly introduced a dominant and nourished (and hungry) clan: 9 children, grandchildren and sons-in-law, and 37 "relatives and relatives," and a malevolent observer tells us, all <they eat and dine at a table>. Among them is the son-in-law Don Fernando Altamirano, indirectly related to Viceroy Velasco, one of the prominent estates of New Spain. Networks were created, ties were woven, and from the Every substance that reached the Vera house was also used indirectly the city, from circuit to circle or network.¹³ How can one be surprised by the rapid increase in population during his long (for a president of Audience) government and that the spirit of a commercial plaza and a political Will they be imposed on the customs of the Spaniards of Guadalajara?

THE YEARS 1600-1620:

WHEN A COURT COMES OUT OF ITS CHRYSALIDE

Fifteen years after Mota and Escobar, the transformation of Guadalajara into a court is indisputable. This is attested, with nuances but without hesitation, by the priest Lázaro de Arregui: although he was from Tepique, he must have known his capital and authorities well. Perhaps he attended the consecration of the cathedral in 1619, the second completed in New Spain after that of Yucatán: "a very attractive temple that greatly adorns the city and its formal aspects." The empire is born from prestige, and this from admiration and respect. Presence of the Church, prosperity of commerce that has new portals, in a city "well supplied with what is necessary": a capital cannot be understood within narrowness and scarcity. AND

¹² For more details, see the previous chapter.

¹³ Juan B. Iguíniz, «Accusation against Dr. Don Santiago de Vera, president of the Royal Court of Guadalajara, sent to King Felipe III by Jerónimo Conde, mayor and perpetual alderman of Guadalajara», *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 4, no. 4 (1971); and Thomas Calvo, "Circles of power in Guadalajara of the 17th century", in *La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries*, pp. 135-155. See also the previous chapter of this work.

Guadalajara finally managed to catch up with its rival Zacatecas: it has "almost 50 merchants who all earn money by eating."

The distinctive sign of the capital is elsewhere: fashion and its effects have taken over the city's short elite.

The costumes are so wearable that every year you have to leave those from one fleet and follow those brought by the other from Spain, all silk and all finery, with the equality that should prevail throughout the world, both those who live of their work, which around here are few like those who inherit it and have income.

It is a quote rich in meaning, where in relation to a deeply hierarchical society, equality has the opposite meaning of inequality - a form of perversion of language, it would be said today, but every society practices such a procedure, and manual labor or labor dependence are excluded from this select group. Being capital implies a palatial, patrician, comfortable life, which rests on an accumulated, or better yet inherited, patrimony. This courtly progress is also perceived in the fact that "there is little here some floats. The

interest in fashion, changing and imported, finally refers us to two key concepts within this traditional universe of the elites: luxury and loyalty. The luxury of "all silk and all finery", true, but above all changing, coming and going, from year to year. Only a very restricted group can dedicate time, information and above all money, participating in this Sisyphean work. For the rest, they are the fashions that come from Spain, along with the new ones from the metropolis, the orders of the Madrid court. Taking a model of the novelty from Spain is another way of remaining Spanish, in a Western world where customs and customs and in particular clothing are very different from country to country; of belonging to an imperial culture that is built and maintained among these elites, from Italy to the Philippines; Even with all the localisms that are progressively created, so do they. With all this, writes Lázaro de Arregui, the houses are still "made of adobe and low", although "very good and well-carved", and the greyhounds, chasing the hares, "tend to take them into the streets many times", 14

If Guadalajara is cut, reaching Zacatecas even in its population, how should we perceive the rival? Lázaro de Arregui knows the mining city poorly, and dedicates little space to it, but his impressions must have been those of

¹⁴ Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, edition and study by François Chevalier (Seville, 1946), pp. 63-67.

his contemporaries. There is a lot of excitement, "many comings and goings", perhaps too much for the majesty of a capital. But the sound of silver finds a remedy for everything: "this city is so enlightened and populated by people so magnanimous and powerful that it seems like a court."¹⁵ The magic words are spoken: magnanimity, enlightenment, power, court; but with a restriction, it seems. Can't there be bicephaly in the capital? Yes, probably, but with difficulty, always with the threat of a divorce. Why not say it, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, until the establishment of the municipalities, this rupture was a sword of Damocles always suspended over Guadalajara and New Galicia.

When Lázaro de Arregui finishes writing his description, others, through the monarchy, are about to undertake a task that must have seemed like another sword of Damocles. In Madrid, in 1621 there was a change of power, upon the death of Philip III, and as such an atmosphere of austerity and reform fell on the administration. Among other measures, all officials, and this includes salable trades, which are multiplying, are asked to make an inventory of their assets and transmit it to the central body, in the case of the Indies to its Council. The envelopes were never opened, but they were a threat to the corrupt.¹⁶ The truth is that they give a photograph, in the years 1622-1625, of this administration and especially of his fortune and his material environment, without forgetting the summary of his previous career or the rights acquired, particularly by ancestors, to royal grace. With these heritages we penetrate into the heart of what it means to be a court, that is, the strong impulse that the support of power, the disposition of its agents and instruments (positions, salaries), the irradiation, above all, of a large territory; In addition, the economic, political, social and cultural connections with the capital network of an almost planetary space.

Let's open the envelope from the president in power in Guadalajara in 1622, Mr. Pedro de Otálora. He was appointed oidor of Mexico by Philip II, as such he accumulated 41,550 ducats until arriving in Guadalajara in 1619; In Guadalajara he received 12,250 ducats. He considers that his fortune amounts to 18,231 pesos. The truth is that 8 slaves live with him, most of them young; It has income, more than comfortable household items, estimated at around 4,500 pesos, within which we find "some small pen images", several works of Christ and Our Lady. No books were counted: probably those he had were few and of little importance.¹⁷ This is not the case of the licensed judge Mr.

¹⁵ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 125.

¹⁶ We must wait for its content to be known, José Francisco de la Peña, *Oligarchy and property in New Spain, 1550-1624* (Mexico: FCE, 1983).

¹⁷ AGI, México 263, inventory made in Guadalajara on July 3, 1622.

Antonio de Villacreces, who brought a bookcase from Castilla estimated at 1,400 pesos, but most of the volumes are in the Company's school in Mexico, since he did not have the money to pay the freight; In the 17th century, Guadalajara was not lucky with books. 18

Otherwise, the case of President Otálora is peculiar: he is not married, his arrival in Guadalajara is relatively recent, and he has not purchased the only property authorized to the Guadalajara oidores, a house. The situation of his colleague Don Diego de Medrano is very different: he has been an oidor of Guadalajara for almost 10 years, he has a house estimated at 7,000 pesos but with a census of 3,000, and he has just married the daughter of a magistrate of the Court from Mexico, who brings her a dowry of 14,000 pesos, including jewelry, slaves, carpets, carved silver, women's dresses and "household items." Furthermore, this native of Santo Domingo justifies his assets by a whole series of inheritances, which have allowed him to save 17 to 18,000 pesos on his salary as judge of Guadalajara. Were these sums injected into the city's economy? Relatively: a large part of their assets correspond to luxury objects - clothing, jewelry, art objects, a "car lined with plain crimson Chinese velvet" - that come from other areas. But it is true that he has a certain activity as a lender, for a total of around 1,800 pesos: even the guardian of San Francisco pawned with him some worked silver for the sum of 200 pesos.¹⁹ The liquidities of the ecclesiastical Chapter and the bishop were a manna, a beneficial rain for the entire region, more regular and more accessible than the money from the salaries of the members of the Audience.

As we see, these high-ranking officers are true predators of local dowries, and with them their relatives: Don Diego de Medrano's brother married a Porres Baranda, who brought him 20,000 pesos in dowry.²⁰ The accountant of the Guadalajara cash register, Don Hernando de Muxica, is married to the sister, and with a dowry of 21,000 pesos. Under these conditions it is understood that he has "a crimson damask bed from Castile with gold trimmings" worth 1,500 pesos: truly a royal bed, of which he still owes, it is true, 802 pesos to a merchant. This upstart arrived just 5 years earlier in Guadalajara, however, he does not have the fiber of gratitude, since he is in litigation

18 AGI, México 263, inventory made in Guadalajara on July 13, 1622.

19 AGI, México 262, inventory made in Guadalajara on July 25, 1622.

20 AGI, México 263, inventory made in the Real de la Resurreccion, on January 20, 1625.

for 10,000 pesos with the estate founded by his in-laws.²¹ These are facts that the authentic people of Guadalajara must have observed with reserve.

In reality, the true manna, for the most rancid elite of Nueva Galicia, the down-and-out but worthy ones, are the provincial offices of mayor or corregidor, about 50 for Nueva Galicia, which the president of the Audience, once their own relatives and other servants have arrived. Among those who made their heritage declaration - it is the largest group - there are more than 20, of varied origin and career. Don Diego del Águila, mayor of Juchipila; neighbor, like almost all of them, of Guadalajara. He seems to have recently left parental guardianship, and has as his own assets 100 mares, 56 cattle and two black suits of his use, a sword and dagger, a total of 668 pesos. It is the lower level. Others have more promises than money, like Don Francisco Enríquez Pimentel - a big family, established in Guadalajara, appointed mayor of Culiacán. He arrived with his travel luggage, valued at 4,225 pesos; His uncle, the Marquis of Vax, promised him 2,500 pesos for his avío. Would he ever collect it? He hopes for the paternal and maternal legitimate rights, to be divided with his four brothers. An undoubtedly refined young man - he has a diamond headband worth 700 pesos: did he know in what remote universe he was driving his six mules and ten horses on the road?²²

In reality, and if we forget the occasions of dissimulation that can accompany this documentation, these provincial offices offer few possibilities of true fortune. They even cover up some risks: here we meet again Captain Juan Hontoria y del Corro, a resident of Guadalajara.²³ We left him in 1613 with a more than acceptable patrimony, and mayor of the Fresnillo mines. At the end of his time he was appointed administrator of the royal quicksilver in the same place: he probably advanced the quicksilver to the miners, was unable to recover the sums borrowed, and was caught by the royal treasury for 18,000 pesos that he had to pay to the royal treasury. Zacatecas, partly about his wife's inheritance. In 1625 he had 12,900 safe pesos, it was almost double in 1613, plus 20,365 that were owed to him by miners from Fresnillo, Oxtotitpac and Zacatecas, and that he would probably never be able to recover.²⁴ In the case of miners, "it is almost lost," writes another officer.²⁵ Is this part of the logic of jobs over

²¹ AGI, México 263, inventory made in Guadalajara on August 1, 1622.

²² AGI, México 263, inventory made in Guadalajara on January 16, 1625.

²³ See the chapter "A human universe in implosion in the 16th century" in this

²⁴ AGI, México 263, inventory made in Guadalajara on March 18, 1625.

²⁵ AGI, México 262, inventory made in Guadalajara by Jhoan Castillo, alderman on August 1, 1622.

which the king closes his eyes regarding certain practices that also had little reality in Nueva Galicia, such as the forced distribution of merchandise? In return, the Crown reacts relentlessly so that nothing destined for the royal coffers is lost. It is possible that with age the officer, in this case Juan Hontoria, loses some of his acuity or power of persuasion.

The same could be said of Captain Juan de Monroy, this time a resident of Zacatecas, one of the first discoverers and settlers of San Luis Potosí, councilor of Zacatecas for 22 years and its attorney general for 18, mayor on several occasions (Lagos, Aguascalientes). In 1622 it is said <<<very poor and very old». And the state of his assets allows us to clarify: it can be valued at 30,000 pesos, but the taxes and debts reach 16,400 pesos. And his private income seems to be limited to the 500 pesos from his estate, with which he has to pay 140 pesos in taxes on his house, undoubtedly superb (12,000 pesos in value), but unproductive capital. In a way it is understood when one declares oneself poor. 26

AN ASSUMED SOCIAL OPENING?

Within the mirage already mentioned that the Indies offer, the courts, with their strong power of attraction, their brilliant facets, could still increase hopes and disappointments. But at the same time they were the crucible where the human alloys of what would be the future society of all of Latin America were amalgamated with greater vigor and freedom. We could even speak of a cosmopolitan reality, resting on the 4 continents then known, without fearing an anachronism, and giving too much force to the reality of the 17th century. But it is difficult to describe in any other way the fate of the restricted, but active and visible, group of Japanese who between the years 1620 and 1675 occupied prominent positions in the Guadalajara scene. Two in particular, related - father-in-law and son-in-law - have left us traces that allow us to broadly reconstruct their journey. The first, Luis de Encío, is probably a samurai who arrived in Nueva Galicia around 1615-1616. The first news we have of him is located in Ahuacatlán, within the inquisitorial process of 1620 carried out on a Frenchman from Béarna, in litigation with an unscrupulous friar, both lovers of the same skirts. Within the dispute, a certain Alonso Sánchez Dencio is mentioned, and above all "the scandal of these things was so great that a Japanese who was and is in the said town who was baptized four years ago, said in my presence and of me woman than that friar who perhaps was not a Christian": frankness

²⁶ AGI, México 262, Zacatecas, 1622.

oriental!²⁷ It is possible that the godfather was Alonso Sánchez Dencio in 1616 and that the Japanese received the surname of the person who sponsored him. In that case it would be a good case of our Luis, who was able to reach the coasts of New Spain with the embassy of Hasekura Tsunenaga to the West (1613-1620). The truth is that the joint presence of at least one Béarnais and "a Japan" in Ahuacatlán demonstrates that the entire society of Nueva Galicia and the surrounding area, even a small town, was agitated by broad migration movements, almost on a planetary scale.

Certainly, Ahuacatlán offered few options for Luis to progress. In 1634 he settled in Guadalajara, and signed, as a partner contributing his work, a letter of company with a merchant, the capitalist partner, to make a store fruitful. He signs with Japanese ideograms, and calls himself Japan. Things are going well for him, and in the 1640s he even gets involved with a controversial president of the Audiencia, Pedro Fernández de Baeza, for whom he sells the leftover food that is given to the magistrate. Especially around that time, he must have married his daughter, a mixed race of Japanese and Indian, to a young compatriot, Juan de Páez, the true hero of this saga: it has even been possible to write about Juan, "the Japanese who conquered Guadalajara."²⁸ Finally Luis died poor in 1666, asking his daughter for forgiveness for having squandered his inheritance and thanking Páez for the support he gave him.

Juan de Páez²⁹ arrived in Guadalajara around 1618, when he was about ten years old. That is to say, from the first traces he left us, he signed his name in Latin letters, and throughout his existence he hid his origin, or at least he did not mention it. This with the complicity of most of the Guadalajara elite, who, except in the beginning, never indicated that they were Japanese. It is moving that on his deathbed, in 1675, he remembers being "a native of the [city] of Osaka in the kingdoms of Japan." Then it is said "neighbor and merchant of Guadalajara." In reality, he was more than that: he was a financial expert, one of the few people from Guadalajara of his time who used drafts in his dealings with Mexico; a trusted man of the elite: practically all the important deceased, particularly the prebendaries, in the middle of the century chose him as executor; above all, trait

²⁷ AGN, Inquisition, volume 303, fol. 503r.

²⁸ About the two characters: Thomas Calvo, «Japanese in Guadalajara: "whites of honor" during the Mexican Sixteenth Century», *Revista de Indias*, no. 172 (1983): 531-547; Eikichi Hayashiya, «The Japanese who stayed in Mexico in the 17th century. About a samurai in Guadalajara», *Mexico and the Pacific Rim* 6, no. 18 (2003): 10-17; Melba Falck Reyes and Héctor Palacios, *The Japanese who conquered Guadalajara. The history of Juan de Páez in 17th century Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2010).

²⁹ About this character, see also the preceding chapter.

determining factor, he was steward of the cathedral from 1654 until his death. This gave him economic power, religious guarantees, and above all an indisputable place within the most closed elite of Guadalajara. Shortly after Páez died, his widow headed one of the largest houses in the city. In death, his shadow still continued to protect his loved ones: in 1677 his daughters obtained a dispensation from Rome "due to default of blood" to be able to enter the aristocratic convent of Santa María de Gracia. They didn't really care about being religious - they never were - but they did care that their stain was erased.

They are exceptional destinations, and therefore where is their exemplary nature? There were other "Chinese" (that is, mainly Filipinos), even Japanese around the same years in Guadalajara; The majority did not emerge from poverty, even from slavery, and therefore leave few traces in the documentation.³⁰ Another case, even more intriguing, occurred during the years 1643-1655, with President Fernández de Baeza. It was a particularly hectic presidency, Don Pedro's misfortune was to have a particularly voracious wife, children and brother-in-law: when he died in Guadalajara in February 1655, he may not have been aware that the Council of the Indies had deposed him since July 1655. 1654. Unless this is the cause of his sudden death.

But that is not what concerns us now. During his presidency, in the midst of the most precise and serious accusations, no one denounces a possible "blood defect" and even more so. As in the case of Juan de Páez, we must wait for his death and the intervention of the Church. When his son tried to be part of the Inquisition court of Cartagena de Indias in 1671, information about his genealogy was revealed, and then complaints rained down: President Fernández de Baeza would be neither more nor less than the illegitimate son of the head guard, from the Mexican mint and a free mulatto! We finally have no certainties, but we do have strong indications. How is it possible that around 1640 no one asked why the president's uncle had decidedly Afro-mestizo features? Of course the power and self-censorship were great. But society also had such a degree of tolerance and coexistence between different mixed breeds that no one was surprised to find different phenotypes within the same family, and even less shocked. Finally, more than half of Don Pedro's contemporaries from Guadalajara were born in the beneficent darkness of illegitimacy.³¹

30 Using the parish books of the Tabernacle of Guadalajara, Falck and Palacios record 21 cases for the 17th century, among them those of relatives of Encío and Páez. Most are servants or slaves.

31 About Fernández de Baeza: Calvo, «Circles of power in Guadalajara of the 20th century

JEWISH GUADALAJARA

Luis de Encío and certainly Juan de Páez were good Catholics, and the same could be said of Don Pedro Fernández de Baeza, beyond his corruption. Therefore they did not clash with society in the backbone principle then, religion.

There was indifference, acceptance, even sometimes complicity in matters such as ethnicity, origin, and until at least in the 17th century, in relation to a wealth that smacked of merchandise: halfway through the century a widowed ex-merchant managed to enter the ranks of the Cathedral chapter of Guadalajara, and his son was dean!³² But what was happening with religious tolerance? And more so in the courts, that is, in places that offered a contradiction: they were attractive to the marginalized because of the movement they produced, the possibilities of dissimulation that they allowed, but at the same time they were dangerous because of the greater instruments of control and a more elaborate sensitivity to political situations and what this could represent in terms of repression.

With all this we are of course pointing out the group of converts and their future in the capital, but also throughout the new kingdom: moving around, having interests in open spaces, was necessary for their survival. It is a humanity that is strongly controlled, persecuted and therefore has no other salvation than dissimulation, flight, dispersion and clandestinity. But again with contradictions: they need, to survive and to proselytize, to try to be supportive; Due to their way of life - merchants, artisans - they are rooted in the Catholic community that rejects them as Jews, but integrates them as members of the community to which they all belong, be it Guadalajara, be it the empire. Sometimes solitary due to the circumstances of their situation, they have many things in common: an almost generalized geographical origin that becomes a stigma - being Portuguese, similar stories of persecution, family ties and affirmed professionals. A regular religious practice was only possible in that environment within a unified couple; children and collateral could represent dangers in certain cases; certain occupations, such as that of merchant, were more in line with an existence largely on the spur of the moment. These are the traits and networks within which we can place the converts or new Christians, but above all, within them the Judaizers, that is, the practitioners of the "old law", as the Holy Office denounced them.

It is not up to us here to make a history, even a very abbreviated one, of the reality does not exist in America nor in Nueva Galicia. But it is about giving them the human space that they had in those northern lands, and the imprint that

XVII", in *La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries*, pp. 135-155.

32 Marcos and Baltasar de la Peña, see Calvo, *Power, religion and society*, p. 94.

they could leave on those societies and their accommodation, essentially during the first half of the century, when a true Judaizing problem for the dominant group manifested itself. On the other hand, they are the revealer of some of the limits within which the Catholic world of Nueva Galicia is enclosed as it consolidates.

The moment is key, it corresponds to the union of the two Crowns of Castile and Portugal (1580-1640). This circumstance favors the return to Spain of many descendants of Jews who fled to Portugal after the expulsion decreed by Isabel in 1492; but they return with the seal of Portuguese, which is later transmitted to their children, even born in Spain, as a hereditary - and religious - stigma. The New World with its remoteness, its poorly known and partly virgin immensity, with the opportunities it offers to men without roots, is a strong attraction for those who, although persecuted, do not want to abandon, for many reasons, lands related to their language, their traditions, their culture: in other words, they do not want to lose their nature. Within the Indies, some territories attract more than others. If we limit ourselves to New Spain, three places offer greater interest: Veracruz, the gateway, emporium of a large and rich territory; Mexico, hectic and generous belly; Guadalajara, window on the border and refuge, key to the mines of the north.

Among others, the process followed by Manuel de Mella between 1642 and 1648 is exemplary regarding all these positions. He was born in Zamora in 1594, the son of a merchant from the same place who later moved to Malaga. The Portuguese - and probably Judaizing - root comes from his mother, daughter of Portuguese. And it is reinforced when he marries in Utrera, at the age of 23, with another "daughter of Portuguese."³³ Although the marriage did not last long, it was decisive: according to what Manuel declared to the inquisitors, it was his wife who put him on the right path, telling him "that two found hearts did not mix well, giving him to understand that if husband and wife did not clearly keep Moysen's law, they could not adjust in actions, one fasting and the other eating."³⁴ This clarifies the practices of Mella and his coreligionists, and what he put into practice when he arrived in Guadalajara in 1637. A strong cohesion of the family nucleus was necessary, and no one will have this more in mind than Manuel de Mella and his second wife, Violanta Juárez, native of Lima, daughter of Judaizers who wanted to marry her "to a Jew who not only equal, but even, if possible, exceed them": this was Manuel, "Jew very fine" according to the Holy Office.³⁵ This complicity between spouses is all the more

³³ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 193r and 202V.

³⁴ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 266v-267r.

³⁵ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 268g.

necessary since, with few exceptions, religious practice, clandestine and therefore limited, is limited to the home environment. As the first wife declared, the main obligation is fasting, especially "the great one" or "forgiveness" in September, that is, Yom Kippur. In some cases the Mella-Juárez house is opened in Guadalajara "so that other judaycantes could discuss the said law in the presence of the said wife, and come to his house to fast with him and the said wife, bringing such what they had for dinner, like chickpeas and eggs stewed in oil and salads."³⁶

Manuel thought that Guadalajara offered him, as well as other Judaizers, a safe place: <<Seeing that it was a purpose for him to settle in the city of Guadalajara where he had gone sometimes, because of the many Jews with whom in those days parts had made himself known, he went to live in the said city, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven and set up a merchandise store."³⁷

That is to say, Guadalajara, with its movement of merchants, including Portuguese and Judaizers, gave them the opportunity to fulfill another need of the persecuted group: to create a sociability that would allow solidarity and strengthening the ties of identity. Here lay the dangerous point: at some point it was necessary to discover the other. In reality the risk was limited, calculated: the networks pre-existed, as mentioned here, whether geographical, whether professional; some ambiguous gestures or words about the mass, for example, facilitated mutual recognition. Without forgetting that we are in times where privacy is very relative, the inquisitorial practice extended to everyone, including the future victims of the OS. For example, one day of fasting a Judaizer entered Mella's house, "with the desire to see if he would find any evidence that they were fasting, because he suspected the said Mella [...] and he noticed that he had the house swept and watered and since the said very close person of the said Mella [Violanta] was usually working, that day he was idle-sa».³⁸ In all these procedures Manuel in Guadalajara was a master. Another

circumstance offered some respite to the Judaizers: the staff of the Inquisition, if not the inquisitors themselves, had little knowledge of the religion they were persecuting. In 1642, the commissioner of the S. O. of Guadalajara, reviewing Manuel de Mella's belongings, discovered in her most secluded room a portrait of a woman on an old canvas, titled Spanish Lady. In-

³⁶ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 268r.

³⁷ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 268r.

³⁸ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 243g.

I see V. S. because of the suspicion that there may be against him that they venerated him. 39 If this were the case, Manuel de Mella and his wife would have been very deviating from the Jewish faith.

With all this, and until the Portuguese revolution of 1640 that allowed Portuguese-Jewish-rebel assimilation, the situation of the converts in New Spain, and particularly in New Galicia, was little compromised: even a Santiago de Vera had origins Christian again. Some managed to lose their fear of the Holy Inquisition. Around the 1620s, a group of "Portuguese peddlers who were selling clothes" roamed around Guadalajara and disappeared in the countryside at the time of "the great fast."⁴⁰ Among them was a certain Gonzalo Báez, who in 1627 managed to take over tricks and audacity of the content of a document that the Holy Office sends to Guadalajara. This way you can warn a fellow believer who is about to be arrested. And his brother Vasco Pérez, who exercises preference over the commissioner of the Inquisition of Guadalajara, does not lack derision: when the clergyman's slave asks Vasco - he is an employee of the Guadalajara butcher shops - for a little tallow, he answers: "What a lot of bait his master had." They were playing with fire: in the brothers' circle there is then a Judaizer as enlightened as Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte (1632), a resident and merchant of Guadalajara at this time, who advises prudence. He was right, we know that Gonzalo Báez will pay for his audacity with prisons and a session of torture. ⁴²

In 1637 some freedom or tolerance could still be available, and this allowed Mella to garner a certain renown in the small Judaizing community of Guadalajara:

Having him there, the people who knew him as such a great Jew came to him. house, as well as to the synagogue, in such a way that it was known in this city [of Mexico] among the Judayzantes that even chocolate was given to them at home to make fasts, calling husband and wife saints of the law, and writing it thus the Jews of that city [Guadalajara] to those of this one, in recommendation of their charity towards the brothers of his Hebrew nation [...] host and protector of those who were in the entire kingdom of Nueva Galicia.

Mella's house was therefore "a receptacle and synagogue for all the Jews there were in those parts, and they came from this city of Mexico. ⁴³ Here was the

³⁹ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 185v-186r.

⁴⁰ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 509, fol. 310r.

⁴¹ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 377, fol. 106V.

⁴² AGN, Inquisition, vol. 377, fol. 115V.

⁴³ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 268v-270.

real danger when times brutally changed around 1640. The Judaizers from both sides of the ocean and even from Peru formed a clandestine network, not totally secret, with emerging points more visible than others, such as the house of Manuel de Mella in Guadalajara. When the political power asked the Inquisition to pull the rope, the catch was large, and Manuel and his wife were among those captured. His arrest was in September 1642, his sentence to perpetual banishment from the New World in March 1648. Almost 6 years of a devastating wait in the inquisitorial prisons, along with Tomás Treviño and others.

However, some were more cautious, they understood the dangers that threatened them, they knew how to take the necessary precautions. This was probably the case of Roque Díaz Calleros, merchant, chancellor and custodian of Guadalajara, denounced by several prisoners, but whose prudence kept him away from the cells of the S. O. According to one testimony, "it was not convenient for him to deal with or communicate with them [the Judaizers], because no harm would come to him if any of them were taken prisoner; and the said Mella told him that with the said depositary, and said people spoke about the things of the Moysen law."⁴⁴

Finally, if to a certain extent we understand why the Judaizers, like the others, came to the Indies "to seek their life," as Manuel de Mella once declared, it is more complex to understand why, having made their fortune and knowing better the hardships Indianas, did not move on to other more lenient horizons. This is the question that a witness asks Antonio de Medina, a Judaizing miner and merchant from the Jora estate. In 1617 Antonio had declared that his wish was to live in France "with a poor and important relative of Francisco Ferro, his first cousin." But in 1621 he was still in the Indies, and the witness returned with his question:

Why did he want to stay [...] in the Indies, being able to go to liberated lands where with the wealth he had he could be appreciated and try to save his soul? , because in the Indies I couldn't do it. To which he responded with tears in his eyes that he saw and reached everything. But he had many opportunities in Guadalajara that did not give him room to leave the earth. The mine and many debts and mainly two or three children in a married woman, than if she were a widow or single or could take the children did it. May God remember him and choose him what was best for him to save himself. Four. Five

⁴⁴ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 403, fol. 249r.

⁴⁵ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 370, fol. 244 et seq.

During those years 1620-1640, everything was becoming more complex and interrelated, economy and society: even the freest men who lived their religion on the margins saw a multitude of ties tying them more every day to the land of Nueva Galicia, some for their well, like Juan de Páez; others because of their misfortune, like Antonio de Medina. In this way, Guadalajara's capital vocation was also affirmed.

A CONSOLIDATION BETWEEN LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

In 1651, the only parish in the city, that of Sagrario, had 3,557 inhabitants, of which more than half were Spanish (1839) and less than 10% Indian (292). By the end of the century the population had doubled (7,650), to which we must add some two thousand indigenous people from the parish outside the walls of San Francisco. With 9,000-10,000 inhabitants, the phase of infancy, of the simple town, has been overcome: the churches and their bell towers are multiplying or being renewed on the horizons of the city, and the population of Guadalajara represents a quarter of those who live in the west and southeast of Nueva Galicia. Its hegemonic - and capital - character will rarely be so evident, but as always excluding Zacatecas and the northeast.⁴⁶

This does not mean that it is no longer a provincial capital, with its own limitations and characteristics. The swearing-in ceremony of the young Charles II, on September 20, 1666, is a good revealer of the context as a whole. On October 28 of the previous year, the queen regent issued a royal decree ordering the oath in favor of her son: given the distance, there has therefore been at least 6 months to prepare a party that can be considered brilliant. But then a first difficulty arises: the Cabildo of Guadalajara is practically deserted, and of the 6 councilors who populated it at the beginning of the century, only one councilor remains, with someone we already know, Roque Díaz Calleros, a possible Judaizer and prosperous merchant. Therefore, the royal ensign is missing, an essential character in a Cabildo, and precisely in charge of raising the royal banners in these cases. A substitute had to be found that would be an alloy of prestige and wealth. The choice fell on the richest merchant throughout the 17th century in Guadalajara - and perhaps of the entire viceregal era, Captain Agustín de Gamboa.⁴⁷ It was the consecration of the merchandise, but for that very reason there was a lot of gnashing of teeth; without forgetting that at that time the merchants - or their children - became owners of part of the cathedral's prebends.

⁴⁶ Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, pp. 47-53.

⁴⁷ About the character, see the previous chapter.

Gamboa felt very flattered, but as a pragmatic man he did not want to go all out. She did what was required, that is, she showed off in a striking dress "made of camel cloth, a crimson cape, of the same color, with turns of said cloth, gold buttons, hammer buttons, and a very curiously carved chain of the same." », and mounted «on a beautiful and brilliant horse» and offered the customary snack. He didn't pay much attention to the rest. "A

large stage was made in the public square," with the essential elements: pyramids and globes in the corners, a seat in the central part with the portrait of the young monarch, with its canopy, with seats on each side - the Audience at the right, the Cabildo on the left. Of course gold and crimson are not lacking in one or another hanging or pillow. But there are no iconographic elements (emblems, paintings), there is no machine with its effects: the absence of any poet or genius behind this ephemeral monument is truly noticeable. The only originality lies in the balloons, which are actually cages with birds that open at the climax: a fairly common ceremonial event. The device is completed with another stage, even less striking, in the other square, in San Agustín, in front of the town hall houses.

Of course, Augustine and the patricians who accompanied him made a procession on horseback from one stage to another, from a convent to the cathedral, passing in front of churches, showing again and again their silks and finery and therefore their social and achievements. economical. However, the central symbol of the ceremony could not be forgotten: Guadalajara, head of the kingdom, acclaiming the young sovereign on its own and in the name of Nueva Galicia, with the president of the Audiencia, waving the royal banner, later imitated by Gamboa, and proclaiming to the face of the entire assembled city, and in the midst of a generalized ringing of bells: «New Galicia, New Galicia, New Galicia; Guadalajara, Guadalajara, Guadalajara; by the Catholic king Don Carlos Segundo, our Lord, king of Castile, León, and the Indies, may God preserve many happy years. There was no lack of the exotic note, also obligatory, that was added after the acclamation by "the Indian mayors and principals of the towns near this city, dressed in their own style with great finery and adornment and with bouquets of flowers that they gave to their Lady." said Mr. President"; They were ordered to kneel on the stage and the change of reign was communicated to them in their language. That night, all illuminated, Guadalajara fell asleep late, with well-being and pride, no doubt, but without much to remember, except the personal triumph of the merchant Gamboa. 48

48 The relationship in José Comejo Franco, *Testimonios de Guadalajara* (Mexico: UNAM, 1942), pp. 53-64.

Other events, also linked to the expression of sovereignty in its center of application, that is, in its capital, and beyond in its main square, with its bloodthirsty brutality, its repetitive nature, its unambiguous expressiveness left memories and even scars in the minds of the inhabitants and subjects: these are of course the executions of those condemned to death. There was no blood frenzy on the part of the authorities of Nueva Galicia then, but every year and a half, on average, a neck was broken or some flesh was burned: 27 executed, according to our calculations, between 1670 and 1709.⁴⁹

Some cases left more scars on minds than others. In particular, the decade of 1690 was one of the most hectic, and not only in New Spain: a series of meteorological problems led to grain shortages and social disorders in much of the planet. One of the best known is the great riot in Mexico on June 8, 1692. It is not a simple coincidence if on June 14 there was another bloody riot in Tlaxcala. What happened in Guadalajara that same night of June 14 is different, but cannot be taken as a simple coincidence: the students and others from the land confronted, stones against whips, with the Gachupine and Mexican merchants and officials - the representatives of power, in some way.⁵⁰ More in depth, what was at stake was an almost common circumstance in every capital city of the Catholic monarchy; be it, for example, Mexico, Manila, Guadalajara: a tense relationship between the president of the Audiencia and the bishop, and therefore between the clerical body and the political power. In this case, the dispute between Bishop Juan de Santiago de León Garabito and President Alonso Ceballos Villagutierre has something obsessive, almost personal.⁵¹

This tension found a breaking point on the occasion of the execution of prisoners taken from the church in disregard of the right of protection. This was the case in 1689:

As the executing ministers carried Joseph Mercado, condemned to death as a highway robber, to the torture, they took from him with violence and force of arms some clerics, priests and others of sacred order, and among them many of the family of the Rev. bishop of this city for no other reason than to have been extracted from the church by the robed ministers of this Court.

⁴⁹ Calvo, *Power, religion and society*, p. 370.

⁵⁰ See Thomas Calvo, "Mexico-Guadalajara-Tlaxcala: la semaine des pierres (8-14 juin 1692)", in *Le Prince, la ville et le bourgeois: XIV-XVIII siècles*, edited by Laurence Croq (Paris: Nolin, 2004).

⁵¹ See José Arturo Burciaga Campos, *The prism in the mirror. Secular clergy and society in Nueva Galicia, Guadalajara and Zacatecas, 17th century* (Zacatecas: Taberna librería editors, 2012), pp. 82-84.

In the years that followed, fuel was thrown on the fire from one side or another, the ecclesiastics handling excommunication and censure with ease, the officials denying the right to protection and brutality: the bishop accused the Audiencia of acting against the Church "in the style of

war."⁵² With all this it can be thought that on June 20, 1692, a week after the night of the tumult, tempers were particularly heated, to the point that a royal notary slapped one of the ordinary mayors - and also this notary of the Audiencia. It was undoubtedly a private feud. But the aggressor took refuge in the cathedral, consequently the second mayor decided to avenge the honor of the corporation and extract the notary. The clergymen became agitated, they sounded an interdict, they stirred up "the plebeian people with whom the streets were full." The night was an evening of weapons, from one side and the other. The tension lasted several nights. The Audiencia and the secular Chapter had the loss, and finally bowed before the determination of the secular clergy.⁵³

A BEAUTIFUL 17TH CENTURY?

I wrote somewhere that Guadalajara experienced a beautiful century in the 17th century. Spontaneously, many years later, and returning to the file, the same expression comes to mind: product of an excessively optimistic spirit or of the empathy that every historian feels towards his object? It is true that the century opens, at least for Nueva Galicia, with a series of tragedies, in particular the revolt of the Tepehuanos, and continues with a series of turbulences, such as around Nayarit or in the north. Still in 1659 there was a Chichimeca war that no longer dared to say its name. The Audience wrote to the viceroy:

The news that has reached the President these days of the mayors of the Tlaltenango valley, the town of Jerez and the Juchipila valley of the deaths and damages caused by the Chichimeco Indians in those jurisdictions [...] and having carefully considered the matter, and the reasons that attend so as not to give a name of war to these robberies and deaths committed by these barbarians.

⁵² Cited by Burciaga Campos, *The prism in the mirror*, p. 82.

⁵³ See letter from the Audience to the king, 1-8-1692, AGI, Guadalajara 24, R. 1, N. 1, fol. 1-5. About José Mercado, for more details, see Burciaga Campos, *El prisma in the mirror*, pp. 85-92.

In particular, this agitation compromised the supply of the Zacatecas mines.
54 But all this was happening further and further away from Guadalajara.

In return, the capital itself knew how to assume its role. Its merchants, Agustín de Gamboa in particular, had broken the siege imposed by the merchants of Mexico and negotiated directly with Seville: this would not last in the 18th century. The city had managed to catch up with its rival Zacatecas in many aspects: name, demographic importance, partly in wealth; It surpassed it in political power, in the drainage and redistribution of regional capitals with the tithe and ecclesiastical censuses. An entire urban and regional network was formed around it: throughout the 16th century and until the second half of the 17th century, Guadalajara's attention was devoted primarily to the west of Nueva Galicia, that is, to the mines of the royal bank. from Guadalajara. In the 1670s, this is what we intend to read in the documentation, the capital began to be consecrated more thoroughly, thanks to its capitals, to the Altos, with Lagos, and beyond to Aguascalientes. The fate of the town of San Juan de los Lagos after the middle of the century, of its sacred image, of its fair, was an important point of support.

The capital's population and society remained open; They received applicants, dowry hunters, censuses and offices from almost all of Nueva Galicia and of course from the rest of the empire. The illegitimacy and instability that accompanied it were reducing. Right or wrong, the system of values that the city had the mission of spreading infiltrated to the depths of society. In 1693 a young Moorish slave - that is, three-quarters white - tried to commit suicide because his owner, a domestic tyrant, apart from being an oidor, had him flogged: insulted, he could no longer go out into the street, according to Francisco de Paula himself. to the judge. 55 Let us finish this collective reminder of an entire urban community over a century about this individual destiny. In a way, much converges towards him: slavery and its announced collapse, miscegenation, exploitation and inhuman treatment of others, exalted youth, honor and manhood. It wasn't all lights.

54 Thomas Calvo, «Nomades, "frontière" et mines en 1659», *L'ordinaire du mexicaniste*, no. 62 (1982): 39-46.

55 Thomas Calvo, «Un drame personnel dans la trame historique: la tentative de suicide de l'esclave Francisco de Paula à Guadalajara (1693)», in *Penser l'Amérique au temps de la domination espagnole. Espace, temps et société, XVI-XVIII siècle*, Jean-Pierre Berthe and Pierre Ragon (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011), pp. 244-273.

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RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS AND PRACTICES (17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES)

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RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS IN GUADALAJARA, 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

By the beginning of the 17th century there were six convents in Guadalajara belonging to each of the religious communities that until then had been established in the city. At that time the only female monastery was that of the Dominicans of Santa María de Gracia, which had been founded in 1588 at the request of Bishop Fray Domingo de Alzola¹ "due to the great need that there was in this kingdom and the provinces adjacent to it for a monastery of nuns [for the] spiritual good and remedy for many maidens who, because they were not able to go to Mexico to take up the state of religion, suffered a lot of grief and now will be able to very easily achieve their desire."²

The religious convents that then existed in the city were those of San Francisco, San Agustín, the Compañía de Jesús, Santo Domingo; In addition to the presence of the Carmelites in the hermitage of La Concepción, a building whose use they had been authorized in 1593 when they were granted a license to establish themselves in Guadalajara. Likewise, at that time there were two hospitals in the city: Santa Veracruz and San Miguel."

¹ Cecilia Palomar Vereá, «The abode of the angels: the convent of Santa Mónica de Guadalajara» (lecture, University of Guadalajara, November 14, 2013); Sor María de los Dolores Rivera y Sanromán, *The convent of Santa María de Gracia de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Rotaimpresos Nueva Galicia, 1998).

² José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, *Notes for the history of the Church in Guadalajara, 19th century* (Guadalajara: Culture, 1967), volume 1, p. 767.

³ Dávila Garibi, *Notes for the history of the Church*, volume 2, p. 36.

⁴ Thomas Calvo, *The dawn of a new world, 16th and 17th centuries* (Guadalajara:

A couple of decades later, around 1628, Bishop Francisco de Rivera y Pareja of the order of Mercy - would promote the establishment of his brothers of habit in Guadalajara, justifying his attempt before the Neo-Galician Court by arguing the need he found there. city to "instruct youth in scholastic and moral theology, and in philosophy." The founding of the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Merced was authorized in these terms,

and by the end of 1629 the city already had a new temple for the Mercedarians.⁵ With similar arguments, thinking about the "teaching of Latinity and Christian doctrine » Among the population of the town of Lagos, the inhabitants of that place promoted the founding of a school run by the Mercedarians towards the end of the 17th century. Thus, in November 1685, Bishop Juan Santiago de León Garabito approved the neighbors' request, beginning the establishment of the San Lorenzo school with religious from the Mercedarian convent of Aguascalientes. ⁶

During the 17th century, the city of Guadalajara experienced growth -both demographic and urban- in well-identified intervals, mainly during the first and third quarters of the century; Some calculations estimate that between 1600 and 1700 the city's population would have increased sixfold, going from 1,200 to 7,200 inhabitants without accounting for the Indian towns in this calculation. This growing population, with a thriving Creole sector, would increase its demands for religious assistance during the 17th century. Since the material resources existed among the city's families to support these requests, by the end of the century the conditions had been met to establish a new convent of nuns; This time it was about the Discalced Carmelites, who arrived in the city to found the convent of Santa Teresa around 1698.⁸ In this same context, the Jesuit Feliciano Pimentel and several of his benefactors in Guadalajara would begin to promote, from the 1690s, the foundation

University of Guadalajara, 1990), p. 26.

⁵ Dávila Garibi, Notes for the history of the Church, volume 2, pp. 221-224; Fray Cristóbal de Aldana, Crónica de la Merced (s.p.i.), p. 22; Cisco de Pareja, Chronicle of the province of the visitation of Our Lady of Mercy Redemption of Captives, of New Spain (Historical Archive of the State of San Luis Potosí, 1989).

⁶ Dávila Garibi, Notes for the history of the Church, volume 2, pp. 638-639. During the 17th century, the Mercedarian presence in the west also included the convent of Colima, from approximately 1602. García, Colima, p. twenty.

⁷ Thomas Calvo, La Nueva Galicia in the 16th and 17th centuries (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco / Cemca, 1989), pp. 20-21.

⁸ Manuel Ramos Medina, Mystics and barefoot (Mexico: Condumex / Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), p. 28.

of a beguinage for girls, a management that would eventually crystallize in obtaining the royal license (1718) to establish the Augustinian convent of Santa Monica.⁹ Just four years later, the Dominican nuns would also obtain authorization for a new foundation in Guadalajara, thus establishing the convent of Jesús María (1722). By mid-century, a private donation ensured the necessary resources for some Capuchin nuns to move from the town of Lagos to Guadalajara to found a new monastery; This objective would be met by the end of 1761, although the construction of its temple (Inmaculada Concepción) would be delayed several years.¹⁰

Baroque religiosity, the availability of particular resources and the examples of episcopal promotion that made these female foundations possible were also at the basis of the arrival of new male religious congregations to the city during the 17th century. In this sense, he highlighted the authorization granted by Bishop Juan Santiago de León Garabito in 1679 for the fathers of the Oratory of San Felipe Neri (Oratorians or Philipians) to establish themselves in Guadalajara. With the intention that a group of diocesan priests would form a community dedicated to preaching among the indigenous people of the diocese, the bishop himself would begin the efforts in 1694 to found the congregation of the Oblates of El Salvador, donating for this purpose the land where his residence would be established. Once the foundation was consolidated the following year, the Oblates, however, would define a charism oriented towards visiting prisons and hospitals in the city.¹¹

The founding of the Tridentine Conciliar Seminary of San José corresponds to this same period, dedicated to training priests in accordance with the provisions of the Council of Trent. The proposal for this foundation would arise from the bishop, Brother Felipe Galindo, who In January 1696 he wrote to the king, Charles II, in this regard. Six months later, in June, the monarch issued a royal decree approving the foundation of the Guadalajara seminary, although its effective foundation would be delayed until September 9, 1699. Finally, the solemn inauguration of the seminary would take place on December 23 of the same year.¹²

⁹ Palomar Vereá, "The abode of the angels", pp. v, 7-23; Dávila Garibi, Notes for the history of the Church, volume 3, vol. 1, pp. 301-313.

¹⁰ Dávila Garibi, Notes for the history of the Church, volume 3, vol. 2, pp. 748-757 and 925-926.

¹¹ Ibid., volume 2, pp. 647, 677-678.

¹² Ibid., volume 2, pp. 740-742. Although with quite a few confusions in the dates, a similar version of the founding of the conciliar seminary is found in Luis Medina Ascencio, "The seminary of Guadalajara of 1570", in Fourth foundation of the bishopric of Guadalajara, 1548-1948 (Guadalajara: Artes Gráficas, 1948), p. 205.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND SOURCES OF HOLINESS

As previously mentioned, by considering itself the beneficiary of the papal donations that opened the doors to the conquest of the New World, the Spanish Crown recognized as its first obligation to promote the Catholic religion among the inhabitants of these lands. In this context we understand the various provisions that the Crown issued to urge the civil and ecclesiastical authorities not to neglect the evangelization of the indigenous people, ensuring that the work imposed on the Indians in the service of the *encomenderos* and the Crown did not hinder the attendance of the Indians to the doctrine. Thus, for example, in the context of New Galicia, one of the charges made against the *oidor* Martínez de la Marcha after his visit to the territory of that Audience (1550) would be precisely that he had done very little to achieve the liberation of the Indians. of the heavy burdens that the *encomenderos* imposed on them so that they could better focus on religious conversion; Around the same time, this same negligence on the part of *encomenderos* and various local authorities would be denounced by the *oidor* Lebron de Quiñones, after his visit to the provinces of Colima and Zacatula - including Zapotlán, Tuxpan and Tamazula. 13

In the liturgical aspect, since the First Mexican Provincial Council, the calendar of both patron saint and holy days had been established, as well as the parameters in which the promotion of local devotions should be developed:

No matter how important and sacrifice due to God our Lord, he wanted to reserve for his service and the exercise of spiritual works the holy day of Sunday and the other festivals instituted by the Holy Mother Church, in which the Christian faithful must abstain and separate from all servile work, and exercise oneself in hearing masses and sermons, and other good works, because if we do otherwise, sometimes our Lord denies us temporal goods, and sends other persecutions, which we see in people every day. . 14

¹³ Jean-Pierre Berthe, Thomas Calvo and Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, *Societies under construction. New Galicia according to the visits of listeners (1606-1616)* (Mexico: Cemca, 2008), pp. 92-102 and 117-129; José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization in New Galicia during the 16th century* (INAH / El Colegio de Jalisco / Autonomous University of Zacatecas, 1993), pp. 244-247.

¹⁴ Chapter 18, "What holidays are to be kept, and that the priests notify their parishioners of them."

The diffusion of cults in New Galicia, as in the rest of New Spain, would thus be strongly influenced by an official aspect that promoted the forms and times in which the ceremonial that should reinforce the program of religious doctrine should occur. This aspect would in turn be driven by forms of local appropriation that ended up marking the history of the development of religious devotions and practices in Nueva Galicia, as will be seen below.

FORMS OF LOCAL RELIGIOSITY: CHRIST-CENTRIC MARIAN

And DEVOTIONS IN THE DIOCESE OF GUADALAJARA

although there is a deep-rooted hagiographic and historiographic tradition that considers Marian devotions as the dominant element in New Spain religiosity, it should also be noted that "local and regional devotion to certain images of Christ often exceeded the popularity of recognized images of the Virgin Mary during the colonial period. In this sense, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that during the colonial period, in Nueva Galicia, as in the rest of the New Spain territory, "there was not only one dominant symbol presiding over the hierarchy of sacred places and images." fifteen

From the time of the founding of Guadalajara, the future Neo-Galician capital was born as a city placed under the patronage of Saint James the Apostle and Saint Michael the Archangel. According to local chronicles, these patronages would have their origin in the tradition that indicated that both saints would have intervened in favor of the Spanish in the combats at the time of the military conquest. In this way, «the victories of Tatlán (1530), near Tonalá were attributed to the Holy Apostle [...] where Santiago and San Miguel together defeated 15 thousand Indians; and finally the Mixtón [war], in an episode of the Chichimeca war [...], on the northern border.» 16

It was precisely in the north, in Colotlán, where the apostle represented "a kind of bulwark against all the enemies of the colonial government: Indians, barbarians, rebels and evildoers." 17 However, the cult of Santiago was relegated to the peripheries of the city and the borders of Nueva Galicia -Nochistlán, Juchipila, Colotlán, etc.

15 William B. Taylor, *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico Before the Reformation* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), pp. 64-65.

16 Louis Cardaillac, "Santiago, apostle of the border", in *Essays in homage to José María Muriá*, by José María Muriá, Louis Cardaillac and Angélica Peregrina (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2002), p. 40.

17 Ma. del Carmen Velázquez, *Colotlán: double border against the barbarians* (Mexico: UNAM, 1961), p. 7.

On the other hand, the celebration of San Miguel was embraced as part of the tasks of the Cabildo of Guadalajara, associating the cult of the archangel with the references of Hispanicity and local roots reflected in the traditional ceremony of the promenade of the banner.¹⁸ Thus, for example, the provisions of the Cabildo of Guadalajara to celebrate this public event indicated that in 1622

Let the senior lieutenant take out the banner of the said saint on the eve of his day as is customary, with the solemnity that is usually done, for which and to solemnize the said festival bulls are run and luminaries are made for the expense [...] a bill of fifty-five pesos in reales is sent to the said senior lieutenant to pay them,¹⁹

The Cabildo of Guadalajara itself would also be a promoter of other particular devotions during the 17th century. The minutes of the Cabildo for the period 1607-1668, for example, indicate that this corporation was responsible for promoting and financing the processions of the Blessed Sacrament, the festival of Corpus Christi, the festivals in honor of Saint Michael, Saint Clement, Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Nicholas of Tolentino-instituted at different times and forms.²⁰ Expressions of reaffirmation of faith also come into play here, such as oaths, guards and formal ceremonies: reception of a new bishop or a holy bull. What was constant in these celebrations, with the exception of mourning and funerals, was the atmosphere of joy, enlivened by dances (of blacks), music (shawmía), bullfights, comedy performances, fireworks and significant decorations such as the luminaries in the doors and windows of neighbors' houses. If the celebration warranted it, a touch of solemnity was added, which was characterized by the participation of the members of the civil chapter.

In Guadalajara other types of expressions of religiosity had a special place, such as those that had the intention of being benefited with a common good - for example a good storm, or to ward off physical evils and to be

¹⁸ In the procession, the banner (standard of the Cabildo) was taken out, remembering through the display and tour of the local insignia and the monarch the power of the king over temporal and spiritual matters in his American possessions. José Cornejo Franco, "El Paseo del Pendón", in *Historical Readings about Jalisco*, compiled by José María Muriá (Guadalajara: Department of Fine Arts of the Government of Jalisco, 1976), p. 336.

¹⁹ Minutes of Town Councils, vol. 1, page 99, festivities of Santo Miguel, September 22, 1622, p. 254.

²⁰ Ibid., vols. 1 and 2.

protected by a saint in the face of a possible and singular calamity;²¹ an example of this last case would be the prayers to Saint Sebastian for the cessation of the plague of 1656, when "the city and the neighbors were suffering many ailments and diseases".²²

The city also had Saint Clement, pope and martyr, as its protector. Its patronage was a decision made by the ecclesiastical Chapter in the face of constant concern about storms, especially storms and lightning. He was chosen between two other saints at the high mass on August 24, 1592 celebrated in the cathedral, where an altar was later built for him. In 1624, a relic of the saint arrived in the city, "a bone from the shin of his leg," which "was ordered to be deposited in the said convent of Santo Domingo, where the altar and chapel of the said patron saint San Clemente are located."²³ It was sent to this convent since it was the provincial father of the order of Saint Dominic who sent the relic. And the saint was seen as prodigious and miraculous in the city, "defending it from the lightning that happened to fall very continually and from other plagues that used to occur, all of which through his intercession, divine majesty has been able to deliver."²⁴ Later, in the convent of Santo Domingo, a brotherhood was founded in his honor on June 6, 1658. In November of that same year, Bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero presented the request for a brotherhood to be founded in the cathedral, to which The civil Chapter agreed, clarifying that it would be in charge of celebrating the martyr's first day and that all the members of the Chapter would be brothers to thereby "enjoy all the indulgences, masses and suffrages that have been and were granted."²⁵

Another cult that acquired great importance from an early date, this time in the diocesan territory in general, was that of the Blessed Sacrament; This is perceived in the multiple brotherhoods and brotherhoods that are erected throughout the bishopric in his name, also remembering that his presence was part of the vanguard of the processions. A reminder of the promotion of this cult is described in a testimony from 1618, which shows that

having taken the Blessed Sacrament from the main church of this old city in solemn procession to the new cathedral church, where it has been placed, in

²¹ Pilar Gonzalbo, *Living in New Spain: order and disorder in everyday life* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2009), p. 344.

²² Council Minutes, vol. 2, op. cit., 618, May 8, 1656, vol. 2 P. 193.

²³ Ibid., vol. 1, page 116, November 22, 1624, p. 302.

²⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, page 116, November 22, 1624, p. 301.

²⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, minute 647, November 21, 1658, p. 213.

whose festival the mass was celebrated by Dr. Pedro Gómez de Colio, archdeacon of the said cathedral, and the Gospel was sung by Father Joan de Torquemada and the epistle by Father Diego García, priests, to which Dr. Don Antonio de Ávila de la Cadena preached, dean of the Holy Church. 26

Closely related to local religious practices are death and funeral honors for members of the royal family; In Guadalajara, the deaths of Queen Doña Margarita (1612) and Doña Isabel de Borbón (1645) were especially experienced:

that because with the new certainty that we had of the death of the most serene queen, our lady Isabel de Borbón, we have tried and are trying to get this city to demonstrate and feel that it is just, putting on mourning and doing for this reason what others who have an obligation.²⁷

Likewise, the city mourned the deaths of kings Felipe III (1621) and Felipe IV (1665). Mournings are an example of the collective manifestation of religiosity through their authorities, but the importance of the death of figures of local society must also be noted: "may it also be given to Mr. Don Juan de Vera, a doctor salaried for this city, mourning and for this fifty pesos in reales are assigned and indicated. 28 There were other celebrations, such as the beatification of the Jesuit Francisco Javier (1620) or the institutionalization of the cult of Saint Ignatius of Loyola in the city;²⁹ by instituting the promotion of devotion to the founder of the Society of Jesus, the City Council sent

It is ordered by the said mayor that all the neighbors, regiments or inhabitants in this city, put luminaries in their houses, and that there be some masked rejoicing that night, that the gentlemen of this city order rejoicing of the party [...] that bulls are run in their solemnity in the plaza [and] that day there is a game of rods with liveries, and, failing that, with capes and caps.³⁰

26 Ibid., vol. 1, page 75, February 19, 1618, p. 195.

27 Ibid., vol. 2, minute 499, June 10, 1645, p. 91.

28 Ibid., vol. 2, minute 526, August 16, 1647, p. 111.

29 This was at the request of the members of the Society of Jesus before the Chapter, who approved it in an order dated May 8, 1626: "since in the province of Michoacán keeps this festival [...] and in other parts and bishopric receives the religious of this order many benefits in all cases. Ibid., vol. 1, page 118, p. 311.

30 Ibid., vol. 1, page 26, July 27, 1610, p. 77.

Faith was nourished by evidence of achievement, that is, through miracle. From early times, Novogalaic society placed its trust in the power of certain images to offer favors and "relief from limitations and threats against life."³¹ Thus, in the religious geography of New Galicia, some sanctuaries dedicated to miraculous Christs represented in images, crosses or altarpieces stood out. In Zacoalco and Amacueca, two images of Christ were venerated, made by the sculptor Luis de la Cerda, which at the time would become famous for their ability to work miracles;³² in the first case, the image represents Christ in expiration, while that in Amacueca it is about the deceased Jesus Christ. In this last place, to promote local worship, through the mediation of Dr. José de Miranda, prosecutor of the Court of Guadalajara, "a sumptuous temple was built, followed by a very capable convent."³³ In the town of Sayula, He venerated a "holy cross", on which it was documented that "on May 3, 1632, at hours before vespers, it began to move in such a way that all the neighbors were warned, since the movements lasted for a quarter of an hour." hour; They were from east to west and then from north to south."³⁴ In Autlán, another cross was venerated, which had a reputation for being miraculous, since it had remained intact after a fire in the Christmas port caused by Francisco Chambrio, a privateer. Dutch; Bishop Francisco Rivera Pareja ordered a commission to Brother Antonio Tello "to find out his miracles and origin, and there were many,"³⁵

During the 17th century, a new pilgrimage center would gain prominence on the religious map of New Galicia when news began to circulate about the appearance of a grass cross in Tepic.³⁶ Although some early records of that period -Lázaro de Arregui in 1621 and brother Antonio Tello

³¹ William B. Taylor, *Marvels & Miracles in Late Colonial Mexico: Three Texts in Context* (Nuevo México: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), p. 3.

³² According to Mota Padilla, said artist was the son of Matías de la Cerda, a famous sculptor and teacher in Michoacán. A third image of Christ, made by Luis de la Cerda himself, would be placed in the temple of Magdalena, although without having the fame of the sanctuaries of Amacueca and Zacoalco.

³³ Matías Ángel de la Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia (1742)* (Guadalajara: Graphic Workshops of Gallardo and Álvarez del Castillo, 1920), pp. 392-393.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

³⁶ Guillermo García Mar, «Between looting, the aroma of smoke and forbidden relics: the sanctuary of the Santísima Cruz de Tepic, 1619-1812», *Historical Letters*, no. 8 (2013, spring-summer), pp. 41-69.

Towards the decade of 1650 they recorded the stories of the emergence of the grass cross in the vicinity of Tepic, it would not be until 1692 when the cult in that place would be consolidated thanks to the dissemination achieved through the version prepared by the Jesuit Francisco de Florencia, who linked said place with the apostolate of Saint Thomas in America, for having the cross "letters carved as in Hebrew."³⁷

When this cross appeared is not known. An elderly woman from Tepic said when she went to live in this land there was no news about her, and that later there was. Others say that there was a wooden cross there, and that having rotted and fallen, on the land it occupied, and was planted with trees, this cross was born from it. Whatever it is, it is not a natural thing. ³⁸

By 1742, likewise, the prodigies attributed to the images of the Christ of Ahualuco, "the one of the waters", and the Christ of Zapotiltic had become famous.

With respect to the Marian cult, its diffusion included practically every part of the Novogalaic territory, since the religious expansion of the 16th century relied largely on preaching through images of the Virgin and on the placement of the new congregations of Indians under the sponsorship of different Marian devotions. ³⁹ Although not in all cases large regional sanctuaries were consolidated, the truth is that this presence was evident from an early date through the dissemination of images, the confirmation of Marian patronage in the toponymy of different places, the foundation of hospitals, and the establishment of brotherhoods associated with local festivals. ⁴⁰ However, the diffusion of these cults experienced a period of marked momentum during the second half of the 17th century, "in a world where religion and its manifestations are present and are part of daily life",¹ to which HE

³⁷ Francisco de Florencia, *Origin of the two famous sanctuaries of Nueva Galicia* (Mexico: Imprenta de D. Phelipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1706), p. 7; García Mar, "Between looting."

³⁸ From Florence, *Origin*, p. 8.

³⁹ Taylor, *Shrines*. Rangel, for example, documents the patronage of the Virgin of the Assumption in Huajicori since 1580, *Imagens...*, pp. 58-59; while Orozco makes a compilation of cases for a large area of Nueva Galicia in Marian iconography.

⁴⁰ Jesús Toscano Moreno, «Hospitals and the "hospitality" of the Franciscans in Nueva Galicia», *Bulletin of the Bibliographic Research Institute of UNAM* (1970, July-December), pp. 389-404.

¹ Matabuena Peláez and Rodríguez Lobato, "The cult", p. 43.

It would add the episcopal promotion and the neo-Galician authorities to place their respective corporations under the patronage of the virgin. Thus, for example, starting in 1655, the Guadalajara civil authorities declared their open support for the cult that the Franciscans promoted of the Immaculate Conception by declaring:

that since the president and hearers of this royal Audience, moved by the affection and devotion so due to the most serene Virgin Mary, Mother of God and Our Lady, swore to defend being conceived as it was without stain in original sin, and this city and Cabildo, recognizing the favors that this city and its republic have received from the hand of this Lady Sovereign Queen of Heaven, patron and advocate of sinners, with an agreement and conformity and moved by this holy and pious zeal, come in that This city swears with all solemnity that the Virgin [...] was conceived clean and without contagion, suspicion or presumption of original sin. 42

With this, the impulse that the Franciscans gave in the towns under their charge to the cult of the Virgin Mary as *Tota pulchra* or Immaculate-43 ceased to be a exclusive feature of that religious corporation and began to be shared by other members of the Novogalaic society. The Marian promotion would be strengthened the following year, among the Guadalajara authorities, when the Cabildo of Guadalajara received a letter from the king - dated in Madrid on November 17, 1655 -, by which the monarch ordered "that as a token of his recognition this city celebrates a festival to the Most Holy Virgin of Patrocinio. 44 In response to the request of Philip IV of Habsburg, the members of the Cabildo signed an order by which

They agreed and ordered that all stable neighbors and inhabitants in this city of whatever quality and condition they may be [...] put lights in the doors and windows of their houses, a penalty of four pesos in reales [...] and that [the religions that exist in this city are invited so that their communities attend [this festival] and the Blessed Virgin is brought in procession from the convent of Santo Domingo to the holy cathedral church with all [solemnity].45

42 Minutes of Town Councils, vol. 2, minute 606, December 10, 1655, p. 180. Remember that the dogmatic declaration of the Immaculate Conception dates from 1854, during the pontificate of Pius IX.

43 Vargaslugo, «The painting...», p. 148.

44 Minutes of Town Councils, vol. 2, minute 619, July 7, 1656, pp. 193-194.

45 Ibid., vol. 2, minute 620, November 10, 1656, p. 195. The celebration was set on second Sunday of November (in accordance with the wishes of Pope Alexander

Royal officials were not the only protagonists of the expansion of Marian patronage in New Galicia. In this same period, news of the miracles of the Marian images of San Juan, Zapopan and Talpa circulated profusely; Bishops Juan Ruiz Colmenero⁴⁶ (1648-1663) and Santiago de León y Garabito (1678-1695) actively participated in this promotion, as will be seen below, although their involvement in said processes occurred in a different way. It should be noted that these three miraculous images have their origin as a common denominator, since they were deposited by the Franciscans in each of these areas during the times of pacification and incipient evangelization, a task in which Brother Antonio de Segovia would stand out.⁴⁷

In the first case, the story of the Virgin of Zapopan begins around 1541, when Brother Antonio de Segovia left among the Indians recently gathered in that place an image of the Immaculate Conception to help in the pacification of this area, hence the title of peacemaker. It is important to highlight that the original identification of the image corresponded to said dedication, which was maintained among the indigenous inhabitants of the region even after the Franciscans were replaced in the religious administration of the towns of said area at the end of the 16th century.⁴⁸ Around 1650, however, Bishop Ruiz Colmenero commissioned the priest of Zapopan, Diego de Herrera, to investigate the miracles and prodigies attributed to the Zapopan image; as

VII, so that the festival was established on a Sunday in November), and was later added to that of Saint Clement (November 23). Council Minutes, vol. 2, minutes 637, 646, 667, 675, 683, 726, 727, 730, 744-

46 Dávila Garibi, *Unforgivable oblivion* (Guadalajara: Cultura, 1957), p. 22; Mario Alberto Nájera Espinoza, *The Virgin of Talpa: local religiosity, identity and symbol* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad de Guadalajara, 2003), p. 54.

47 Who "remained in New Galicia evangelizing the Indians with only a small crucifix and his Virgin, both hanging from his chest." Lomelí, «The Virgin of Zapopan, in *Historical Readings about Jalisco*, compiled by José María Muriá (Guadalajara: Department of Fine Arts of the Government of Jalisco, 1976), p. 139.

48 Report of Diego de Herrera, priest of Zapopan, undated. Historical Archive of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara (AHAG) Parishes, Zapopan, box 1, 1654-1799. Based on the legal information of the priest of Zapopan, Diego de Herrera, Francisco de Florencia stated that "her dedication is to Expectation, or to O." From Florence, Origin, p. 12; Part of the report is reproduced in Ricardo Lancaster Jones, *Marian triptych: comparative artistic-historical study of the images of Our Lady of Zapopan, San Juan de los Lagos and Talpa* (Guadalajara, 1953), p. 225.

As a result of this initiative, the priest commented that since the 16th century this image was considered prodigious, but that apparently there was some confusion when linking it with the invocation of expectation. Consequently, Herrera proposed that this last dedication be recognized in the Virgin of Zapopan, as it seemed more appropriate for local worship, reserving instead the cult of the Immaculate Conception for the cathedral of Guadalajara. This was approved by the bishop, decreeing the replacement of the cult associated with the Virgin of Zapopan to "take part in both solemnities: that of the Immaculate Conception in Guadalajara, in the cathedral, on December 8, and that of Our Lady of Expectation, in Zapopan [...] on the 18th of the same month".⁴⁹

In 1694 the Jesuit Francisco de Florencia described the miracles that by then were attributed to the images of San Juan de los Lagos and Zapopan.⁵⁰ Father Florencia - promoter of the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Rome and Spain - dedicated much of his life to documenting manifestations of the Marian zodiac. In the case of Zapopan, the Jesuit joined the displacement of the cult of the Immaculate Conception, recognizing in the local image, as ordered by Bishop Ruiz Colmenero, "an image of the pregnant Virgin, in her Expectation of the sacred birth", while He presented the Virgin of Saint John as "an image of the Most Pure Mystery of the plausible Conception of Mary." For the Jesuit, these were the main Marian devotions in New Galicia, located in an order of primacy different from that of images such as those of the Súchil Valley, the Virgin of Aránzazu of Nueva Vizcaya, or that of Sombrerete. In Zapopan and San Juan, the Jesuit said, what "the Lady wants for this kingdom" was shown.⁵²

According to Florencia and Mota Padilla, at some time there had been a belief that the Zapopan image had been protected, and the information about the prodigies hidden, by the local Indians for fear that they would be taken away. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Peacemaker was sworn in as patron

49 Dávila Garibi, Notes, volume 2, p. 436; Report by Diego de Herrera, priest of Zapopan, undated. AHAG, Parishes, Zapopan, box 1, 1654-1799; Palacio and Basave, Brief history; The route of the sanctuaries, p. 97.

50 The wonders worked by the Virgin of Zapopan, documented by Florencia, included giving sight to a blind man, assisting in childbirth, resurrecting a girl, saving dying people, curing epidemics and warding off evil spirits, and "covering clouds during a storm." of lightning to a procession. The information collected about such works of mediation would later be qualified by another religious of the Society of Jesus, resulting in the image being later declared "miraculous." Florence, Origin, pp. 14-26.

51 Ibid., p. 12.

52 Ibid., p. 5.

of Guadalajara against lightning, storms and epidemics, since in that year the city suffered an epidemic that "despite prayers and processions of penance [...] did not stop." Consequently, on November 5 of that year

It was determined by both chapters [...] to take it in its stove to the convent of Santa Teresa, from where in a solemn procession of communities with their crosses and image to the cathedral where a sumptuous novena is celebrated and then followed by others in the other churches, from June 13 to the month of October, which with the same solemnity, in a procession, is led to said convent of Santa Teresa, and the next day in the stove it is returned to its sanctuary, accompanied by the entire city. 53

With respect to the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, it has been established that said image could have been taken there by Brother Miguel de Bolonia; This Franciscan would have been assigned to the convent of Juchipila at the beginning of the 1540s, and from that place he would work on the evangelization of part of the area included in the Altos de Jalisco.⁵⁴ The cult of said image began to spread beyond that town around 1634, when news circulated about an Indian woman named Ana Lucía, who would have been resurrected thanks to her mediation.⁵⁵ By the beginning of the 18th century, it was already calling for large pilgrimages, in which "the participation not only of the residents [of] Lagos, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Guadalajara and others of the bishopric, but of the other cities of Valladolid, Mexico and Puebla could be appreciated." ». ⁵⁶ Around the image, which represents the mystery of the Conception, "the largest fair known in all of New Spain" had developed by the mid-18th century; On such occasions, "the competition [of people] is so great that a piece or quarter of six or eight varas is worth twenty-five pesos for only three days, which is how long the festival lasts, and not being enough factories, They make grass huts in all their ejidos, where people stay, and they form shops in the streets and squares."⁵⁷

The origin of the Marian cult in Talpa dates back to the times of evangelization, and it is believed that the image could have been taken to those places by Manuel de San Martín between 1570 and 1590, to reinforce his catechizing work. ⁵⁸ According to the

53 Mota Padilla, History, p. 390.

54 Martín Flores, Fray Miguel de Bolonia, pp. 35-36.

55 Mota Padilla, History, p. 370; The route of the sanctuaries, p. 98; Florence, Origen, pp. 52-56.

56 Mota Padilla, History, p. 372.

57 Ibid., p. 372.

58 Ibid., p. Four. Five; Manuel Carrillo Dueñas, History of Our Lady of the Rosary of

local tradition, on September 19, 1644 the image of the Virgin of Talpa "was prodigiously renewed", "since it was originally made of cane paste and was in a deplorable state of wear, worm-eaten and moth-eaten, before the eyes of a pious woman, first, and then in the presence of others", began to give off a dazzling light, becoming an image of "solid and heavy" matter. 59 The renovation of the image was recorded by Bishop Ruiz de Colmenero in his pastoral visit in 1649, shortly after ordering the construction of a larger church to house the image. The pilgrimages to Talpa are later compared to those to San Juan, and it was not until the end of the 18th century that they began to be recurrent and with a greater number of parishioners. 60

Likewise, the sanctuaries of the Virgin of Santa Anita, that of Sentispac, Huajicori, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción in Ahuacatlán and Tecolotlán, that of Rosario in Aguascalientes, that of the Dolores (Tlaquepaque), or the Virgin of La Defensa (Tapalpa), offered other examples of local cults that transcended the limits of their parishes and regions between the 17th and 18th centuries. 62

The cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Nueva Galicia apparently is later than the previous cases. In the context of episcopal promotion, the first references to this matter date back to 1677, with the arrival of Bishop Garabito in Guadalajara. While passing through Mexico City that same year, en route to his new episcopal seat, said prelate had joined a brotherhood dedicated to the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe and upon his arrival in Guadalajara he recognized his commitment to "say one mass [each year] for the living congregants and

Talpa (Talpa de Allende: Talpa de Allende City Council, 1962), p. 57; Najera, *The Virgin of Talpa*, p. Four: Five.

59 De la Mota Padilla, *History*, p. 47.

60 Ángeles Gallegos Ramírez, "The recreation of collective imaginaries: pilgrimages to the sanctuary of the Virgin of Talpa" (master's thesis, University of Guadalajara, 1997); Santiago Avelar Ríos, "History, memory and ritual: pilgrimages and pilgrims from Guadalajara to the sanctuary of the Virgin of Talpa, 1929-1991" (master's thesis, University of Guadalajara, 2012), pp. 35-38.

61 The construction of the sanctuary of Santa Anita apparently dates from the mid-18th century, probably around 1742. Luis del Refugio Palacio y Basave, *Atlixac, Nuestra Señora de Sta. Anita: her hospital, her sanctuary, her collection* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial of the Government of Jalisco), p. 129.

62 Orozco, *Marian Iconography of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Amate, 1954); about the Virgin of Huajicori, see Efraín Rangel Guzmán, *Imágenes e imaginarios* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 2012); for the Virgin of Defense, Gallegos, <<Historical news>>.

deceased and another on the day of the appearance of the Holy Image.⁶³ However, in this phase, the prelate's Marian vocation opted rather for the promotion of cults in San Juan de los Lagos and Zapopan, as ratified by Francisco de Florencia in the work he wrote commissioned by said bishop.

Before the end of the 17th century, however, the Franciscans of the Propaganda Fide college of Querétaro obtained permission from Bishop Garabito himself to go to some towns in the diocese to preach in "missions among the faithful", which was granted to them in 1685. As a result of these missions, the Zacatecas parish would begin to request that the Querétaro missionaries remain in that place, offering for this a small hermitage that by then existed on the shores of the city and that was dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. On September 9, 1702, the diocese of Guadalajara authorized the arrival of the new religious, which gave rise to a month later the school of Querétaro establishing a hospice attached to that chapel.⁶⁴ With the support of the local City Council, The spread of the Guadalupan cult continued to grow at that time in the area of Zacatecas, which, added to the initiative of the Franciscans to reinforce their missionary work in the north of New Spain, would translate in 1704 into the authorization of the founding of the Apostolic College of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Two years later, in January 1706, the community placed in charge of friar Antonio Margil would begin the construction of the respective convent complex.⁶⁵

From another perspective, during most of the 18th century the spread of the Guadalupe cult in New Galicia remained in the founding of brotherhoods and hospitals with its dedication. In Jerez it is known that the cult already existed in 1709, when the butler Jorge de Olague reports on the assets of the brotherhood on the occasion of the pastoral visit of Bishop Diego Camacho y Ávila. In Guadalajara, he is mentioned on October 3, 1713, when the residents of Analco formally request permission to found a brotherhood dedicated to this devotion; On February 5, 1722, they requested that the provisional chapel of Analco be transferred to the one that was being built for these purposes, and in 1745, the mayors and the mayordomo requested permission to collect alms for the construction of the church in

63 Dávila Garibi, Notes for the history of the Church, volume 2, pp. 601 and 621. 64 Among the towns that the people of Querétaro visited were Purificación, Amacueca, Sayula, Atoyac, Zacualco, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, the town of Lagos, San Juan, Ciénega de Mata and Aguascalientes. Cuahutémoc Esparza Sánchez, Historical Compendium of the Apostolic College of Propaganda Fide, of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas (Zacatecas: Autonomous University of Zacatecas, 1974), pp. 18-20.

65 Morales, "Guadalupe Zacatecas", p. 55; Dávila Garibi, Notes for the history of the Church, volume 3, vol. 1 p. 150.

San Sebastian de Analco. In 1772, in Zacualco, the brotherhood of Our Lady of Guadalupe was founded. In Guadalajara, around 1777 the construction of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe would begin, under the auspices of Bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde.

BROTHERHOODS

This name has been used to identify groups of lay people who within the Catholic Church worked in different ways to bring the population closer to Christian beliefs through social, economic, or both types of activities. Originating in the late European Middle Ages, the brotherhoods were an important piece in the missionary work of the New Spain world; Outside of the credit activities in which they were involved, the brotherhoods' purpose was to achieve the grace of God through good works, both personally and on behalf of the community: "through work and devotion together, the holding religious festivals and processions intended to deepen Christian belief among the population. Such would be the objectives that these confraternities would pursue in the New Spain context, since Brother Pedro de Gante installed the first indigenous brotherhood of the viceroyalty in San José de los Naturales in the 1530s."

The brotherhoods have had a versatile social role within which it is possible to envision two great ways: one material - the construction of a common heritage for the purposes of the fraternity and another with a strong spiritual content - circulation of religious discourses and practices, promotion of worship, carrying out charitable practices.⁶⁷ At the same time, the brotherhoods were also a fundamental mechanism to "intensify contact between priest and parish": The brotherhood could function in practice without episcopal intervention, although its existence and organization needed to be sanctioned by the local bishop. Thus, this type of foundations were promoted by the ecclesiastical authorities, although their promotion was not immune to the conflicts between secular and regular clergy to retain control of pastoral activity in the New Spain area.⁶⁸

Being in the middle of different Christian Church projects - although within the framework of Tridentine Catholicism - the New Spain brotherhoods acted as a meeting point between the purposes that pursued specific areas of

⁶⁶ Dagmar Bechtloff, «The formation of an intercultural society. The brotherhoods in colonial Michoacán», *Historia Mexicana* 43, no. 2 (1993, October-December), p. 251.

⁶⁷ Patricia A. Fogelman, "An urban and rural Marian brotherhood in Buenos Aires at the end of the colonial period," *Andes* 11 (2000).

⁶⁸ Tania Yocelin Rosales Covarrubias, "The Franciscans and seculars in New Galicia, 17th century," *Vuelo libre*, no. 2 (2007, April); Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Living in New Spain*, p. 319.

the social and ecclesiastical hierarchy and the needs of the communities that gave rise to them - Indian towns, corporations of Creoles and peninsulars, immigrants grouped by ties of kinship and countrymen; Thus, these brotherhoods "managed to acquire an interethnic function and act as social representatives of the political and economic elites of the native and immigrant population" that gave them life.⁶⁹

In the case of the diocese of Nueva Galicia, some indications point towards the years 1550-1551 as the time in which the first brotherhoods were established. Apparently, Bishop Pedro Gómez Maraver was working on this idea around 1550, which he shared with the king in a letter dated December 12 of that year. Although there is no certainty that this has materialized, a brotherhood dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament was then proposed, "apparently intended for the organization of the indigenous people in their first external manifestations as members of a church that was beginning to function." Other evidence would point to the mines of Zacatecas, where Gómez Maraver himself would have approved the ordinances of a brotherhood for Spaniards on January 1, 1551: the brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament and Santa Concepción of the Virgin and Mother of God of Zacatecas; In it, important conquerors and beneficiaries of mines from the time would stand out, such as Juanes de Tolosa, who through this type of associations would also stand out as "the promoter of the Marian cult in Zacatecas" in his time.⁷⁰

A different version would indicate the year 1551 and the chapel of Santa Veracruz, in Guadalajara, "where the first brotherhood of Nueva Galicia was established"; and along with it a hospital, "where patients with sores and Gallic morbidity came to be cared for by the brothers of the order of San Juan de Dios."⁷¹

Entering the 16th century, there are reports of the approval of a brotherhood of Our Lady, Lady of Solitude and the Holy Burial in Guadalajara by Bishop Alzola -February 21, 1589-. The headquarters of this brotherhood would be the San Miguel hospital and its obligation would be to walk around the image of the Virgin of Solitude around the city.⁷²

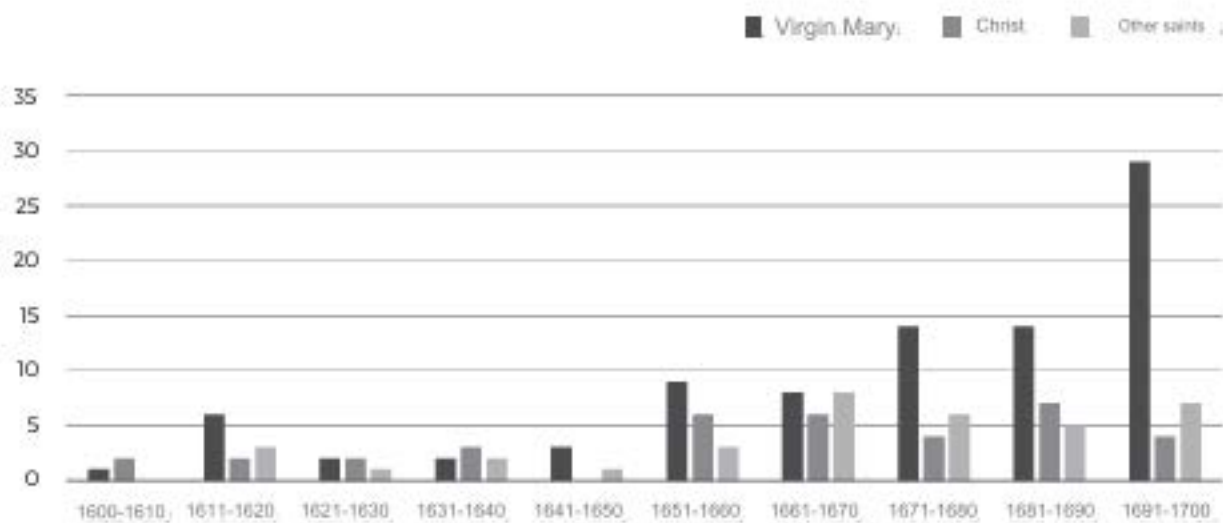
⁶⁹ Bechtloff, "The formation", pp. 261-262.

⁷⁰ Román Gutiérrez, *Society and evangelization*, p. 244; The textual quotes are taken from Antonio José López Gutiérrez, "Rule and ordinances of the holy brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament and Santa Concepción of the Virgin and Mother of God of Zacatecas", *Vínculo Jurídico* 17 (1994, January-March), pp. 4-6.

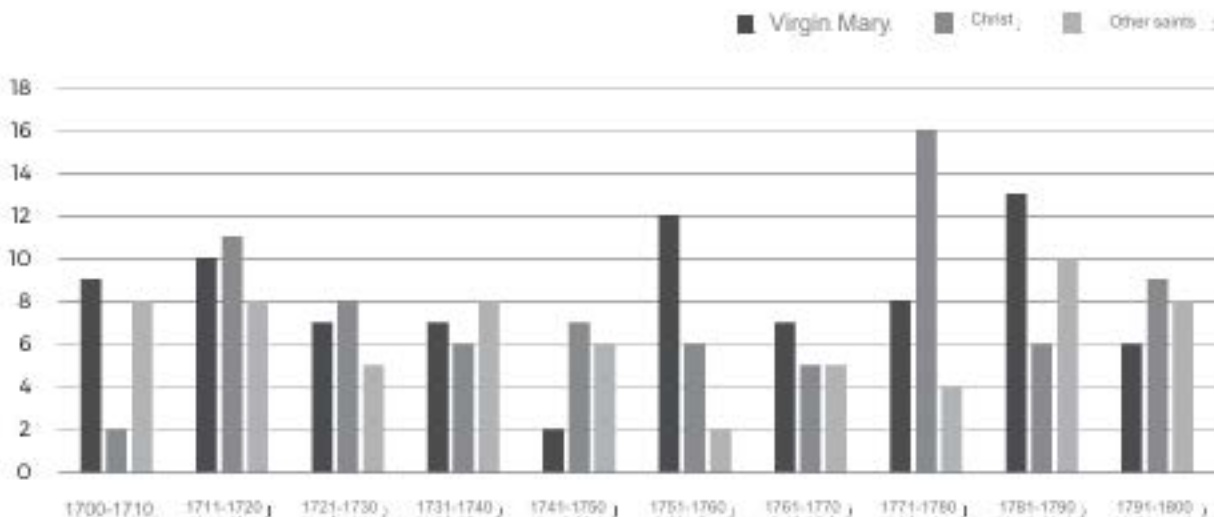
⁷¹ Alejandro Solís Matías, *Analco* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1986), p. 17.

⁷² Dávila Garibi, *Notes for the history of the Church*, volume 2, p. 726.

GRAPH 1. NEOGALLEGAS BROTHERHOODS IN THE 17TH CENTURY



GRAPH 2. NEOGALLEGAS BROTHERHOODS IN THE 18TH CENTURY



As the colonial period progressed, the brotherhoods of Nueva Galicia experienced changes not only in the emphasis of their objectives, but also showed the ways in which the promotion and displacement of some devotions accompanied the evolution of New Spain Catholicism (see below). regarding the appendix with the chronological table of brotherhood foundations in Nueva Galicia during the 16th and 17th centuries). Thus, during the first decades of the life of the Neo-Galician diocese, a type of Eucharistic devotion based on the visit to the Blessed Sacrament was manifested, as well as a religiosity focused on the Immaculate Conception of Mary - patron saint of the Franciscan order. In turn, this translated into daily life in the founding of brotherhoods dedicated

to the Blessed Sacrament,⁷³ the Holy Trinity, the Immaculate Conception - also identified as Most Pure or Clean Conception, or to the Virgin of Transit - the glorification of Mary through the intervention of her son. That is, the names of the brotherhoods, including those dedicated to saints, show that one of their spiritual functions was to be an intercessor - through their actions - between the community and God. In it, the economic funds-donations, alms, and eventually revenues⁷⁵ were gathered for the material fabric of the worship spaces, for their decoration and for the respective celebrations that could include everything from rosaries to pilgrimages. The organization of parishioners around their local needs was a priority, which in turn favored the establishment of identity.

For the first half of the 17th century, for example, the inhabitants of places such as Atoyac, Compostela, Fresnillo, Guadalajara, Huaristamba, Oxtoticpac, Juchipila, Mexicaltzingo, Lagos, Nochistlán, Poncitlán, Sayula and Zacatecas, were organized around the brotherhoods dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Blessed Souls, to Our Lady of Clean Conception, to Our Lady of Solitude, Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Transit, to the Holy Trinity, to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, to Holy Christ and to Saint Nicholas.

In the second half of the same century, the brotherhoods of the towns of Acaponeta, Acatic, Ajijic, Aguascalientes, Ahuacatlán, Ahualulco, Amacueca, Amatitán, Amatlán, Ameca, Santa Ana Acatlán, Analco, Apozol, Atotonilco, Autlán, Ayutla, were added. Charcas, Coatlán, Cocula, Colotlán, Cuquío, San Francisco de Tepantla, Hostotipaquillo, Jalostotitlán, Jalpa, Jerez, Jiquilpan, Jocotepec, Jucitlán, Magdalena, San Martín, Mecatabasco, Moyahua, San Pedro Chacala, Sierra de Pinos, Tacotán, Tala, Tecolotlán, Temacapulín, Tenamaxtlán, Teocaltiche, Tepic, Tepospizaloya, Tequila, El Teúl, Tizapán, Tlacotlán, Tlajomulco, Tlaltenango, Tonalá, Xalisco, Yahualica, Zacapala, Zalatitán, Zacoalco, Zapopan and Zapotlán.

During the 17th century, brotherhoods multiplied, with Guadalajara, with nearly twenty-three brotherhoods founded, being the town with the largest number of brotherhoods, followed by Zacatecas (19); Lakes (9); Jalostotitlán and Teocaltiche (8 each); Compostela and Jerez (7 in each place); Sierra de Pinos (6); Aguascalientes, Guachinango, Juchipila, Magdalena, Tepic, Tlajomulco, Tlaltenango, Zacoalco, Zapotlán (5 each); Ameca and Tonalá (4 each); and Zapopan (3).

⁷³ Sánchez Reyes, «Domestic Oratories», p. 534.

⁷⁴ This cult, Marian in its external forms, is linked to the dogma of the Trinity, insofar as the Immaculate Conception is related to the intervention Holy Spirit. ⁷⁵

Which with the proceeds from the loans to the members of the brotherhood increased the funds.

ZACATECAS: IMPERIAL NORTH

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When, in 1612, Brother Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa visited New Spain, Zacatecas was already the third city in the viceroyalty in number of inhabitants and, surely, the second in importance after the capital, although only sixty-four years had passed. years since its founding. It had already held the title of city since 1585 and was the headquarters of one of the six royal banks that operated at that time in the New Spain territory. Its main street was more than a league long, on which "all the churches and convents were located, like Alcalá de Henares"; Among them were those of Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustín, the church of the Company, the hospital of San Juan de Dios and other churches and hermitages, in addition to "two other very good hospitals where the poor sick are cured." The explanation was the wealth of its mines and it was, in general, a city "well supplied and provided with everything necessary."¹ But that urban flourishing was not achieved without effort. Quite the contrary, the mining prosperity of Zacatecas had been built on very adverse conditions.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REAL DE MINAS

The expedition that discovered the mines of Zacatecas on September 8, 1546 had left from Guadalajara, and was led by Juanes de Tolosa and financed by Miguel de Ibarra. Consequently, the first mine, which would eventually be named Veta Pobre, was registered in the latter's name with the local authorities of Guadalajara. However, the news of the discovery very soon crossed the limits of New Galicia and they began the first settlers arrived, one of whom would remember some time later that

¹ Antonio Vázquez Espinosa, *Compendium and description of the West Indies*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Historia 16, 1992), paragraphs 527 and 528.

In the year of forty-six, while this witness was in Mexico City, it was learned that a discovery of mines had been made in the land of war, in Zacatecas. Later, after a few days, it was known entirely for certain that the said Juanes de Tolosa had discovered the mines of Zacatecas and welcomed all the Spaniards who came to said discovery, and they were protected with his people from the war Indians who in the said region there were. And that he made great expenses on them and that he had founded an estate to extract money, where he obtained it in great abundance, and that he spent it in what they have said. And so many people came to the said discovery.²

In reality, that kind of mining army of soldiers, gambusinos and hustlers was sheltered in a strong house built under the patronage of Miguel de Ibarra and worked for a little less than a year and a half under the direct orders of Tolosa, prospecting the surrounding areas from the first deposit. So Ibarra and his people would already have a fairly precise idea of the quality and location of the main veins when the foundation of the royal estate was celebrated on January 29, 1548. In addition to Ibarra and Tolosa, Baltasar Temiño from Bañuelos and Cristóbal de Oñate participated in that event, and in it - as Mecham pointed out - an agreement to expand the initial company was also formalized, which was preparing to undertake exploitation of the minerals on a larger scale with the inclusion of two more partners, powerful and wealthy men. In fact, it only took a little over a month for the San Benito mine on the La Albarrada vein to be registered on March 1, which, in turn, was part of the famous Veta Grande. On June 11, the San Bernabé vein was discovered and, after the summer rains, on November 1, the Pánuco vein. With this, the three main groups of veins that formed the geological system on which the mining splendor of Zacatecas would be founded were located and more settlers arrived, so that at the end of 1548 there were already 80 Spaniards in the place and 45 work camps, including sinkholes and grinding and smelting mills.³

² Testimony of Juanes de Eibar, Zacatecas, May 18, 1594. Information on the merits and services of Juan Cortés Tolosa Moctezuma and his sisters, paleographic transcription with introductory study in José Enciso Contreras and Ana Hilda Reyes Veyna, *Juanes de Tolosa, discoverer of the mines of Zacatecas*. Information on merits and services (Zacatecas: Superior Court of Justice of the State of Zacatecas, 2002).

³ John Lloyd Mecham, «The real de minas as a political institution. A study of a frontier institution in Spanish colonial America», *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 7: 1, Pittsburg, 1927, p. 61; John Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra*

As the arrival of Spaniards increased, the rapid growth of the *real de minas* overwhelmed the possibilities of maintaining its organization based on the client and company model, as well as the ability of the founders to supply it independently. Just one year later, the population was already 300 souls and the miners themselves sent Juan de Zaldívar as attorney to request the Court of Compostela to create the mayor's office. In response to that request, Pedro Mejía Melgarejo was appointed and, in 1550, the *oidor* Hernán Martínez de la Marcha arrived as visitor to order the life of the royal and the work in his mines according to the guidelines of the law. He carried out a census of mines, mills, slaves and houses and promulgated two series of ordinances that regulated the extraction of minerals and work systems. It is true, as Bakewell indicates, that Martínez de la Marcha's visit generated, "without a doubt, a certain concern among the residents and miners of the city, as was the case with all subsequent visits." But, with it, the Court of Nueva Galicia contributed decisively to the promotion of Zacatecan mining by supporting an institutionalization program that would be completed with the establishment of a royal suffragan fund of the Compostela one, from which one of its members came every six months. officers to harvest the silver, with the establishment in 1553 of the Minas German Provincial Council of the municipal government and with other ordinances given by the council itself in 1562 for the harvest of salt in the Salinas Grandes, which were issued in 1568 by the *oidor* Francisco Gómez de Mendiola for the use of forest resources and those that were established after the visit of the judge Santiago del Riego in 1576.⁴

and Nueva Vizcaya, Durham, Duke University Press, 1927, p. 46; Peter Bakewell, *Mining and society in colonial Mexico. Zacatecas (1546-1700)* (Mexico: FCE, 1997), pp. 30-31.

⁴ Mining ordinances made by Mr. Hernando Martínez de la Marcha, Zacatecas, April 20, 1550. General Archive of the Indies (hereinafter, AGI), Guadalajara, 5, r. 12, no. 23. All the cited ordinances are transcribed in José Enciso Contreras, *Ordinances of Zacatecas and other neo-Galician normative documents* (Zacatecas: Zacatecas City Council / Faculty of Law of the UAZ/Conaculta, 1998). About this visit, Mecham, Francisco de Ibarra, pp. 39 and 50-53; Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 34. See Enciso Contreras, "The mining ordinances of 1550 for Nueva Galicia", in *Anuario Mexicano de Historia del Derecho*, vol. 8 (Mexico: National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1996), pp. 89-120. By the same author, *Zacatecas in the 16th century. Colonial law and society* (Mexico: Zacatecas City Council/University of Alicante/ Instituto Zacatecano de Cultura Ramón López Velarde, 2000).

All of this would generate a decisive administrative, fiscal and legislative structure for the take-off of production, since it provided Zacatecas with a sufficient and reliable institutional framework to process the logging and registration of mines, as well as to resolve the frequent intrusion conflicts, of works and demarcations of plots and commercial lawsuits in the first instance before judicial institutions located at the local level. With this, silver production increased and the 152 mines and 54 grinding and smelting mills, registered by Martínez de la Marcha in the name of 31 mine owners and crews, had to be provided not only with labor, but also of tackle, tools, livestock and supplies for the foundry. But it was impossible to supply all of this from the regional region, since the mines were grouped in an area fifteen kilometers in diameter and Zacatecas was isolated in the middle of a hostile and uncolonized territory, permanently harassed by tribes not yet subdued. For this reason, everything necessary to keep the mines in operation and the fire in the furnaces alive had to be brought from very far away and, furthermore, the work of the founders, like Tolosa, who had personally been in charge of transferring the necessary supplies from Guadalajara during the years after the discovery.

Merchandise began to arrive in increasing quantities from Mexico City and not from Guadalajara, to whose elite the patrons of the founding of Zacatecas belonged, because the viceregal capital was a much more dynamic commercial center, better supplied and capable of to offer more competitive prices. Furthermore, the communication between Mexico and Zacatecas was soon going to meet more favorable conditions than the route that linked Guadalajara with Zacatecas, which ran through insecure territory, as was the route to Compostela, and which years later continued to be "very rough," and difficult road and many rivers, and among them the large river called La Barranca, which is crossed all year round by rafts, where all the people and money that pass through there go with great risk and danger. On the other hand, between 1500 and 1555 the Camino Real de la Tierra Adentro was put into service thanks, in part, to the decisive support of the viceroys Mendoza and Velasco the Elder, who distributed land grants and established posts and presidios along of the road, which was soon conditioned for the transit of carts and not just trains of mules, which made it possible to transport goods in greater volume and weight.

The weakening of the link with Guadalajara and the commercial connection with Mexico ended up shifting the center of economic gravity to the east.

¹ Royal decree to the oidores of New Spain and New Galicia, Madrid, March 14, 1562. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, book. 1, f. 100.

conomic of New Galicia: in 1552 the seat that the officials of the Royal Treasury had had in Compostela since 1543 was definitively moved to Zacatecas and, at the same time, the merchants of the viceregal capital entered the economic scene of the mines, who were individuals completely unrelated to the social networks of the founders of Zacatecas, and flows of merchandise were established that the mine lords no longer controlled.

In that situation of isolation, the dependence of mining with respect to the provision of inputs was absolute, so the main consequence of the entry on the scene of the traders from Mexico was that the miners of Zacatecas had to accept the conditions that they began to impose on them by applying a commercial strategy of shortages and shortages, so common in Spanish America. All the more so since those same merchants who provided inputs (which they sent) to the miners, generally on credit, were also the only ones who could acquire (who redeemed), in exchange, the silver that the latter produced. Thus, the merchants, converted into suppliers and clients of the miner thanks to the practice of salvaging the mines and rescuing the silver, then positioned themselves in a situation of advantage over the miners and began the same process of hoarding silver that they already had. They had been practicing in central Mexico since the mid-1530s. And, thus, the initial economic self-sufficiency of the miners faded and a relationship of commercial and financial dependence from which they would never be ⁶

free. For this reason, in 1553 they resorted once again to the protection of the Court of Nueva Galicia, which authorized their request for the creation of the Provincial Council of Mines, with which they intended to protect themselves from the merchants, since it would have jurisdiction to assess prices that, already at that time, they were considered abusive and unaffordable." However, the council turned out to be absolutely incapable of regulating the shipping conditions based on the interests of the miners. In fact, in a context of little competition, exchanges will not only be affected by a reduced supply, but also due to increasingly less variable prices. In this sense, supplies from distant mines, such as those in Zacatecas, are not

⁶ Jaime J. Lacueva Muñoz, «The introduction of amalgamation in Zacatecas: the balance between technology and natural resources», in *La plata en Iberoamérica. 16th to 19th centuries*, coordinated by Jesús Paniagua Pérez and Nuria Salazar Simarro (León, Spain/Mexico City: University of León/INAH, 2008), pp. 15-37.

⁷ Enciso Contreras, José, "The Mining Council in Zacatecas in the 16th century", in *Vínculo Jurídico* 11-12 (1992, June-December); Eugenio del Hoyo, "The Council of miners in the rich mines of the Zacatecas, corporate democracy", in *First book of minutes of the Cabildo de las Minas de los Zacatecas, 1557-1586* (Zacatecas: Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas, 1991), pp. 3-14.

It behaved in this period according to the rules of a truly free market, whose essential requirements are, precisely, the existence of multiple supply and variable prices. Rather, it should be considered that in Zacatecas a merchandise supply system was implemented that operated according to mechanisms more similar to those of exchange at auction than to those of the free market. These circumstances would persist, at least, until the pacification of the surrounding region with the end of the Chichimeca war and would affect the long-term performance of the mining-metallurgy sector of Zacatecas.

THE DIFFICULT AFFORDABILITY OF MINING

In 1550, the miner Pedro de Torres forcefully declared that the mines of Zacatecas were "the best and richest thing, and with the most law and prosperity [since] there have been mines discovered in New Spain and this new kingdom, because this witness "It has mines in them and has been a discoverer [of] mines and knows what the discovered ones are." Likewise, there are many testimonies from those years that allude to the richness of the Zacatecas mines, not only in terms of the quantity of their minerals, but specifically in terms of their quality. However, already at the beginning of the 1550s, mining was beginning to show signs of being affected by a dynamic of diminishing returns generated by the cost of inputs and supplies. In 1550, raw ore was transported from Zacatecas to Michoacán to be processed there, taking advantage of the return of the carts that carried grain to the mines. And in 1552 some miners left Zacatecas to settle in Xocotlán, taking their workers and seeking greater proximity and easier connection with Guadalajara. To try to keep the costs of their activity within the limits of minimum profitability, the miners found two different solutions: the first was legal and consisted of claiming a reduction in the fifths; The second was simply to avoid paying taxes.

In 1548 the miners of central Mexico had already requested a reduction of the fifth real (20%), "because of the great expenses and costs [...] because once they had paid the rights they owed us and the greta and tools and slaves that they they die and the other adherents who are offered to remove it and clean it have no choice.

⁸ Testimony of Pedro de Torres, Zacatecas, May 3, 1550. Information from Juanes de Tolosa, AGI, Patronato, 80, no. 5, r. 1, transcribed in Enciso Contreras y Reyes Veyna, Juanes de Tolosa, discoverer, p. 93.

⁹ Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 36 and 87.

nothing useful." 10 Then, the king granted the miners of the Court of Mexico a reduction in the tax rate, which was established at the tithe (10%) for a period of six years. After the deadline, the residents of Mexico City and the owners of the mines in their district requested an extension for another six years and, once again, their argument was "the large cost they have due to having raised the price of "the slaves and tools, maintenance and other things that are necessary", their request being again attended to by the Crown."

But if that was the panorama of mining in central Mexico, how much more so would it be in Nueva Galicia, where the insecurity of the roads, the added cost of freight and the general shortage aggravated the situation even more. For this reason, the miners of Zacatecas also requested a reduction in the tax rate in 1556, arguing their request based on the comparative grievance that had been caused by the reduction granted only to the real mines of the Court of Mexico, and they requested that the amount be returned to them. more than the tithe they had been receiving. The king granted the favor once again for a period of six years, although he did not authorize the return of the excess. Not content with that, in 1559 they complained again, asking for a new reduction in the tax rate, this time from the tithe to the twentieth, alleging that

The many costs and expenses that have increased and continue to increase in working, extracting and processing the said silver [is the reason why] many have stopped working in the said mines, because they have lost their property in them, mostly due to - since the Indians who were slaves declared themselves free [...] and because of this necessity they had to work and obtain the said silver with black slaves, who cost at such excessive prices that, looking at the great costs and the expenses they incurred in obtaining the said money were more than the profit that was obtained from them, which was why many had stopped working and benefiting.¹²

On that occasion the king did not authorize the reduction, although he extended the deadline the first mercy and, de facto, the tax that levied on the production of silver. It would be fixed forever at 10%. On the

other hand, tax evasion was very easy while there was no Caja Real, although the presence of royal officials in Zacatecas was also not easy.

10 Real Provisión, Valladolid, September 17, 1548, transcribed in José Enciso Contreras, *Cedulario de Zacatecas, 1554-1596* (Zacatecas: Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas, 1998).

¹¹ Royal Provision, Valladolid, February 13, 1554.

¹² Royal Provision, Valladolid, August 18, 1559.

would completely ensure the elimination of fraud. Since the main miners were very powerful men within that community, it would not be unusual for collusion to arise with the officials of the Royal Treasury, who, in fact, until 1558 sent to the Council of the Indies the account of the Caja Real's income reduced to a general sum, without detailing the record of the different charges as was provided.¹³ Thus, the silver could well go astray, be taken out of the real and taken to Mexico without being cut or marked. On the other hand, many miners in Nueva Galicia also began to dedicate themselves to rescuing silver to increase their dwindling profits and bought at a low price the silver obtained by domestic smelting by the workers of their own mines - who had to pay the fifth - to pass it on, per silver from mining and also benefit from the reduced tax rate of the tithe instead of the fifth, plus trademark and assay rights, that is, 10.8% compared to 21.2%.¹⁴

The search for new deposits also responded to the need to improve the profitability of mining, because the hope of finding rich veins further north was an almost instinctive response to the unsatisfactory situation of unaffordability of mining. The expansion of the territory would also allow us to find new spaces where we could free ourselves from dependence on merchants, move hostile tribes to the north and move the border away from Zacatecas to protect the roads and mines from indigenous incursions. With this, better use could be achieved of the pastures with which to feed the livestock, of the soils dedicated to the plantation of the cereal that the workers consumed and of the firewood used to produce the charcoal that fed the furnaces of the foundries.

This is what Juanes de Tolosa did when in 1556 he captained, together with his brother-in-law Luis Cortés, son of the conqueror of Tenochtitlan, an entry to the north that was financed by Ibarra, this time by Diego, after the death of his uncle Miguel, who also then paid for the establishment of the first settlers

¹³ Regarding the bad conduct of the treasurer of Nueva Galicia, Pedro Gómez de Contreras, in sending the accounts of his office, several royal decrees were issued in 1562 addressed to the oidores of Nueva Galicia. As an example, see the one given in Madrid on January 18, 1562. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, f. 83.

¹⁴ This type of fraud, which is normally attributed to merchants, was initially practiced by the mine lords as demonstrated by the fact that, in addition to being penalized in 1557, the same royal decree was proclaimed again in 1564. in the city of Guadalajara and in the mines of Zacatecas so that "none of them can claim ignorance." Royal Decree to the judges of Nueva Galicia and any other of our justices, Madrid, November 16, 1562. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, f. 124v.

in the mines that were discovered in San Martín, Sombrerete and Avino. But the other patrons of Zacatecas also pledged large sums of money to finance the discovery of minerals, the consolidation of the new towns they founded and other defensive enterprises. And just like Tolosa and Ibarra, Temiño and Oñate also emptied their coffers and ruined their fortunes by diverting most of the profits they had made to these companies. obtained in the first decade of exploitation of Zacatecas minerals. With this, however, the mining elite reinforced its position in the social scenario by assuming military functions of conquest and pacification of the territory, where its preeminence was already counterbalanced by the economic competition of merchants and by the presence of political and administrative institutions that little by little they were consolidating. fifteen

But the bitter resistance of the Zacatecos and Guachichiles intensified in the late 1550s and would last for more than three decades until it became undoubtedly the longest and most costly conflict between the colonizers and the indigenous peoples. In fact, in 1562 "the nearby forests and coal fields had to be abandoned and the lack of fuel, combined with the scarcity of food, caused the suspension of mining activities." In those conditions in which the maintenance of mining exploitation depended totally on the supply networks controlled by the aviators-rescuers is where the transformation of the technological model that led to the introduction of the new quicksilver processing took place.

THE INTRODUCTION OF AMALGAMATION

Coinciding with the moment of greatest hostility of the indigenous people, when the small space occupied by the mines could no longer be supplied with firewood and coal, the merchants introduced the supply of mercury that came to supply the demand for fuels that were impossible to supply. and the rapid diffusion of the amalgamation benefit system took place, which the sources allow us to date from 1557, very soon if we consider that Bartolomé de Medina finished defining his method at the end of 1555. In any case, in 1563 practically all the menas

15 On the ruin that these companies caused to Tolosa, Ibarra, Temiño and Oñate, see Mecham, Francisco de Ibarra, pp. 47-50. See also Thomas Hillerkuss, «A society in the making. The organization of the mining elite in Zacatecas during the 16th century», in electronic edition. 16 Bakewell, Mining and Society, pp. 41 and 47.

of silver extracted in the real estate of Nueva Galicia were already benefited by
 17 By then, after a little more than a decade of precarious settlement, the main mine lords had squandered their fortunes in the defense of the territory and the majority of the miners were ruined by the high cost of supplies and the burdensome resistance of the chichimecas Gonzalo de Ávila declared that

More than one hundred Spaniards have died at times and more than five hundred Mexican and Tarascan Indians [...] which will amount to more than eight hundred thousand pesos in damage that the said Indians have done [...] Once the said deaths and robberies have been made, The said mines became so expensive that there were no supplies in them and they were valued at excessive prices, and for this reason the profit from the silver ceased, so that almost none was extracted.¹⁸

So the enormous investment required to adapt to the new benefit system ended up suffocating their precarious financial situation, as it amounted to more than a million pesos - if we believe the testimonies of the miners themselves spent on "sugar mills, blacks and other adherents," of the profit of silver. For the merchants, contributing to finance that large investment guaranteed their hoarding of silver and allowed them to reinforce the long-term financial dependence that they had imposed on the miners. It is not surprising that, already in 1562, the Provincial Council of Mines allowed them to access the positions of stewards of brotherhoods and the main church, until then reserved for the lords of mines, although the merchants remained separated from the municipal government and, in fact, maintained tension and conflicts with the mining oligarchy for a long time.¹⁹

● The officers of the Royal Treasury of Nueva Galicia to the king, Zacatecas, February 10, 1563. AGI, Guadalajara, 51. Collected in Bakewell, *Minería y Sociedad*, p. 193.

18 Testimony of Gonzalo de Ávila, Zacatecas, January 24, 1562. Information about the rebellion of the Zacateco and Guachichile Indians at the request of Pedro de Ahumada Samano, in Collection of unpublished documents for the History of Ibero-America, vol. 1, edited by Santiago Montoto (Madrid: Editorial Ibero-Africano-Americana, 1927), p. 260. The testimony of Juan Vázquez de Ulloa doubles the number of Mexican and Tarascan Indians who were victims of the attacks and calculates the value of the destruction caused by these rebellious Indians at one million pesos. This last figure is confirmed by other witnesses, such as José de Acosta, Bernardo Pérez and Francisco de Tapia Maestre, Zacatecas, January 24 of 1562, *ibid.*, pp. 286, 325, 333, 340.

* José Enciso Contreras, "Wine market, merchants and fraud of the *sis*a in Zacatecas (1583-1584)", in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 14, no. 14 (1994): 23.

For their part, for the twenty owners of mines and haciendas that existed at that time in Zacatecas, the introduction of amalgamation implied a deterioration in their situation, since the initial investment was accompanied by a significant generalized and sustained increase in production costs. Thus, while casting was a process that only required the use of furnaces and bellows and the incorporation of fluxes (lead) and oxidizers (greta and cendrada), and which was completed in just over a day, amalgamation required facilities much more complex, which included mills and other hydraulic devices that had a high initial and maintenance cost; It required the addition of expensive inputs such as salt and mercury and the participation of a greater number of workers, multiplying their salaries and the price of their maintenance; and, finally, it could take up to three months, depending on the environmental conditions, which greatly reduced the liquidity of the miners, although all these costs had to be paid before obtaining the final product, the silver, with which be able to pay them. Therefore, it is difficult to accept - as has been stated so many times - that the benefit from quicksilver served to improve profitability by compensating with a technological improvement for the progressive decrease in the grade of the minerals. Firstly, because the amalgamation did not solve the main problem that the miners of Nueva Galicia had been suffering, which was the difficult affordability, but it made the process of benefiting the mineral even more expensive. Secondly, because said decline had not occurred.²⁰ In fact, there are many contemporary testimonies that tell us about the high quality of the minerals extracted in Zacatecas during the 1550s - both from royal officials and impartial observers and from the miners themselves, and many of them give the impression that The inability to process the minerals of Nueva Galicia had absolutely nothing to do with their qualitative or quantitative chemical composition, but rather with the high prices of inputs and the mere impossibility of supplying the mines scattered throughout the country. a hostile territory.²¹ Thus, in 1562, the listeners reported that

²⁰ Jaime J. Lacueva Muñoz, *The silver of the king and his vassals. Mining and metallurgy in Mexico (16th and 17th centuries)* (Seville: University of Seville / CSIC / Diputación of Seville, 2010), especially chap.

²¹ 2. There are many documentary testimonies that prove the high quality of the minerals extracted in Zacatecas during the 1550s, both from royal officials and impartial observers and from the miners themselves. Lacueva, «The introduction of amalgamation in Zacatecas», *Ibid.*

The mines of San Martín and Avino and Chalchihuites are 25 and 30 and 40 leagues from the Zacatecas mines, in unpopulated lands of war, and many leagues away from them there are no peaceful towns, because of which the supplies are worth excessive prices, because corn and flour as well as other necessary things have to be supplied from the Zacatecas mines. And this scarcity has been and is the reason that little money is obtained from them because the cost is more than the profit, despite the fact that the mines are good and have good metals. 22

What's more, the number of deposits continued to increase, since in 1564 the mines of Las Nieves were discovered, in 1566 those of Fresnillo and in 1568 those of Mazapil, which were added to those already known. In the following decade those of Charcas and Tepezalá would be found, in 1574, and later those of the Sierra de Las Nieves (1593) and Ramos (1603).²³ But, if in Zacatecas the difficulties of supplying inputs and labor were very serious, how much more so would they be in those royal sections that were still in a very initial phase of settlement. For this reason, in 1567 many of the mines of Nueva Galicia were more a promise of prosperity than a reality, and the mines of Zacatecas continued to be spoken of as

the most important ones in the said New Spain [...] the forced passage for the mines of San Martín, Sombrerete and Avino and for all the other towns that are being populated between the north and the west of that infinite land and where There are great sources of mines that over time must be very profitable and important. 24

For its part, the Crown reacted with unusual rapidity to the spread of the amalgamation system as the predominant system and, already in 1559, stagnated the transatlantic trade in quicksilver, which allowed for increased imports of mercury to New Spain throughout the entire period. second half of the 16th century, from less than 900 quintals in the five-year period 1556-1560 to more than twenty thousand in 1596-1600.²⁵ Likewise, he required the royal officials of Zacatecas to detail

22 Royal Decree to the judges of Nueva Galicia. Madrid, December 8, 1562. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, f. 116v.

23 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 354.

24 Royal decree to the oidores of Nueva Galicia, Madrid, July 9, 1567. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, fol. 182.

25 In everything related to the quicksilver tobaccoconist, Mervin F. Lang, *El monopolio nacional del mercurio en el México colonial (1550-1710)* (Mexico: FCE, 1977). The figures in Appendix 1, p. 353.

with due precision the income of the Royal Treasury charge by charge. The irregular accounting that until then had been kept prevents us today from quantifying the silver that was produced while the mineral was processed exclusively by the smelting procedure. But, in any case, the introduction of the new technique and the increase in available mercury did not serve to increase in a sustained and proportional manner the production of silver expressed by Zacatecan miners during the second half of the 16th century, which showed an increase until the middle from the 1570s and, subsequently, a slightly decreasing trend until the end of the century. 26

Bakewell pointed out as the causes of this decline in production at the end of the 16th century the shortage of labor that resulted from the epidemics of 1576-1577 and the growing intensity of the war with the Chichimecas.²⁷ Although what caused the gap between the rapid advance of the mining frontier and the slower process of effective control of a territory harassed by the resistance of the indigenous people was the inability of the Spanish to articulate in the region the subsidiary activities required by the production of silver and, consequently, the strong dependence on merchandise shipping networks and the high cost of inputs that this generated; it is true that the adoption of the quicksilver benefit made it possible to replace firewood and charcoal, whose supply was impossible at the pace and in the necessary quantities. Well, if in Zacatecas "there were many trees at the time of its discovery," as Alonso de la Mota y Escobar noted, 28 the fuel sources must have soon been exhausted, as demonstrated by the concern reflected in the ordinances to prevent depletion of fuel sources. And although mercury was a commodity that required special care in its transportation, it was not necessary to supply it constantly. 29

But the amalgamation system left the miners no other alternatives to improve the profitability of their activity than to continue practicing fraud and request new reductions in the tax that levied on silver production. Thus, they continued to rescue their workers' money and even began to mark with false stamps, which was a very serious crime. 30 And they again claimed the

26 Lacueva, *The silver of the king and his vassals*, chapter 3 and appendix I-A.

27 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 259-260.

28 Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León* (Guadalajara: Government of the State of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara, 1993), p. 63. 29

Lacueva, *The king's silver and his vassals*, pp. 116-126.

30 Regarding the constant tax fraud and the misdirection of money towards Mexico City, see the royal documents to the royal officials and the oidores.

reduction of the tithe to the twentieth in 1561 and 1567, manifesting the same victimistic attitude - although, in a certain way, founded - that characterized the miners of all of New Spain. On that last date, the Crown responded again with a negative, but echoed a complaint that perfectly summarizes the situation of those years and how, by further reducing the possibilities of practicing the benefit with true expectations of profitability, the introduction of amalgamation by no means turned out to be, in the opinion of contemporaries, the panacea for mining problems:

The value and profit of the said mines has been in great decline because the largest amount of silver that is extracted from them is from the benefit of quicksilver, with which, with the loss of a quintal, one hundred marks of silver are commonly extracted, which it costs them fifty marks. And the other expenses of salt, tools, salaries, repairs and blacks, corn and provisions necessary until the benefit is complete cost the other fifty marks. So that for the most part the cost is as great or greater than the profit, which has been the reason that many people who understood them have left the treatment of the said mines, and the rest who remain are about to do the same. 32

However, when in 1572 the Crown stalled the distribution of quicksilver to the interior of New Spain, the miners found another way to pressure the Crown. While the sale of mercury was in the hands of merchants, they bought it at auction in the warehouses of Mexico - paying 310 pesos per quintal at the end of the 1560s - and resold it in the reales of Nueva Galicia to exorbitant prices. But when the Royal Treasury took charge of its direct sale, it set the price per quintal at 180 pesos.

of Nueva Galicia and any other of our justices, given in Madrid, on November 8 and 16, 1562. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, ff. 114v. and 121v., and the one dictated in Cuenca, April 30, 1564. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, fol. 147; the one dictated in 1563 for the Audience of Nueva Galicia to the mayors of Zacatecas, San Martín and Avino. AGI, Guadalajara, 5, branch 12, number 23, fol. 130v.; and the one sent to the viceroy and oidores of New Spain, given in El Carpio, on May 26, 1570. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, f. 216v.

³¹ The miners and other people who have silver mines in the Zacatecas of the New Kingdom of Galicia, should be pleased with how they pay the tithe, be it the twentieth, in attention to what they expose. Year of 1561. AGI, Guadalajara, 34, no. 5.

³² Royal Provision to the royal officials of New Spain and the province of Nueva Galicia. Madrid, August 3, 1567. AGI, Guadalajara, 230, lib. 1, f. 182v.

Likewise, to put an end to private trade speculation and facilitate supply to cash-strapped miners, who were the vast majority, it had to offer them the possibility of buying it on credit, as the merchants had done and continued to do through illegal resale in those real less assorted. The difference was that the sale on credit from merchants implied a credit with interest, while the different systems that the viceregal administration tried from then on were simply deferred payment mechanisms, which allowed the miner to delay paying the quicksilver. received in small percentages of the silver that he presented to the officials of the Royal Treasury, and receive on account the same amount of mercury that he had consumed in producing it...

To do this, it was necessary to define through a legal convention the correspondence between the metal marks that could benefit from a quintal of quicksilver, which, in the case of Zacatecas, was set at 100 silver marks per quintal, although other variants were established. regional from 80 to 125 silver marks. Although this correspondence would help royal officials have a tool to control evasion, the distribution system in charge of the Royal Treasury was not effective in combating the resale or distribution of mercury through parallel channels and was always very vulnerable. to the corruption of the officials in charge of its distribution. But, above all, the concession to defer the payments of the quicksilver received generated a spiral of indebtedness of the miners with the Royal Treasury.³³

However, this progressive indebtedness strengthened the negotiating capacity of the miners with the argument that the price of quicksilver and the haste in paying the arrears discouraged the production of silver and, with this, the tax revenues that they received were reduced. he so urgently needed the Crown to finance his imperial policy. Hence, almost all the viceroys were liberal in the distribution of quicksilver and benevolent regarding the collection of debts, since increasing the amount of collection soon became their main concern and that, little by little, the Crown It was assuming that he had to give up. considering the quicksilver tobacco shop as a source of income and that the debt contracted by the miners with the Royal Treasury was a bad debt.

In fact, when Velasco el Mozo first occupied the viceroyalty of New Spain (1590-1595) he found that "where there were the greatest debts and delays in the quicksilver was in the mines of the Zacatecas and those of his district." Although he soon became convinced that it was more useful "not to contract new debt [...] than

³³ Lang, *The State Monopoly of Mercury*, pp. 200-203, 219-220. Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 237 et seq.

to just achieve this would be good for H.M. give up everything they owed him for lost. Admitting that unpaid assets were considered lost and condoning the mining debt was an important precedent, but he understood that "the miners are the most important vassals that our lord the king has and the nerve of his kingdoms and their stability.", and from this it follows how necessary what H.M. "orders and orders that attention be paid to favoring them." Although he was well aware that "their natural inclination to spend makes them pay little attention to the fidelity with which they must treat the king's treasury," the favorable treatment that the miners deserved should consist, according to the viceroy, "in two [things], at least, which are among others the main ones, which is a lot of and cheap quicksilver and people with whom to benefit their metals and estates. In the first place, although at my request, H.M. He lowered them ten pesos of mines in each quintal.»³⁴

Thus, the Crown lowered the price of a quintal of quicksilver to 100 pesos and, a few years later, it would reduce it again, selling it at 60 pesos in 1609 - even below its cost price, to definitively set it at 82 pesos. 5 reales and 9 grains in 1617, an amount at which it remained until 1767.³⁵ But, beyond that, the policy of giving a lot of and cheap quicksilver implied a transaction between the Crown and the miners, consisting of admitting fraud and late payment in exchange to sustain silver production and guarantee collection of fifths and tithes, accepting that the quicksilver tobacconist did not generate minimum income and served only to prevent tax evasion, although as a control mechanism it was continually flouted. What underlay this tacit agreement was the inability of the miners to assume the exploitation costs of their activity, and the result it caused was that the Crown assumed that the money it lent to the miners to buy quicksilver was a non-refundable loan., that is, something that had the same economic effect as a subsidy, which was implicitly equivalent to participating in the financing of silver production.

THE FACTORS OF THE BOOM

With the miners freed from the burden of much of the financing of mercury, two more factors contributed decisively to the boom in silver production that Zacatecas would experience from the beginning of the 17th century. The first was the end of the Chichimeca war, and the second the technical improvements that

³⁴ Warnings that Luis de Velasco left to the Count of Monterrey for the government of New Spain, Acapulco, February 20, 1596. AGI, México, 23, no. 36.

³⁵ Lang, *The state monopoly on mercury*, pp. 240-246.

He contributed the experience accumulated after four decades of using the amalgamation technique.

The towns of Celaya, León, Aguascalientes and Jerez had already been founded, but on the Camino Real the presidios of Ojuelos and Portezuelo had to be established, north of Guanajuato, in whose direction those of Las Bocas, Ciénaga Grande and Palmillas to act as defensive bastions on the route between Mexico and Zacatecas.³⁶ However, the supply caravans would still have to travel protected by armed escort and, even, the danger of a general rebellion would sometimes threaten the very continuity of the Spanish settlements. This is how Dr. Orozco, oidor of Nueva Galicia, reported in 1580, when he received news from Nueva Vizcaya, Compostela, Sombrerete, Mazapil and Zacatecas that the rebellious Indians "on the verge of war, [...] had gathered and confederated with the Chichimeca Indians from the mountain range of that region and all together, which would be three or four thousand Indians, were determined to go down to destroy the entire province" and "how the Chichimeca and Guachichile Indians did in the region of those mines, [...] so many notable damages, deaths and thefts that they were about to be depopulated and destroyed by the Indians."³⁷ The Caja Real de Zacatecas then had to assume part of the cost of the defense and allocate money to pay for a military force with which to crush the rebellion, and divert capital to the defense and pacification of the territory, just as they had already done. In particular, important miners from Zacatecas who occupied the lieutenantship of the Captaincy General of Nueva Galicia and invested expensive sums of their own money in directing and financing entries and campaigns, such as Pedro de Ahumada Sámano, Vicente de Zaldivar or Baltasar de Bañuelos.³⁸

However, the expenses and maintenance of an armed force continued to be necessary for many years, since the assaults and looting of the mines and estates, the pillage of the supply convoys of the mining estates, the theft of livestock and, in general, Ultimately, the hostility of the indigenous people would continue until the mid-1590s. In any case, the measures taken by Velasco el Mozo were more effective, who sought to dilute the resistant identity of the Chichimecas through more peaceful than violent means.

³⁶ Philip W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), cap. 8; Philip W. Powell, «Presidios and Towns on the Silver Frontier of New Spain, 1550-1580», *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24 (1944): 179-200.

³⁷ Letter from Dr. Orozco, president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara to H.M., Zacatecas, September 28, 1580. AGI, Guadalajara, 6, r. 4, no. 40. ³⁸ Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 63. Hillerkuss, "A society under construction."

<making congregations, monasteries, churches, giving them religious and doctrine and a company of Indians of peace", convinced that "no matter how long the hand is in this, the expense of peace will not reach that of the war [...] that With this, expenses can be moderated, which are already moderated and in Zacatecas they are 20,000 pesos less than what they used to spend. But, if until then the war waged by the Indians had been, in the words of the viceroy, "painful, costly and causing many damages", with these efforts the enemy tribes were progressively displaced towards the north. 39 With this, the pacification of the region was achieved, which would mean the definitive coupling of the mining frontier with the colonization frontier in the Zacatecas region, whose gap had hindered the supply of the mines and haciendas and the development of all the subsidiary activities necessary to achieve optimal performance of the mining and metallurgical activity.

The most immediate of these activities was the production of charcoal, since, although the introduction of amalgamation had allowed us to free ourselves from the limitation of not being able to supply large quantities of vegetable fuels for the ovens, the benefit from quicksilver It also required certain amounts of charcoal to complete the process and finish melting the silver bars. But the surroundings of Zacatecas had been deforested despite the ordinances issued by the Cabildo to control indiscriminate logging and, until the territory surrounding the mines was pacified, the timber resources of more remote areas could not be used. As Alonso de la Mota y Escobar related, "firewood is very expensive in this city because it is brought eight and ten leagues away in carts" and, thus, although it continued to be an expensive input, charcoal pits began to proliferate where the pastures were. of grass gave way to small concentrations of pines, oaks and mesquites. 40 But the semi-arid ecosystem also made it difficult to apply the amalgamation technique due to the lack of river currents from which to bring water to the processing farms to wash the mineral mixtures. That is why it was necessary to develop what Bakewell called the dry technique, consisting of incorporating washing tubs and settling troughs to rationalize the use of water and adapt to the natural conditions of the region. Likewise, the use of blood traction mills would solve in many reals the same lack of running water when grinding minerals. Although, without a doubt, the most important of the innovations that contributed

39 Warnings that Luis de Velasco left to the Count of Monterrey.

40 Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms*, p. 63.

41 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 198-200.

To improve the efficiency of the amalgamation system was the incorporation of the use of magistrals.

The magistrals were toasted chalcopyrites that acted as a catalyst for the amalgamation process and helped to counteract the presence of weeds (sulfur, arsenic and antimony) that accompanied silver in the plumboargentiferous veins so abundant in the Zacatecas region. Those masters, indicated Mota y Escobar,

Because they are soft and coppery, they yield the hardness and crudeness of the antimony [minerals], in such a way that with great ease all the silver is extracted from them, and with this benefit the miners of this kingdom of Vizcaya and Zacatecas have gathered, That by ignoring this benefit until now their estates were in very poor shape. 42

In fact, the introduction of magistral, added to the salt and water that facilitated the amalgamation of silver and quicksilver, coincided with the rise of production in Zacatecas at the beginning of the 17th century, since it allowed all the metal to be extracted from the silver mineral and thus overcome forty years of inefficient production, waste of quicksilver and loss of productive mineral. Luckily, chalcopyrite deposits were abundant and close to the mines and were never in short supply. Those consumed in Zacatecas came mainly from Tepezalá, halfway between the mines and Aguascalientes, although they were also produced in Cerro de Gil and, since the mid-17th century, in the deposits in La Sauceda and San Bernabé, places which were no more than three kilometers from

the Veta Grande. 43 As if all this were insufficient, the first two decades of the 17th century coincided with a spectacular boom in the veins that were being exploited. When Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa visited the city, around 1612, he wrote of the Bufa hill that "it is very rich in silver metals and, from the top of it, where the aforementioned fountain is, a very rich vein of silver runs down, that most of it is virgin silver; It crosses the city through the plaza and ends up on another very large hill that is on the other side of the city. All these hills are burdened with minerals and veins of silver." 44 And in 1613 royal officials reported that there were "the richest mines in their district that have ever been seen." Four. Five

42 Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms*, p. 83.

43 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 206.

44 Vázquez Espinosa, *Compendium and description of the West Indies*, p. 283. 45 The royal officials to His Majesty, Zacatecas, May 4, 1613. AGI, Guadalajara, 33, no. 35.

Thus, the volume of silver production began to grow in Zacatecas from the beginning of the 17th century, as demonstrated by the records of the Royal Box. From then on, the fiscal series are characterized by a clear upward trend, sustained until the mid-1620s, but which would remain at very high levels until ten years later. Silver production would double, going from the one million pesos per year at which it had remained on average until then to exceeding two million pesos for the first time in 1622, 1623 and 1624, and exceeding them again in 1631, without beginning to decline until 1635. During that period, Zacatecas would enjoy the years of greatest mining splendor experienced until then, as seen in graph 1.

A few years after the bonanza began, the number of haciendas dedicated to the benefit of quicksilver increased in Zacatecas and the royal officials encouraged the Crown to maintain the policy of providing a lot of quicksilver and cheap quicksilver that had provided such good results for the Royal Treasury. :

The royal treasury of this fund grows every year and in this way it will be sought, for which purpose it is necessary [...] estates after V.M. It was used to grant mercy in the reduction of quicksilver, which was the cause of many being encouraged to found them and this is what they are doing every day with the hope that V.M. He must order more quicksilver to be provided. 46

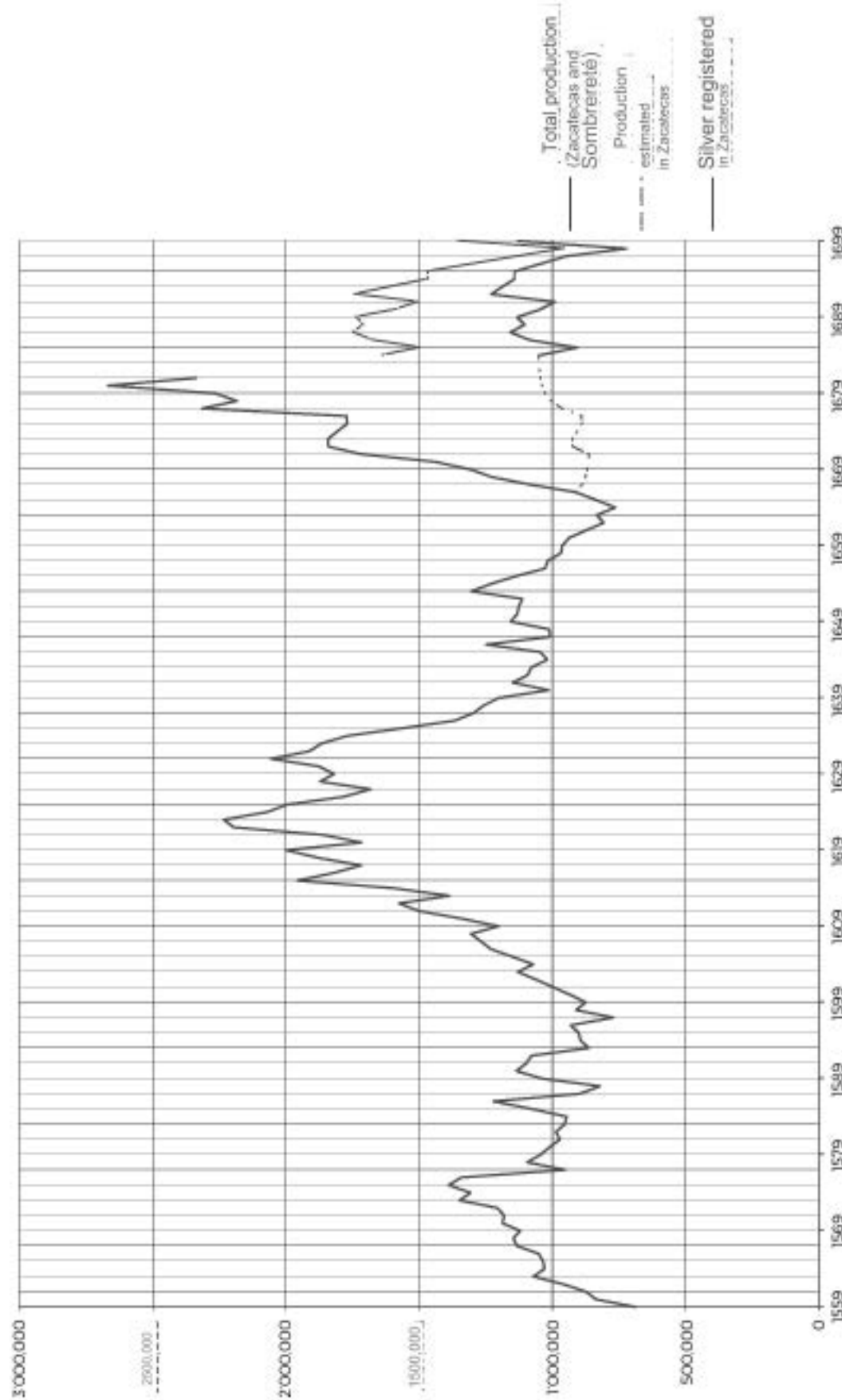
As already mentioned, the price of a quintal of mercury was then set at just over 82 pesos and, from the beginning of the century, the Treasury Board began to privilege Zacatecas in the distribution of quicksilver over the other production centers in the region, viceroyalty, especially marginalizing those from the west of New Galicia and those from Nueva Vizcaya. Of the cargo that arrived in the New Spain fleet of 1616, 2,000 quintals (more than 46%) were assigned to Zacatecas and in 1619 another large consignment that exceeded 3,300 quintals was distributed again among the Zacatecas miners. 47 Although this did not mean that greater promptness in payments was required and, consequently, the delays and debts with the Royal Treasury continued to increase.

Now, the excellent quality of the minerals that were extracted during the first third of the 17th century allowed smelting to be applied as an alternative technique outside the large estates and to maintain uninterrupted growth during that period, even in those years when supply was reduced

46 *Ibid.*

47 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 244.

GRAPH 1. SILVER PRODUCTION IN THE ZACATECAS REGION, 1559-1699



Sources: Bakewell, *Mining and Society*; John J. TePaske and Herbert S. Klein, *Income and expenses of the Real Hacienda of New Spain (Mexico: INAH, 1988)*; Engel Sluiter, *The gold and silver of Spanish America, c. 1572-1648* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Lacueva Muñoz, *The silver of the king and his vassals*.

of mercury, as occurred from 1620 to 1624 and from 1630 to 1639. For those years, the collection of the fifth-tax, which taxed the ransom silver, reached the highest figures. Furthermore, it could be estimated that the production of fire silver exceeded 20% in the five-year period 1610-1614 and that it exceeded 40% in the five-year period 1620-1624, precisely the period in which the highest level of production was reached. registered until then in the Royal Treasury.

A good part of that silver would come from domestic foundries, since more than ninety bellows stops were counted between Zacatecas and Pánuco, which were built by mine workers in the hills and by city shopkeepers in the backyards of their houses. The viceroy Marquis of Gelves ordered their destruction, but they re-emerged because it was impossible to control this practice, which, on the other hand, was not illegal, although the administration was very concerned that money was produced without being able to control evasion through the distribution of quicksilver to the miners.⁴⁸ Another part of that fiery silver, however, was registered in the Caja Real of Zacatecas even though it had been produced much further west, under the jurisdiction of the officials of Guadalajara, or further north, in reales from mines that They fell under the tax jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya.

In fact, at the beginning of the 17th century, the mines of the Sierra de Pinos were already in operation, on the very border of the Audiencias of Mexico and Nueva Galicia, where seven processing haciendas operated. Further north were the famous mines of Ramos and those of Espíritu Santo, which were very prosperous. On the borders of Nueva Galicia with the New Kingdom of León were the mines of Mazapil and Los Cedros, where it was ground with water mills and processed by smelting with great profit. Following the Camino Real towards Durango, there were the Fresnillo mines, which had twelve processing haciendas, and the Los Plateros mines, and, beyond, the mines of Sombrerete and those of San Martín, Nombre de Dios, las Nieves and Saint Joaquin. A few leagues away, they entered the demarcation of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and, at the ford of the Rio Grande that they called Medina, they ground and smelted minerals that came from mines located to the north, as was also done in the settlements of Sain and Lois because the supply of water for the mills and coal for the ovens is guaranteed. Further away, to the north and west, the mining panorama of Nueva Vizcaya became much more heterogeneous and diverse. If in 1626 the visitor Villarreal censused 42 haciendas between Zacatecas and Pánuco, in the districts of Guadalajara and Durango there were up to 95.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 203. Lacueva, *The king's silver and his vassals*, p. 49.

⁴⁹ Mota y Escobar, *Compendium and description of the West Indies*, pp. 43-90.

These, however, included small and medium-sized haciendas and milling and smelting mills whose economic characteristics differed greatly from the large patio facilities of the great production center that was Zacatecas. In any case, it was not at all strange that an important part of the silver produced between the north and the west of that infinite land was declared in Zacatecas or that, in short, it flowed into the bags of the city's merchants, which some official from Durango complained, insistently asking that "in the royal coffers of Guadalajara and Zacatecas in no way should any money from this government be taken under serious penalties [...] many frauds that exist will cease and what is owed here will be better collected," to the Royal Treasury, and V.M. with punctuality he will know what the fifths and tithes of this kingdom are worth."⁵⁰

THE INCUBATION OF THE CRISIS

The pacification of the province, the Crown's subsidy for the purchase of quicksilver, the increase in the profitability of the beneficiation process, the mineral bonanza, the extension of the deposits, the conversion of Zacatecas into a commercial center capable of absorbing the silver that was produced in very distant reales and, ultimately, the rise in production were all objectively favorable factors. However, the miners still did not have liquidity, so they were unable to undertake the investments to drain wells that were becoming increasingly deeper, a need that was realized as early as 1620. The merchants did not consider it profitable to finance these operations with their private credit, because their success was subject to greater uncertainty and they had longer repayment periods. That is why the miners tried to get the Royal Treasury to cover part of these works, for which they had the support of the officials of the Fund, who in 1623 advised the Council of the Indies "that, if the miners of this royal estate were helped and encourage him

⁵⁰ Letter from Rafael de Gascués, factor and overseer of the Real Caja de Durango, to H.M. Durango, April 15, 1614. General Archive of the Indies. Guadalajara, 33, no. 70, transcribed in Jaime J. Lacueva Muñoz, "Nueva Vizcaya and its mineral deposits before the discovery of San José del Parral", in *Ophir in the Indies. Studies on silver in Spain and America. XVI-XIX centuries*, coordinated by Paniagua Pérez, Jesús, and Nuria Salazar Simarro (León: Universidad de León, 2010), pp. 89-108. Jaime J. Lacueva Muñoz, "Marginality and marginalization of the mining of Nueva Vizcaya (1563-1621)", *Historias. Magazine of the Directorate of Historical Studies-INAH* 78 (2011): 39-72.

drainage that they want and should be done in it, the real fifths would grow in much more quantity. 51

Although those were the years with the highest collection to date, in 1625 the Crown appointed Francisco de Villarreal, accountant of the Court of Accounts of Mexico, visitor of the mines and the Royal Treasury of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya, and He was specially commissioned to find out why the miners of Zacatecas were so overwhelmed and the cause of their delays in paying quicksilver. Villarreal found that only four of the owners of mines and haciendas in Zacatecas were rich and, even so, he tried to convince those affected by the flooding of the galleries opened on the Veta Grande to collaborate in the drainage. But only Agustín de Zavala and Juan de Oñate contributed the corresponding quota, and the rest were inhibited despite the exhortations of the visitor.⁵² Unable to resolve the drainage problems, which would cause a significant reduction in production in 1626 and 1627, Villarreal He decided to recommend the distribution of larger quantities of quicksilver, which was done. With this, he only reinforced in the head of the empire the old idea of the weakness of mining, of the need for "the miners to stand and not fall, but rather to be encouraged, helped and favored"; the idea that, although they "stopped marking for not paying" their debts, it was advisable to protect the miners, "who are not allowed to be squeezed but rather propped up, so that the profit of the mines does not stop, since it is a general good and an increase in the Royal Treasury»; because, in short, "the silver of the kingdom consists of its preservation, union and connection with all the others of the Crown of Castile."⁵³

But the trend in silver production had marked a turning point in 1624 and the rebound of 1631 would no longer be more than a sporadic rise. And in the 1630s some more or less fortuitous events were linked with a series of economic policy decisions taken in the metropolis, which demonstrated the extent to which Zacatecas mining depended on

⁵¹ The officers of Zacatecas to H.M., Zacatecas, May 10, 1623. AGI, Guadalajara, 33, no. 41.

⁵² Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 270-271.

⁵³ The quotes correspond respectively to: Letter from visiting judge Pedro de Arriolas to H.M., Zacatecas, November 22, 1603. AGI, Guadalajara, 33, no. 31; Report of the viceroy count of Monterrey on the state of the Royal Treasury, April 1, 1598. AGI, Mexico, 24, transcribed in Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish viceroys in America during the government of the House of Austria vol. 2* (Madrid: Gráficas Castilla, 1976), pp. 144-156; Letter from the royal officials of Guadalajara to His Majesty, Guadalajara, April 18, 1602. AGI, Guadalajara, 31, no. 37; De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description of the kingdoms*, p. 23.

Without the support of the administration, they tested its vulnerability and ultimately led to its bankruptcy.

Between 1603 and 1622, the collection of the alcabala had been headed by the city council for an amount of 5,000 pesos annually. But on that date the Marquis of Gelves decided to put it up for auction and the best bid was offered by a company of four merchants. To try to prevent the tax pressure from leading to speculation on prices, the following year the Cabildo got the Nueva Galicia Court to authorize the establishment of a warehouse and, at the end of the heading, the miners did everything possible to ensure that the Cabildo recovered the right to the alcabala, collecting in 1627 the 10,000 pesos that the viceroy demanded. This allowed them to freely suspend their collection in those periods of decline in production - such as those years to prevent merchants from seeking more lucrative markets and thus guarantee the supply of the mines and farms.

But in the Court it had been established that New Spain had to contribute a quota of 250,000 pesos annually to the financing of the union of arms of the count-duke of Olivares and this imposition took shape in the increase in the tax rate of the alcabala, which passed from 2% to 4% precisely in 1632. So, at the end of that stubborn, they demanded not only the 10,000 pesos at which it had been valued five years before, but 20,000. The miners were then unable to raise that sum and the alcabalas, put up for auction again, were once again in the hands of a company of merchants, who tried to recover their investment by exerting increasingly intense pressure on the rest of the merchants.

But Zacatecas was essentially a source of income for the Crown. AND The bankruptcy of 1627, the loss in 1628 of the New Spain fleet and its fabulous cargo of silver in Matanzas Bay at the hands of the Dutch, and the setbacks suffered in Italy and Flanders had only increased the need for the imperial coffers to receive short-term funds. Thus, only two years later, in 1634 - and coinciding with a drastic decrease in mercury shipments - strict orders arrived in Mexico from Madrid to demand that the miners immediately pay their debts and that, from now on, royal officials only they sold the mercury for rigorous cash. Although these draconian measures were not applied with complete rigor, they marked the end of the benevolence with which the administration had managed the quicksilver establishment, turning it into a covert subsidy for silver production, and marked a radical change in the Crown's attitude towards mining.

Without the credit of the Crown, only merchants could provide the capital that miners required to acquire quicksilver in cash. But the merchants had found much more attractive business options than lending

money to the impoverished and indebted producers of Zacatecas since in 1631 a rich vein of silver was discovered north of Nueva Vizcaya in a place that would soon become famous under the name of San José del Parral. In less than a year, the real de mines was established as the mayor's office, it was populated with more than 300 Spanish residents and more than 400 mines were reported.

The Cabildo of Zacatecas tried to counteract this unexpected competition by suspending in 1634 the collection of taxes on the grain sold in the alhóndiga, which was the only measure it could take to stop the flight of the aviators. But this proved insufficient and the merchants' response was to head north in search of better opportunities, especially because in Nueva Vizcaya, where El Parral was located, taxes were not charged.⁵⁴ That same year there was a second and fabulous discovery in El Parral, so that by 1637 there were 37 merchants established in the town of San José del Parral.

Trade in Zacatecas decreased so much that the commercial company that had leased the collection of the alcabalas five years ago could not raise the 20,000 pesos for the new heading and gave up its renewal. In the following years, the number of merchant shops established in Zacatecas would decrease significantly, from the 99 that were counted in 1621 to the 70 that there were in the 1640s. In any case, the drop in silver production recorded in The Royal Treasury was already irreversible when in 1639 the mining of Zacatecas received the death blow with the second increase in the alcabalas, which rose up to 6% to cover the 200,000 pesos that the viceroyalty had to contribute for the maintenance of the Navy of Windward. This ended up discouraging private contracting in Zacatecas and, as trade was driven away, the miners lost their only possible source of credit and the guarantees that had since been required to acquire mercury that was now only sold for cash.⁵⁵

At that fateful moment it would be necessary to consider whether it had been worth raising costs so much and depending so directly on the supply of mercury following the introduction of the amalgamation benefit. Although the answer

⁵⁴ The collection of alcabala was not introduced in Nueva Vizcaya until 1686. Bakewell, *Minería y Sociedad*, p. 149.

⁵⁵ Lacueva, *The king's silver and his vassals*, pp. 79-87, 218-228. On the discovery of the Parral, Robert C. West, *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), pp. 12-13. On the decrease in the number of stores in Zacatecas, Elisa Itzel García Berumen, «The wholesale merchants of Zacatecas in the second half of the 17th century: wealth and power», *Studies in Novohispana History* 39 (2008): 84.

It would depend on what the deep motivation of the miners was. In effect, mercury made production more expensive, but it also allowed miners to make greater display of the economic status they already had as masters of mines and crews, because the prestige of a miner ended up being measured by the magnitude of their facilities, by the number of hammers of their mills. Hence, investing in mills or in the flooring of the patios of their estates, where the piles of mineral were benefited in full view of everyone, trampled by the cavalry and removed by their workers, constituted another form of sumptuary investment, of acquiring prestige, as were the provision of chaplaincies, the constitution of mayorazgos or the performance of military positions such as the lieutenantship of the general captaincy of Nueva Galicia. In that sense, although the dynamic of diminishing returns generated by the amalgamation ended up financially suffocating everyone and ruining the majority, the benefit of silver - through that or any other system - allowed the miners to establish themselves as the founding elite of Zacatecas and that, through the Cabildo, they would consolidate that position. And that was what they had come here for.

THE CRISIS OF THE PATIO ESTATES

Silver production was reduced in Zacatecas by fifty percent throughout the 1630s: if in 1631 the silver recorded in the box had exceeded two million pesos, in 1635 it dropped to one and a half million, and in 1640 it fell to just over a million and remained that way until the end of the century at levels similar to those it had had before the boom period. Although at the beginning of the 1640s significant quantities of mercury were again distributed punctually among the failed miners, the consignments consigned to Zacatecas decreased from 1645 onwards, since the Treasury Board of Mexico distributed the consignments among the officials, reals of each district based on the silver production of the previous year or, rather, the surplus sent to the parent fund for reshipment to the metropolis. Thus, by the mid-1660s, the mercury arriving annually in Zacatecas was one-fifth of what had arrived thirty years earlier, before the crisis began, when imports of Castilian mercury to New Spain had certainly been reduced, notably during those same years due to the disastrous fire of Almadén in 1639 and the resignation of the Fuggers to the concession of the mines, but only up to half.

However, it was no longer a time for condescension, but rather for collecting the debts, which in 1638 amounted to 671,679 pesos, distributed equally between the miners of the city and those of the rest of the districts of the district. Therefore, the viceroy count

de Salvatierra authorized the seizure of the assets of miners indebted to the Royal Treasury - a measure contemplated in the legislation, but which had never been applied before and for this purpose he sent Pedro de Oroz as visitors in 1643 and Francisco de Rojas y Oñate in 1644. The first seized thirteen beneficial estates, but only five of them could be sold or leased. The second found that, of the sixty farms that had been registered, only eight were operational. There was also a serious decline in the number of workers, who had moved north in search of employers who offered better wages or who could simply pay them, and the drought aggravated the situation even more in the mines. Fresnillo, Ramos, Sombrerete and the Sierra de Pinos. 56

The miners preferred to resell part of the little quicksilver they received, as it was more profitable than using it to process their minerals, and cases of corruption and collusion on the part of Royal Treasury officials continued to occur. Thus, for example, Captain Francisco Gómez Rendón remained in charge of the treasury of the box for 31 years, coinciding with the worst years of Zacatecas mining, until in 1669 he was accused of 35 charges by the visitor Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, and sentenced to prison, a fine of 6,000 pesos and disqualification from his office, although he would return to his position after being pardoned in 1674 by the viceroy-archbishop Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera. 57 However, the strict collection policy remained relentless: in 1654 the arrears had been reduced to 70,000 pesos, that is, in sixteen years the royal officials managed to recover more than 600,000 pesos owed. At that time, Nicolás Goicoechea, general depositary of the city, lamented that

Its total ruin has come to this, both in the depopulation of its neighbors and of the servants of the mines, that the majority of the Parral neighborhood has been made up of this city, in which this damage has not only resulted, but that this city was a port for all the cities, towns and mine estates of the entire said kingdom of Vizcaya, and that all the silver that was extracted there was traded there and they came to make their jobs a substantial part of the increase. of their treatment - and that this completely ceased, because that entire kingdom is supplied by the great and copious uses that teams of cars pass to it and to [the] said Parral mines. 58

56 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 272-275, 281-288.

57 Report and memorial of Francisco Gómez Rendón, treasurer of the Caja Real de Zacatecas, requesting that said office be transferred to his son, Zacatecas, 1677. AGI, Guadalajara, 33, no. 59.

58 Report of Nicolás de Goicoechea, Zacatecas, June 4, 1652, collected in

It seems that the Crown had understood that it was no longer worthwhile to grant the miners of Zacatecas the care and attention that it had previously devoted to them, because there were other regions that offered better prospects both for private negotiation and for the collection of taxes, and where, in addition, the silver was produced "without the cost of my treasury because it was cast, which excuses the quicksilver and salt with which other mines of that kingdom are rescued, and without having been given the distribution of Indians, as it is given to others, nor the relief and supply of amounts of money."⁵⁹

That appreciation was not only valid for San Luis Potosí, where the benefit by quicksilver had not been adopted and in the five-year period 1645-1649, 19% of the silver registered in the viceroyalty was produced, but also for the mines of Nueva Vizcaya and western Nueva Galicia. In that same period, the Durango and Guadalajara banks had together received only 570 quintals of mercury and had recorded a silver production that reached 39% of the total, contemplating tax evasion rates much higher than in Zacatecas, since that there the royal coffers were not located in places of mines; These were many and widely dispersed and, furthermore, the quicksilver benefit was not applied predominantly in all of them, so the control that royal officials could exercise was much weaker. Meanwhile, Zacatecas held 34% of the silver production, receiving 1,200 quintals of mercury sold at cost price at a time when the management of the Almadén mines generated losses for the Crown and many headaches.

It was evident that the supremacy of Zacatecas as the main production center in the north was in question. Since the discoveries of El Parral, the production recorded in the Durango box would experience a clearly upward trend, reaching one million pesos in some years, and in Guadalajara mining income would begin to recover in 1655, while in Zacatecas the volume of silver produced would remain stable until the end of the century. In fact, in the central decades of the 17th century the regional distribution of silver production became very equitable, with Zacatecas' share not exceeding a third of the New Spain total. Hence, in the following years embargoes continued to be executed against the non-payments of the Zacatecan miners.

Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 115.

⁵⁹ Royal decree to the viceroy-president and judges of the Audience of Mexico, Madrid, December 20, 1647. Historical Collection of the Mining Palace of Mexico, 1647-1, d. 4, ex. 1.

and until 1664, nine other profit estates were seized and auctioned, although by then all of them found a buyer.⁶⁰

THE TIME OF THE TRADERS

When the administration stopped accepting the purchase on loan of quicksilver and the endless delay in payments, it altered one of the main conditions that had favored the rise of Zacatecas, because the profit haciendas had become completely dependent on the amalgamation system, which it raised production costs to the limit of unaffordability, but it could be applied thanks to the fact that the debt capacity of the large miners had been, to a large extent, backed by the Crown. While they were supplied with mercury with the interest-free and non-refundable loans granted by the Royal Treasury, the miners were able to produce silver and find merchants who, in exchange for hoarding it, provided them - with interest - with the rest of the merchandise, supplies and currency with which they keep their mines in work, process the mineral on their farms and pay their workers. When this balance was altered, the miners had no capacity to respond and the bankruptcy of the system occurred, which was nothing more than the crisis of a silver production model that, despite being economically inefficient and very unprofitable for them, it had been sustained for eighty years thanks to the support of the Crown.

For this reason, the reduction in quicksilver imports did not mean a generalized collapse of all mining in New Spain, but only of those production centers that had made mercury - a commodity whose supply was conditioned by dynamics that the miners did not control - cornerstone of its economic structure, like Zacatecas. And for this reason, a good part of the flows of goods, capital and labor that until then had been concentrated in Zacatecas were redistributed and emigrated to other places, in search of alternative markets that offered better business prospects. Thus, in the northern mining panorama, the collapse of Zacatecas contributed to the takeoff of the regions that until then had maintained a low level of exploitation of their mineral resources and that had continued to apply smelting as the predominant benefit system, characterized by a production less dazzling, but more profitable.

In this way, the mining and metallurgical sector matured in a more homogeneous way, and the pattern of geographical dispersion that would characterize New Spain mining was consolidated, very different from that of the Peruvian viceroyalty, where

⁶⁰ Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 283 and 288.

The prominence of Potosí was indisputable, which during the 17th century accumulated almost 70% of the silver legally produced despite suffering continued decline. With this, the foundations were laid for an expansive dynamic that would already be seen during the last third of the 17th century, but that would be confirmed, above all, throughout the following century, in which Mexico replaced Peru as the main source of income of the Crown and as the most economically, socially and culturally dynamic region of colonial America.⁶¹

In this sense, the crisis that mining experienced in the 17th century should be considered as a reconversion process that was not only reflected in this spatial redistribution, but also in a social recomposition that would renew the business community and the social panorama from Zacatecas. In fact, the wave of bankruptcies caused, as Bakewell already stated, "a strong infiltration of merchants into mining activities";⁶² and thus, the families that had monopolized the ownership of the mines and processing farms since the discovery of minerals gave way, a century later, to individuals outside the old local elite.

Some merchants only took over the seized estates and then resold them to third parties. But that would also allow other characters who were not linked to the founding lineages of Zacatecas to be incorporated into the mining guild, little by little, such as Bartolomé Bravo de Acuña, who in the 1640s acquired four mines on the Veta Grande that had been abandoned due to flooding problems. After undertaking the drainage, he gained the favor of the visitor Oroz, who in 1643 arranged in his favor the lease of a seized estate. With the support of royal officials, who also gave him especially favorable treatment, his prosperity increased. He married Doña Catalina de Oñate y Medrano and began buying land shortly after 1650 between Jerez and Juchipila, as his son, Don Juan Bravo de Medrano, who would become provincial of the Holy Brotherhood of the Nueva Galicia and lieutenant captain general of the same kingdom, just as his father had already been.

⁶¹ Richard L. Garner, "Long-Term Silver Mining Trends in Spanish America: A Comparative Analysis of Peru and Mexico," *American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (1988): 889-935. By the same author, *Mining Trends in the New World, 1580-1810* (electronic edition); Herbert S. Klein, *The American finances of the Spanish empire, 1680-1809* (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 1994), pp. 133-152. On the same topic, although earlier, David A. Brading and Harry Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining. Mexico and Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52, no. 4 (1972): 545-579.

⁶² Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, pp. 246.

father and would purchase the vacant title of Count of Santa Rosa in 1691 to become the first Zacatecan nobleman. 63

Other merchants took advantage of the fact that they had sufficient liquidity to pay for the necessary improvements, pay the salaries of the workers and pay for the inputs necessary to reactivate the benefit of the minerals, and they entered directly into the mining business, either by forming companies with miners in need of capital or taking ownership of depopulated mines and leasing or purchasing farms seized and put up for auction. So, during the second half of the 17th century, it became common to find merchants on the payroll of Zacatecas miners, such as José de Monreal and Juan de Infante, whose fortunes were among the main ones; or José de Quesada, who, being a silver merchant, had been a member of the Mexican consulate and was part, together with his partner José de Retes - gold and silver collector since 1655 - of the small group of bankers of the viceroys. Quesada arrived in Zacatecas in the middle of the century to start a mining business. He also held the clerk's office of the Cabildo and, when he died in 1685, he left his heirs a large fortune, including a herd of 30,000 head of sheep. 64

In some cases, the merchants came from Mexico City and would return there to continue their financial and commercial activities after becoming rich in Zacatecas, such as Juan Antonio de Montalvo and José de Villaurrutia. 65 But others took advantage of the various opportunities offered by the troubled river of the crisis to gain a prominent place in the unstable local scene. Thus, Domingo de Arana leased the collection of the alcabalas in 1651

63 Ibid., pp. 167, 189-190, 282-283 and 293. Thomas Hillerkuss, «Between ambition for power and wealth. The tortuous path of the Salazars and the Oñates towards the upper echelons of New Spain society», in *Congresso Internacional Pequena Nobreza nos Impérios Ibéricos de Antigo Regime* (Lisbon, 2011), electronic edition; Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, «Social networks and offices of justice in the Indies. The ties of two neo-Galician mayors», in *Relations* 132 bis (2012): 125.

64 Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 168; Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's merchant elite. Silver, state and society: 1590-1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 176-177; Thomas Hillerkuss, *Testamentary Diligences of Captain Don Juan de Infante, administrator of the Holy Office in Zacatecas, 18th century* (Zacatecas: Autonomous University of Zacatecas, 2006).

65 For a detailed analysis of the activity of Zacatecas merchants, see the profound and detailed work of García Berumen, "The wholesale merchants", whose contributions we rely on in the following paragraphs.

for 12,000 pesos, a much lower value than what had been paid before the fall in silver production. Others were filling the gap of those who had redirected their business towards El Parral and, concentrating the credit from Mexico City that reached Zacatecas, they were able to progressively become independent from the large merchants of the capital and establish their own networks, first on a large scale, local and then extending to other mine sites, such as Mazapil, Fresnillo or Sombrerete where they sent factors or formed companies with local shopkeepers and to the agricultural and livestock areas of Los Cañones or Aguascalientes, sometimes covering a wide radius of operations that reached from Saltillo, and Monterrey in the north to Michoacán in the south.

Converted into regional wholesalers, and dominating mining from their favorable and comfortable position, these upstarts built on their fortunes until they rose to the local elite, in a process similar to the one that the emerging bourgeoisie groups carried out during those same decades in other cities of New Spain. To consolidate their rise, they would fix their capital in real estate with the acquisition of land and would not stop seeking the prestige that came from marriage with the families of the founders, holding positions in the Cabildo or, in some cases, even the purchase of noble titles. However, accustomed to commercial practice, they would also contribute to conceiving a new way of managing mining, based on the criterion of profit maximization and the improvement of the cost-benefit-essential relationship in the new context of greater competition, which would overcome the notion that the rich veins could be exploited using the king's gunpowder and without optimizing the productivity of the estates as much as possible.

The adaptation to a lower availability of quicksilver in the context of the re-conversion of Zacatecan mining required that miners once again adopt smelting as the predominant benefit system, to the point that, between 1635 and 1670, the proportion of silver in fire could reach between 50% and 70%. With this, at the same time that the costs of the production process were reduced, the flow of minerals put into exploitation increased, since the arrival of the new merchant-miners had favored the reorientation of investments, as we have seen, to a aspect of production that had always been neglected, such as the improvement of mine infrastructure, and the construction of shafts, the expansion of tunnels, the excavation of drainage shafts and the installation of winches was undertaken. At the same time, in order to reduce risks and minimize their losses, merchants had been tightening credit conditions by reducing the amount of loans, shortening debt maturity periods and reinforcing repayment guarantees with the requirement of guarantees or deposits, of mineral, subscribed and formed

generally formalized through notarial deeds. All of this contributed to the mining business being organized with greater rationality, in a more efficient way. So the crisis, in the long term, had a positive effect on the mining exploitation management model and also in Zacatecas it favored the maturation of the sector.

Since 1671, royal officials began to keep separate accounts of the manifestations of fire silver and quicksilver silver, which implied implicit recognition of the importance of the foundry and, above all, allows us to quantify with great reliability that throughout the entire That decade, half of the silver registered in Zacatecas was processed by smelting. But by then the rise of the Sombrerete mines had already begun, which, although in 1645 they were practically unpopulated, had already been showing signs of reactivation since the middle of the century. According to the reports sent by the Court of Nueva Galicia in 1671 and 1673, very high-grade minerals began to be extracted in Sombrerete, which were processed exclusively by fire and which had a fabulous yield, between 56 and 96 ounces of silver per quintal of ore, when in Zacatecas it used to be an ounce and a half. According to testimonies - probably exaggerated - collected by the listeners themselves, up to three million pesos annually were extracted from the Pabellón mine alone at the beginning of the decade.⁶⁶

In any case, as Bakewell already warned, everything seems to indicate that half of the silver that appeared in Zacatecas during the decade of 1670 actually corresponded to that which was benefited in the smelters of Sombrerete. And this seems to be confirmed in the trend of the fiscal records: when in 1681 an independent Royal Caja was established in those mines and the silver from Sombrerete began to be manifested in its own Caja, the mining revenue of Zacatecas immediately fell by more than 50 %. Therefore, if the estimated production for Sombrerete is disaggregated from the tax records of the Real Caja de Zacatecas, it can be concluded that the production of Zacatecan mines and haciendas remained stable, around one million pesos annually, until the end of the 17th century. Likewise, it was the spectacular rise of Sombrerete that was responsible for the rise in production that raised the levels above one and a half million pesos annually between 1671 and 1676 and above two million between 1677 and 1681, reaching to exceed two and a half million pesos in the year 1680.

The establishment of the Hat Box was done, as in other cases, in response to the request of the miners, who thought that this would facilitate the distribution of quicksilver and further encourage production. And, in fact, after the

⁶⁶ Bakewell, *Mining and Society*, p. 294-295.

creation of the Fund, the proportion of silver benefited by amalgamation increased until reaching values close to thirty percent in the five-year period 1694-1699. But there was also a parallel decline in revenue. It is risky to directly attribute the decline in production to the increase in profit from quicksilver, but it could well have been due to the fact that investments in the patio haciendas reduced the capital allocated to improving the mine facilities and the consequent flooding problems.

Meanwhile, the administration would respond with delay to the increase in collection and would once again increase the shipments of quicksilver sent to Zacatecas, complemented in some years with shipments of Peruvian mercury. But then there was no increase in production. This greater availability, especially between 1680 and 1695, was reflected only in an increase in the profit from amalgamation, so that at the end of the 1680s the silver of quicksilver was around 70% and almost always remained above 50% during the decade of 1690, with the exception of the years 1698 and 1699, which were especially bad for patio estates due to a sharp decrease in items. Once again, the consequences of dependence on mercury were again suffered and it was clear that, both in Zacatecas and in Sombrerete and the rest of the Reales of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya, more silver was produced when more ore was extracted and not necessarily when had more mercury.

67 But if the spread of amalgamation could have negative effects on the liquidity of the mining entrepreneurs or, even, on the total volume of silver production at least, on the collection - also demanded more inputs than the smelter, required more labor and required more credit. Therefore, it contributed to boosting trade and financial activity and was beneficial for the articulation of the regional economy, as effectively reflected by the amount of the alcabalas, whose header was once again valued at 20,000 pesos in 1684 and was auctioned at a society of 26 merchants in the 1690s, which indicates the profits that their collection could generate. In that sense, the fact that miners used mercury was especially beneficial for wholesalers, who already controlled the Zacatecas market thanks to their access to the Cabildo. That was perhaps the main achievement of the merchants who had taken advantage of the mid-century crisis to establish themselves as a local elite and the vacancies that ruined miners began to leave in the 1550s to penetrate the municipal institution, "which allowed them influence the public life of the city, gave social prestige to

⁶⁷ Lacueva, *The king's silver and his vassals*, pp. 311-324.

local level and, more importantly, take advantage of public office for personal and group benefit.⁶⁸

They concentrated not only on occupying the councilors, but above all the positions of justice. Thus, they retained the bailiwick for practically the entire half of the century, as it was exercised by José de Villarreal between 1654 and 1683, and in 1685 it was awarded to Juan Cosme de la Campa, a rich merchant who had also acquired beneficial estates. The bailiff took accounts and disposed of the funds from the *alhóndiga* in practice and, with them, Villarreal was able to finance expensive parties that brought him fame and prestige in the city. Connected with the great merchants and bankers of the capital José de Retes and Luis Sáenz de Tagle, Villarreal ended up becoming one of the richest and most influential men in Zacatecas and when he died he left a fortune valued at 140,000 pesos. But what was more important was that the sheriff had the first vote in the election of the ordinary mayors, to which Villarreal was able to promote both miners from the old families with whom he had great commercial and financial interests - case of Juan de Zaldívar and Castilla - as well as his relatives, in the case of his brother-in-law Juan Fernández Sañudo, who was also a merchant and miner. It was customary for one of the ordinary mayors to be a miner and the other a merchant, but in the last three decades merchants often occupied both mayoralties simultaneously. From that position they visited the establishments, examined the quality of the merchandise and monitored compliance with the ordinances, which allowed them to regulate and control the city's commerce and its jurisdiction, in addition to exercising jurisdiction in the first instance, civil and criminal.

In this way, after the production crisis and the socioeconomic recomposition that it generated, Zacatecan merchants managed not only to access an institution that until then had been closed to them and enjoy the prestige that belonging to it gave, but also to master the skills most decisive for the control of the market of the city and its region, thereby reversing the function that the first miners had originally intended to give to the Provincial Council of Mines as the seed of the *Cabildo*, which was to protect itself from the interference of the merchants and free themselves from the dependence they exerted on the society they had founded. The tables had turned.

⁶⁸ García Berumen, "Wholesale merchants", pp. 114-115.

FIELDS, TOWNS AND VILLAGES

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The inhabitants of New Galicia are surprised by the new century with the changes that have already been taking shape since 1590, the settlements are consolidated. Life happens in cities, towns, ranches and Indian towns. Three towns have acquired the category of city: Guadalajara, the capital in which government powers are concentrated; Zacatecas, rich mining center; and Compostela, first capital of New Galicia. Few localities hold the title of towns: Purificación, Santa María de los Lagos, Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Aguascalientes and Jerez; It will not be until the end of the century when Villa Gutierre del Águila (today Villanueva) is founded; Peninsulars, Creoles, mestizos, castes, blacks and some Indians reside in them. Among these foundations are the ranches of landowners who contributed to the supply of cities and mining centers. But what has happened to the natives, ancestral inhabitants of the land? The Spanish Crown ordered that they concentrate in settlements called Indian towns.

The main crops of New Galicia at the beginning of the 17th century were wheat and corn: towards the west of Guadalajara and up to Magdalena, according to the visitor Paz de Vallecillo, there were livestock ranches and cereal crops. After crossing the mountain range, the cattle and corn and wheat crops could be seen again between Ahuacatlán and Compostela. Following the Chiametla route, the exchange of cereals for fishing and salt

flats. Towards the north there were ranches around Tlaltenango that produced wheat, as well as Indian fields that grew corn; Following

¹ Head of the province of Compostela "because it was the head of this kingdom said of the Nueva Galicia and the Royal Court first had its seat there, and it was much time, and it was inhabited and populated by many very noble people of the conquered- res and inhabitants of this kingdom, whose bodies lie in a poor church of this city, and with whose deaths and removal of the Royal Court has almost ended this population", Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco, 1980), p. 134.

In Jerez, the livestock ranches that contributed to the supply of Zacatecas stood out. But we must not forget the Altos region and the Aguascalientes basin, which enjoyed excellent agricultural lands, especially Juchipila, Jalostotitlán and Teocaltiche, mainly around Lagos, due to the cold climate, and where cattle ranches predominated.²

Towards the southeast on the road to Mexico City, we crossed several Indian towns where corn was produced and "some ranches for cattle and wheat and corn work, and in these fields, because they are spacious and rich in pastures and temples, they graze a lot." number of small livestock in greater quantity of one hundred and fifty thousand sheep and

rams.³ If we move to the south of Nueva Galicia, in the provinces of Ávalos were Toluquilla and the neighboring towns that cultivated corn and wheat, while at the same time raising cattle. But we should not forget the southwest near Guadalajara with the valleys of Mazatepec and Tala with its extension to Ameca, an area considered the grain granary. The greatest production of wheat was concentrated between Cocula and Toluquilla. The Tala Valley was famous for its fertility for the cultivation of wheat and corn, as well as for pastures of large and small livestock; Mota y Escobar informs us:

It has rivers and springs that water it everywhere and thus it has five or six thick and well-founded Spanish wheat and corn farms that in one of them alone harvest more than 4,000 bushels of wheat and each one has its own mill where they grind. Their flours and all of them are taken to the city [Guadalajara] and to other parts, which in addition to being very good flour, is the one that enters the city in the greatest quantity.⁴

The Tlajomulco region was another center with four valleys from which between 4,000 and 5,000 bushels were collected per year. Another important area was located on the western slope of the Sierra Madre, in Tierra Caliente towns: Mascota, Atengoychan and Zacatengo, centers of cattle breeding and crops.⁵

² Thomas Calvo, Guadalajara and its region in the 17th century. Population and economy (Guadalajara: Guadalajara City Council, 1992), p. 198.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, Geographic description of the kingdoms of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / University of Guadalajara / INAH, 1993), p. 35.

⁵ Calvo, Guadalajara and its region, p. 199.

LAS ESTANCIAS: THE RICH LANDOWNERS LAND HOARDERS

In New Galicia, the colonizers and settlers who arrived after the Conquest acquired land grants, initially they lived on cattle ranches. According to François Chevalier, the ranch "at first consisted of the simple place or site where the rancher had kept his animals", which in the second half of the 16th century was delimited in terms of its dimensions and is considered a stage towards the estate. With the obtaining of new grants and the purchase of cattle sites and caballerías of land, the settlers came to form enormous latifundia in the 17th century, they became rich landowners who dominated extensive areas of the territory.

The landowners moved in both the rural and urban areas, we have the cases of Juan González de Apodaca and the royal lieutenant Diego de Porres Baranda, who controlled the secular Cabildo of Guadalajara. The first owned the Cuisillos hacienda, the city's granary; González de Apodaca, owner of the entire region from Tlajomulco to Zacoalco, held the position of regidor of Guadalajara."

Among the most notable large estates in western Mexico, the following stood out in the 17th century in New Galicia: Ciénega de Mata, El Cabezón and La Vega, the properties of Porres Baranda and those of the González de Apodaca. Not all owners dedicated themselves exclusively to agricultural activities, notable figures, including Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, who at the same time They once worked in mining and sugar cane cultivation.

The latifundia of the Ameca and Cocula valleys can be considered one of the most extensive that were formed in western New Spain. It had its origin in the land grants granted since the 16th century by the viceroys Antonio de Mendoza and Luis de Velasco. A single Creole family dominated the lands of Amecas in the 16th and 17th centuries, its founder was Luis de Ahumada; According to Amaya Topete, he was the son of a conquistador married to the daughter of another conquistador, a situation that contributed to obtaining benefits, among others, land. In addition to the grants, he bought land from individuals with problems

⁶ François Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia in Mexico. Land and society in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Mexico: FCE, 1976), p. 144.

⁷ Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, p. 268.

⁸ Jesús Amaya Topete, *Ameca, Mexican proto-foundation: history of the ownership of the Ameca Valley and circumvecindad* (Mexico: Lumen, 1951), pp. 227, 229 and 234-238.

⁹ Eric van Young, *The city and the countryside in 18th century Mexico. The rural economy in the Guadalajara region, 1765-1820* (Mexico: FCE, 1992). According to this author, Ahumada's origin is obscure, probably born in that area, p. 322.

economic and took advantage of abandoned land due to the decline of the neighboring indigenous population. The properties of Luis de Ahumada in the 16th century covered the valley of Ameca, San Martín and Ahualulco until reaching Cocula. Its center was located on the Cabezón hacienda in Ameca. The successors contributed to increasing the latifundia during the 17th century.

In 1643, the descendants of the founder Luis de Ahumada requested the viceroy of New Spain, the Count of Salvatierra, for a "general composition" of all their lands and waters, offering to serve his majesty with 1,700 pesos;¹⁰ three decades later it was found that there had been no invaded the 500 yards of Indian towns and paid 1,700 pesos. In addition to the lands, they owned sugar mills, mills, factories, fulling mills and tanneries."

Ahumada's successors multiplied, mixing with the Villaseñor, Rico, Topete, Fernández Partida families and others. A very important role was played by the licensed priest Don Juan Pérez Maldonado, according to Jesús Amaya, a perceptive businessman, who took advantage of the family's disunity to take away the latifundia. He gathered all the descendants and, with their power, in 1697 requested general composition of 27 sites of large livestock, 10 of small livestock and 43 caballerías of land, around 62,000 hectares. Abar- They included the haciendas of El Cabezón, La Vega, Buenavista, La Calera, Jayamitla and other lands. These properties were divided among the heirs or groups of heirs, so the original latifundium was fragmented into eight parts.

12 The first attempt to reconstruct the Ahumada estate was made by Juan Pérez Maldonado himself, who began as a tenant of the Vega hacienda after the composition acquired Topete el Cabezón y Quila from Luis de Ahumada; He immediately exchanged a site in Ameca with the Jesuits for another in San Martín; In 1702 Domingo de Ahumada sold La Huerta three cattle farms to him; The following year he is the owner of La Vega, eight years later he releases his properties from censuses. In order to have all his lands nearby, he sold the San Nicolás de Navajas hacienda located in the jurisdiction of Tala. In order to have enough food for the city of Guadalajara, the supply of cereals and meat was auctioned. In the first decades of the century

¹⁰ During the government of Philip II (1591) composition was defined as a means to reward the Crown for the faults committed by the inhabitants on royal property through the payment of a fine. It was also applied to the Indians. Rosa Alicia de la Torre Ruiz, «Land compositions in the mayor's office of Sayula, 1692-1754: a case study on the functioning of the Private Land Court», *Letras Historias* 6 (spring-summer 2012): 46-47.

¹¹ Amaya Topete, Ameca, pp. 234-237.

¹² Ibid., pp. 239-247; Van Young, *The City and the Country*, pp. 322-324.

XVIII Pérez Maldonado obtained a supply monopoly for four years. At that time, El Cabezón-La Vega had approximately 25,000 heads of cattle and around 10,000 heads of horses. In 1712, Pérez Maldonado himself obtained the supply of meat from Guadalajara for four more years, but he did not enjoy these benefits and his extensive properties for a short time. That same year he died and the estate was quickly dismembered.¹³

It was not until the end of the 18th century when the reconstruction of this emporium was carried out; Manuel Calixto Cañedo, a successful miner from Real de Pánuco, achieved it. He bought a large part of the Ameca valley with the Cabezón hacienda as its center; In 1790 Cañedo founded an estate that included El Cabezón, La Vega, Buenavista, La Calera and other smaller properties. According to Van Young, neither Pérez Maldonado nor the Cañedos approached the virtual hegemony that Luis de Ahumada and his descendants had maintained over the Ameca valley.¹⁴

THE ORIGINS OF THE CIÉNEGA DE MATA LATIFUNDO

With the purpose of strengthening the reign of Philip II, the colonization of the northern areas of New Galicia was entrusted to wealthy men, the consequence of which was the creation of a new class of powerful figures, "the king commissioned the president of the Guadalajara Hearing to sign an agreement with some rich man who would be in charge of populating or repopulating dangerous points on the Chichimeca border",¹⁵

This is how large estates of powerful families were formed in the political and economic sphere of northern Mexico. The newly arrived settlers were not soldiers, officials or ecclesiastics, despite the estate base of New Spain, a space opened up in the border areas without an owner. This situation contributed to the formation of family environments with minimal control from the viceregal authorities.

One of these great emporiums was that of the Rincón Gallardo family, whose origin dates back to 1575. The roots of the family can be found in Pedro Mateos de Ortega, a farmer, who surely received support from friends in the Guadalajara Court; He and his son Diego obtained numerous land grants.¹⁶ Mateos de Ortega,

Spaniard from the Extremadura Peninsula, originally from the town of Retamal, born in 1553, eager to make his fortune, obtained a license to travel to

¹³ Ibid., p. 245-247.

¹⁴ Van Young, *The City and the Country*, p. 324.

¹⁵ Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 220.

New Spain. According to José Fernando Alcaide Aguilar, it was named after the local patron saint, Saint Peter. In order to obtain the license to move to the Indies, he presented witnesses; Through these testimonies we know that Mateos belonged to a family of farmers and ranchers, perhaps without direct property, "he was a 22-year-old single boy; neither married nor espoused, nor clergyman, nor friar; but a farmer of the fields, an old Christian, like his ancestors and without any crime at the time of leaving his village. the right hand in the joint of the finger, next to the thumb, a stab wound is now healthy, although the finger, like a cripple, which stab wound occurred two years ago on this part." ¹⁸

His youth would help him adapt to a totally different environment, since his skills as a farmer were essential to dedicate himself to agricultural activities whose products were basic for the supply of the different authorities and residents.

The contracting house of Seville granted him passage and license to carry out the voyage to New Spain, in January 1576; His activities prior to the 1590s are not known, when he obtained the title of overseer of Mexico City and its neighborhoods for the trades of albéitares (veterinarians) and farriers; Its function was to examine those who held these positions. The oldest information about his activities in northern Mexico comes from a dispute with Juan García Castellanos for a service he had performed in the butcher shops belonging to Mateos de Ortega. Five years later he filed another lawsuit. ¹⁹

Without a doubt, the most important thing about the role that Mateos de Ortega played in the viceroyalty of New Spain, and specifically in New Galicia, refers to the land grants obtained in the northwest of Mexico from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century, which would contribute to creating the Ciénega de Mata estate. A favor to Pedro Mateos de Ortega for the intake of water from some border springs in Ciénega de Mata, sold in favor of Father Alonso López de Espinal; a deed of sale made by Juan de Oñate of two livestock sites; purchase from Juan Rangel a cattle site and two caballerías in the Ojuelos valley, which he later transferred to Francisco Guerra

¹⁷ José Fernando Alcaide Aguilar, *The "Ciénega de Mata" hacienda of the Rincón Gallardo family: an exceptional model of New Spain latifundium during the 17th and 18th centuries* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Ciencias Científicas, 2004), pp. 33-34-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

for that of Cedros in the jurisdiction of San Felipe; five ranches of cattle and 20 caballerías on February 23, 1601; a water intake and mills four years later and a grant and purchases from Father Alonso López de Espinal.²⁰

This farmer developed his activities between Bajío, Jerez, Aguascalientes and Guanajuato, in areas neighboring nomadic towns. Near his house in the Ciénega de Mata ranch, he obtained a license to dam a stream and build a water intake, "so he could irrigate his fields, build wheat mills and, above all, mills to benefit silver metals that he carried without doubts about the Tepezalá mines."²¹ At the end of the 16th century it seems that he had a butcher shop business in the mines of San Luis Potosí. To the lands obtained by Pedro Mateos were added the sites and ranches of his son Diego Mateos, which later formed the large property of Ciénega de Mata, initially known as Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, the first name of the estate.²² The livestock ranches were characterized by the absence of infrastructure; they were made up of a specific area of land, generally a site for large livestock (1755.67 ha) or small livestock (780.27 ha); In the center there was a small rudimentary construction and it could have corrals.

The lands were concentrated around the town of Santa María de los Lagos and Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Aguascalientes, with branches to the towns of San Miguel and San Felipe, in the kingdom of New Spain, reaching Sierra de Pine trees. According to Alcaide Aguilar, the basic nucleus of the domain was concentrated around Nuestra Señora de la Concepción and Ciénega del Rincón in the jurisdiction of Lagos. In 1607 Pedro Mateos sold cattle to Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí.²³ The extension of land that Pedro Mateos de Ortega and his son Diego had acquired between 1593 and 1608 included 20 sites of large livestock, 3 of small livestock and 76 caballerías of land.²⁴

But Pedro Mateos not only became interested in the acquisition of land, but in 1611, thanks to the royal decree issued by King Philip II in order to resolve the problems of the Royal Treasury, he ordered that the positions of aldermen and senior lieutenants of the Spanish towns and cities in New Spain at public auction; obtained confirmation of the office of senior lieutenant

²⁰ Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, p. 220, note 91, and p. 430.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

²² Alcaide Aguilar, *La hacienda*, p. 37.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 264; Chevalier, *The formation of the latifundia*, p. 141.

²⁴ Alcaide Aguilar, *La hacienda*, p. 37.

from the town of Nuestra Señora de los Lagos, not accepting the circumstance of "being accompanied by blacks with weapons" to the protocol sessions of the Cabildo. 25 As can be seen, this character developed his activities to consolidate his economic hegemony in three towns: San Luis, Zacatecas and Lagos; Later Aguascalientes would become its stronghold.

But who is going to succeed Mateos de Ortega to maintain and increase this estate? It seems that there is no descendant on the male branch, which is why it falls to Francisco Rincón, husband of Pedro Mateos' daughter, María de Ortega.

But what do we know about Francisco Rincón? Born in Toledo, residing in Mexico City, he owned large and small livestock farms in the kingdom of New Spain and New Galicia. One of its main activities was the sale of sheep and steers destined for Mexico City; its economic interests moved between the center of the viceroyalty and the northern borders of New Spain. However, at his death his finances can be considered poor, his debts exceeded 30,000 pesos. 26

He had six children, three of whom participated in the management of the estates. It was up to the first-born Agustín Rincón de Ortega, married to Leonor Caballero, to continue with the family businesses; He was as enterprising as his grandfather Mateos de Ortega. He held positions in the Lagos City Council and became the first soldier in the family. In 1642, already a resident of Guadalajara, he acquired the office of sheriff of the town of Santa María de los Lagos and Aguascalientes at auction for 1,200 pesos of common gold to be paid in two installments. Agustín held these positions to obtain influence and power and increase the assets of the family nucleus in Lagos and San Felipe (Guanajuato) through grants and compositions that he obtained from the Cabildos or the Court of Guadalajara. 27 Agustín increased his properties through purchases, in 1645 it had 87 ranches and 180 caballerías.

Upon the death of Agustín, the succession fell to his brother Pedro Rincón de Ortega, commissioner of the Holy Office, however his status as an ecclesiastic did not prevent him from striving to increase the assets of the properties. But it is important to highlight that the most notable feature of this character "consisted of founding at the time of his death the link and ownership of the haciendas in order to unite them to avoid their partitions and segregations, perpetuating the surnames combined for the first time in Rincón Gallardo and make transmit

25 Ibid., pp. 40-42.

26 Ibid., pp. 44-47-

27 Ibid., p. 49-51; Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, pp. 220-221.

the assets of the male line and of majority.²⁸ Pedro Rincón de Ortega names his brother, Captain Juan Rincón, who had no male children, as universal heir, and at the same time he arranged that upon his death Agustín's two grandsons would succeed him on the estates.

His niece Juana Rincón married Captain Nicolás Gallardo; Their son, Don José, was the first to use the surname Rincón Gallardo.²⁹ However, this decision would cause numerous disputes and confrontations between the members of the family, which caused the gradual deterioration of the assets during the management of the priest Pedro Gallardo Corner.

To realize the extent of the latifundia's lands, it is enough to know that Captain José Rincón Gallardo paid 2,000 pesos for compositions from Ciénega de Mata in 1697. 202 cattle ranches and 255 caballerías were calculated between the towns of Aguascalientes, San Luis Potosí, San Felipe and Guanajuato, relatively well-watered and fertile areas.³⁰

However, it is important to point out the conclusions of José Fernando Alcaide Aguilar, who observes that contrary to what Lázaro de Arregui states about the herds that grazed in the south of Nueva Galicia that came from Mexico and Querétaro, in Ciénega de Mata. Since the 17th century, smaller livestock predominated over larger ones, "and that sheep numbered 70,000, followed by rams numbering 25,000, making up 95,000"; In second place were cattle, horses, mules and donkeys.³¹

Regarding the attitudes and social behavior of the owners of Ciénega de Mata, the change that originates from the last decades of the 17th century is notable, when Juana Rincón, married to Nicolás Gallardo, took charge of the mayorazgo founded by Pedro Rincón de Ortega. It should be noted that the founders of the latifundio were farmers of humble origins. Both the Mateos and the Rincóns did not even have nobility, much less traits of nobility.

THE MAJORAZGO OF THE PORRES BARANDA

In order to maintain the stability of the properties, the landowners relied on the creation of mayorazgos, which consisted of inheriting the lands to the

²⁸ Alcaide Aguilar, *La hacienda*, p. 52.

²⁹ Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, p. 221; Alcaide Aguilar, *The Hacienda*, pp. 63-64.

³⁰ Chevalier, *The formation of the latifundia*, p. 221.

³¹ Alcaide Aguilar, *The hacienda*, p. 352.

eldest of the children, which could not be alienated. Thus the large estates were kept in the same family for several generations.

The oldest case in New Galicia is undoubtedly the one founded by Diego Porres Baranda. Apparently Diego Porres' wealth came from the mule trade with Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí and Sombrerete. His first marriage greatly benefited him for his relationship with Juan González de Apodaca, as well as with the president of the Court, Santiago de Vera, when he married Catalina Temiño, Vera's niece. By 1611 he was considered one of the richest men in the kingdom, "with a house full of slaves, wrought silver, gold jewelry, tapestries for beds, silk hangings, portraits, weapons and horses." His assets were estimated at 360,000 pesos.³²

It acquired its first lands in the Cocula Valley around 1580 and by the first decade of the 17th century it was one of the largest food suppliers for the city of Guadalajara. Before his death around 1620 he founded an enormous estate that encompassed lands in Tala and Zacoalco and other properties east of Guadalajara as far as Tepatlán, including the haciendas of Mazatepec and Santa Ana Acatlán.³³

FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ PONCE, A LANDOWNER-MINER

Although sugar cane production in New Galicia did not reach the production level of other regions of New Spain, such as Veracruz, there was a boost in the second half of the 17th century for its development. Sugar cane was introduced from the south, but the cultivation area extended to the valleys of Barranca and Juchipila; in Tequila, Autlán and Ameca he competed with wheat cultivation.

Cane production was expensive, which is why few mill owners did it on a large scale. In areas near Guadalajara, cane was also grown, such as in the sugar mill of the Toluquilla hacienda, owned by the Compañía de Jesús. The neo-Galician piloncillo market extended to Sinaloa and Durango. Further,

According to Thomas Calvo, there is no doubt that among the most successful Novogaleños in

This crop was highlighted by Don Diego de Mora in Tinamache and Francisco Rodríguez Ponce in Guachinango.³⁴ But, who was Captain Rodríguez Ponce? A rich

³² Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, p. 207.

³³ Van Young, *The City and the Country*, pp. 138-143.

³⁴ Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, pp. 206-207. See also the chapter "Land, Mines and Population Growth" in this work.

Creole, miner, landowner from Guachinango, son of Francisco Rodríguez Ponce, originally from the town of Lepe in the Kingdoms of Castile, and Doña Francisca de Rentería y Velasco, originally from Juchipila in New Galicia. Francisco married Doña Juana de Ávalos y Bocanegra, legitimate daughter of Don Diego de Bocanegra and Doña María Verdugo y Ávalos, residents of Sayula.³⁵ He received 20,000 pesos as a dowry from his mother-in-law and his wife brought 2,000 pesos as donuts, weights in carved silver and jewelry. Rodríguez Ponce gifted his wife with 5,000 pesos.³⁶

Our character was a man of his time. In his house in Guachinango, inherited from his father, he kept carved silver objects, jewelry, costumes, muskets, pistols, swords and daggers. There was no shortage of canvases to decorate the rooms and chambers, chairs and seats and "a large oil canvas with its frame of Assumption of the Blessed Virgin that is in the corridor on her altar."

Around 1660, he built the Jesús María de Chistic sugar mill, receiving a water intake to irrigate thirteen plots of land (46.41 hectares) planted with sugarcane, a cattle ranch and three caballerías of land and land for cattle pasture. . Since the cane fields required a large workforce, he had 45 slaves. In addition, fifteen Indian laborers worked the lands. On the property there was a roof room, the butler's dwelling houses and jacal gang houses where the servants and slaves lived. The same as in the other farms there was a chapel.³⁷

But he not only stood out in the extraction of sugar and panocha in the region, but also in mining. According to what he declared in his will of 1660, he had a mill for grinding metals in the real estate of Guachinango, with all the mines that were in said real estate and those of Magistral and Hidalgo. He owned 20 slaves. Furthermore, in the real El Rojo it had metal mills, dwelling houses with ornaments and a chapel with ornaments and "a large image of the glorious penitent San Nicolás de Tolentino that my dark-skinned slaves have as their devotion and patron." His slaves in this property were 45. For 6,700 pesos he had acquired at public auction the mines of Parnaso and those of San Sebastián on the road to [Te]pospizaloya.³⁸

35 Rodolfo Fernández, *Much land and few owners: ranches, haciendas and latifundios avaleños*, Historia series (Mexico: INAH, 1999), pp. 257-260. María Verdugo She was the great-niece of Alonso de Ávalos the elder, daughter of María Delgadillo and Alonso de Ávalos the younger; Upon the death of his mother María Delgadillo he inherited Toluquilla, San José de Gracia, Citla and Tuxcueca, an estate that grew with the purchases of Tizapán and Mihuatlán.

36 Historical Archive of Jalisco (AHJ), Protocols, Tomás de Orendain, vol. 2, years 1658-1662, ff. 12 to 29.

37 Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region*, pp. 207-208; AHJ, Protocols, Orendain, ff. 12-29.

³⁸ AHJ, Protocols, Orendain, ff. 12-29.

In Guachinango he enjoyed nine cattle sites and twelve caballerías of land. On the Cuyutlán ranch he owned three cattle herds and three caballerías of land, 600 cattle and 500 mares.³⁹ He acquired by purchase from Captain Felipe de Mora for 6,700 pesos the work of San Antonio de la Rinconada in Guachinango, which consisted of three cattle sites and ten caballerías.

He bought the Vista Buena and San Cristóbal ranches in Guachinango for 8,000 pesos. In 1660, when he dictated his will, he declared that he maintained 6,000 cattle and 200 horses with 20 herds of donkeys and oxen rigged with yokes, a living and crew house with free servants and a slave named Matías who served as foreman. Another of his properties was El Buen Retiro or Acatitlán with a cattle ranch.

But Rodríguez Ponce must not only be included among the landowners of New Galicia but also among those who monopolized territories in New Spain. It extended south to the valley of Tenamaxtlán, province of Tecolotlán, from the mayor's office of Autlán in New Spain, where it acquired the San Clemente hacienda with eight cattle sites and twelve caballerías of land that it purchased for 11,000 pesos, taxed in 2000. In it he had 6000 cattle and 2500 horses with 40 herds of donkeys, plus 60 donkeys, a master donkey and 50 goats. He bought it from Doña Juana de Covarrubias.⁴⁰

In the lands of New Spain, he also acquired the site of the Agostadero for cattle with three stables located between the town of Tepantla and Atengo, jurisdiction of Autlán, with more than 200 mares, 20 cattle, 4 oxen and a house.⁴¹

Rodríguez Ponce in each of his properties - mills and ranches - had residential houses with adobe chapel and paintings of saints. Like other landowners, he founded chaplaincies and made donations to the Church. This miner-landowner resided for long periods in Guadalajara; He purchased the position of chamber and government clerk, although he never held it.

A UNIVERSE IN MUTATION AROUND 1600

We can conclude that in the large estates of New Galicia the formation of haciendas began in the last decades of the 16th century; The ranch that initially consisted of the place or site where the rancher had kept his animals became a legal institution in the times of the first viceroy,

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Antonio de Mendoza, and between 1563 and 1567 it was limited in terms of its dimensions. In Chevalier's opinion, it is a stage towards the hacienda, but a very important one.⁴² In the northern area of Nueva Galicia were located the estates of the powerful businessmen and cattle lords, as Chevalier designates them, among them those of Trujillo and Valparaíso. In the 17th century, those of Ciénega de Mata stand out, neighboring Lagos, Tayagua and Apozol in the south of Zacatecas and towards the center and south those that contributed to the supply of Guadalajara: Cuisillos, El Cabezón and Mazatepec, among others. The owners of the haciendas played roles in both urban and rural life; Some were part of the Guadalajara Cabildo, others participated in the Lagos Cabildo.

There are various definitions of the term hacienda from those of us who have investigated these properties. For Chevalier, the word hacienda, as opposed to ranch, makes us think of the capital incorporated into the land, which rich men had used to make dams and other fixed installations, to acquire slaves and tools, carts and animals; Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz analyzed the hacienda as a set of variables: capital, labor, land, markets, technology, and social sanctions. They concluded that it should be studied as a "nexus of relationships between the variables, and not as a static model."⁴⁴ The following have contributed to the conceptualization of the hacienda in New Galicia: Ramón María Serrera, who when analyzing the properties - ranch, ranch and hacienda - is inclined to consider that the type of productive activity is not adequate to make a difference. He expresses: "particularly we are inclined to support the population criterion."⁴⁵ Van Young considers that the most useful approach is to define it "as a knot of relationships whose balance was determined by its ecological, social and economic context";⁴⁶ in my work about the haciendas of southern Zacatecas, I explain that it was

an economic institution whose extent varied, although often associated with vast tracts of land; It was intended for food production and livestock raising; Its core was formed by the hull or large house, surrounded by a group of buildings. The organization and management of the institution was in charge of an administrator, who was assisted by a butler. The owner

⁴² Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, p. 144.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴⁴ Van Young, *The Town and the Country*, p. 121.

⁴⁵ Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara livestock: New Spain regional study, 1760-1805* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1977), pp. 33-35- 46
⁴⁶ Van Young, *The City and the Country*, pp. 121-122.

He could live on the hacienda, in the capital or in the most important town near the property. An essential part of the hacienda were the workers, whether they were repartimiento Indians or salaried laborers. The haciendas, in addition to being self-sufficient, were identified as commercial companies, to supply urban or mining markets.⁴⁷

Rodolfo Fernández analyzes the different concepts about this rural property to conclude that he considers:

Thinking about the farm as a relationship, within certain limits set by experience, intersubjectivity and convenience, allows us to consider as such a whole range of concretions of that relationship on farms. The nature of these is determined by the relief of the soil and the climate; the predominant productive activities; regional economic articulation; history, culture, chance and the leading role of the actors. ⁴⁸

All of these definitions complement each other and have contributed to obtaining a better understanding of these properties that were so important to the economy of Mexico that survived until the application of the 1917 Constitution.

During the 16th century, cattle breeding had a great development, however at the end of the century there was a sharp decline. To improve the situation, the viceroys prohibited the slaughter of cows and calves to prevent the decline of livestock. In 1608 the cattle breeders complained to the visitor Paz de Vallecillo about the shortage of cattle. They report that in 1594 and 1595 they shoeed 23,000 heads of cattle and on that date they only branded 5,000.⁴⁹ However, in the area of Lagos and Aguascalientes, between 50,000 and 40,000 calves annually. At the beginning of the 17th century, it was estimated that each year 20,000 heads of cattle were sent to New Spain for sale, but this could rise to 60,000 if a rich rancher from the north sent his animals, among them Rodrigo del Río de Losa and Francisco de Urdiñola. ⁵⁰

Due to the extensive development of livestock activity, the characteristic character of New Galicia emerged who over the years became a symbol of Mexico: the man on horseback. Already in 1621 Lázaro de Arregui recognized the

⁴⁷ Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, *Haciendas and indigenous communities in southern Zacatecas. Colonial society and economy, 1600-1820* (Mexico: INAH, 1989), p. 40.

⁴⁸ Fernández, *Much land and few owners*, p. 3. 4.

⁴⁹ Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, p. 140. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, note 93, and p. 432.

inhabitants of Nueva Galicia for "the agility in horsemanship and generality in those of the countryside" and adds that because of the distance from Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya: "they are the most agile and general men. And there will be few who do not know how to shoe and cure a horse, to make and assemble a saddle [...] to harness and load a mule, to tame and train colts, bulls, bulls and other domestic animals, to harm a horse, to wait a bull, make a request and entangle a dispute, purge and jar and heal a sick person."⁵¹

But let's follow Serrera, who gets excited reading Lázaro de Arregui and tells us:

Precisely here is where we must look for the deepest roots of the historical personality of Guadalajara and its region and not in other superficial elements [...] This is where we must find the essence of the charro philosophy that so defines a specific sector of the rural society of the territory, and it is here where the firmest foundations of regionalist consciousness must be found.⁵²

THE VILLAS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

In order to achieve the consolidation of the Castilian government in Latin America, the Spanish Crown ordered the founding of towns, Spanish republics and cities through the Population Ordinance. It was ordered that towns that had a sufficient number of residents would create their own regiment or Cabildo in the Castilian style, formed with councilors and other officials necessary to administer ordinary justice in the civil and criminal branches.⁵³ For the Hispanic American Councils, the Castilian model was taken with the right to self-government through Councils made up of neighbors, to enjoy a certain freedom and to receive land from the Crown for collective use. However, the towns and cities of the Indies were never recognized as having the right to representation before the courts.⁵⁴

In the last decades of the 16th century and the first decades of the 17th, the newly founded towns had few inhabitants, the majority of the settlers lived in the neighboring ranches. The Guadalajara Court was concerned about security

⁵¹ Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, p. 97.

⁵² Serrera, *Guadalajara livestock*, pp. 181-183.

⁵³ Celina G. Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice and institutions in Nueva Galicia. The mayor's office of Santa María de los Lagos, 1563-1750* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008), p. 311.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

of the roads as part of the strategy to consolidate Spanish dominance of the northern border that included mining bonanza, protection from the Chichimeca threat, demographic catastrophe and dispute for control of the territories.

For these reasons the viceroy supported the establishment of Spanish towns. When a town was founded, each neighbor was distributed a piece of land to build a house, a garden, and one or two caballerías of land for farming and raising livestock.⁵⁵

One of the first towns founded in the territory that would comprise New Galicia was the Villa de Purificación, according to the chronicles of the Conquest, by orders of Nuño de Guzmán, it was built by Juan Fernández de Híjar, accompanied by 25 young soldiers and a group of allied Indians, in February 1533. However, around ten years later it moved to the site it occupies

at the moment. Nuño planned well the conditions for selecting the place, organizing He ordered Fernández de Híjar to explore and look for the best place to settle A ville. It had to be a high, healthy and strong place, surrounded by fertile lands for work and pasture with wood and abundant construction materials of healthy waters with easy communications and open to the north wind, and avoid swampy regions. Or, a natural port protected from storms

if it was on the beach.⁵⁶

Santa María de los Lagos is considered one of the most important towns in Nueva Galicia. Founded on July 25, 1563 by Hernán Martel, it arose as a maneuver of the Court of Guadalajara to place it in the middle of the depopulated area that existed between Guadalajara and the mining camps of Zacatecas, in order to "serve as an outpost and point of support for travelers in an area of frequent attacks by Guachichiles, Guamares and Copuces", as well as to stop the advance of New Spain through the Bajío and north from Nueva Vizcaya.⁵⁷

The founding of the town of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Aguascalientes, as well as that of Los Lagos, was due to the danger presented by the Chichimeca Indians settled in these territories, especially when the mines of Zacatecas were discovered.⁵⁸ The founding document, 1575, granted it the category of town and granted it the privilege of having its own government through the Cabildo.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 76.

⁵⁶ Aristarco Regalado Pinedo, *The foundation of the Villa de Purificación* (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Purificación, Jalisco / Secretariat of Culture of Jalisco, 2008), pp. 68-70 and 110.

⁵⁷ Becerra Jiménez, *Government, justice*, p. 75-78.

⁵⁸ Beatriz Rojas, *Government institutions and the local elite. Aguascalientes from the 17th century to independence* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Mora, 1998), pp. 25-27.

It also defined that "as such a town they enjoy and do enjoy all the graces, prerogatives and immunities that such towns and their neighbors must enjoy."⁵⁹

In the northern area of New Galicia, a group of Spanish families founded the town of Jerez, at the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century, linking themselves through marriages. The García de la Cadena, Reyna Narváez, Bárcena, Olague Etulain, Zúñiga Fajardo, Sánchez Castellanos, Larrañaga and de la Torre were related to each other and formed the Jerez society. When the town was founded in 1570 there were 36 Spanish residents. However, in 1584 there were only twelve. 50 Mota y Escobar informs us that after the war with the Chichimecas was over, it was populated with soldiers, who became farmers. 61 The residents of Jerez were characterized by dedicating themselves to field work - growing corn and wheat; Taking advantage of the fertility of the soil, they successfully developed orchard maintenance.

Because there were few towns between [Meca]tabasco and Jerez (Zacatecas), located in a region of fertile valleys where the best haciendas in the jurisdiction of Juchipila were located, the residents of the Santa Cruz valley realized that they needed a population. For this reason they asked the Court of Guadalajara for a license to found the town, which was granted in 1691. «It was Juan Leonardo de Villoslada "by himself" and on behalf of 21 Spaniards, who requested the license from the Governor [of "New Galicia], for being without land for housing, livestock and crops." The main problem they faced was the difficulty of renting land whose owners collected it and threw them off at the most inopportune time, causing them serious harm. The foundation took place on February 4, 1692, and was named Villa Gutierre del Águila, perhaps after the surname of the governor of New Galicia, Don Alonso de Ceballos Villagutierre, who granted the license. The name was later changed to Villanueva. 62

INDIANS VILLAGES OF NEW GALICIA

The wealth of sources for knowledge of the social and political organization of the people who inhabited the Valley of Mexico and the southern regions of New Spain, before contact with the Spanish, contribute to appreciating their

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 230-231.

⁶⁰ De la Mota y Escobar, *Geographical description*, p. 199.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 136.

⁶² Jiménez Pelayo, *Haciendas y communities*, p. 47.

organization and degree of development achieved. However, for the towns of New Galicia during the 16th century we only have the geographical relations and some visits from listeners, for the following century we already have the descriptions of Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, Alonso de la Mota and Escobar, the work of Fray Antonio Tello, the visits of the oidores and the reports sent to the Crown.

Between 1550 and 1600, the native population of New Galicia suffered a tremendous decrease due to wars of conquest, slavery, the obligation to serve as *tamemes*, famines and epidemics. However, in the first decades of the 17th century the decline of the Indians continued. According to Lázaro de Arregui, in 1621, in the jurisdiction of Tala there were only 85 and a half tributaries left; Regarding the mayor's office of Guachinango, he tells us "it will have more or less 200, and in 10 years now almost 100 have been missing."⁶⁴ Towards the middle of the 17th century, the increase in the native population began, however in the decades of 1720 and 1730 they again suffered droughts, famines, epidemics and abuses due to the collection of tributes.⁶⁵

The native settlements in New Spain were called Indian towns. The Indian towns were the basic units of territorial division; In each of them there was the plaza, church, priest's house and the residents' homes; in some the community house, seat of the Indian government. In New Galicia, as in New Spain, the designation of towns as head and subject was used. Domingo Lázaro de Arregui mentions that Tlajomulco had as subjects the towns of San Sebastián, Santa Ana Atistaque, San Agustín, Santa Ana Acicatlán and Santa Cruz.

The governing body was the republic, or *Cabildo*, made up of a governor, two mayors and councilors, whose number varied from one to four; chief bailiff and notary. The functions of the republic were exercised in three branches: legal, administrative and financial. In some towns there was a hospital and school. The inhabitants referred to themselves as children of the town or natives, the Spanish called them Indians. If reference was made to all the inhabitants, it was said "the common one." The term community was used only to refer

63 René Acuña, ed., *Geographical relations of the 16th century: Nueva Galicia* (Mexico: UNAM, 1988).

64 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, pp. 122 and 124.

65 On droughts, famines, epidemics, and abuses in tribute collection in the 1720s and 1730s, see Murdo J. MacLeod, "The three horsemen: drought, disease, population and the difficulties of 1726-27 in the Guadalajara region", *SECOLAS Annals, Journal of the Southeastern Council on Latin American Studies* 14 (1983, March): 33-46.

to the town's patrimony, community assets and money from the community fund.⁶⁶

Although it may surprise us, the members of the Cabildo were elected each year by its members themselves. Although in some towns other procedures were followed, among them, the elders were in charge of the election. Estrada's Dorothy Tanck mentions towns that selected a specific number of electors; in Etla or Cholula, six were appointed from each neighborhood to complete 60.⁶⁷ According to the legislation, in towns that had more than 80 houses there would be two mayors and two councilors, if they had more tributaries they could have four councilors, but if there were less than eighty or only 40 would have a mayor and a councilor.⁶⁸

The mayors were in charge of the administration of justice at the local level. In the *Compilation of Laws of the Indies* it is established that the Indian mayors would have jurisdiction only to inquire, arrest and bring criminals to the jail of the Spanish town of that district, but: "they may punish with one day in prison, six or eight whipping the Indian who misses mass on the holiday or gets drunk or commits a similar offense, and if it is the drunkenness of many, it must be punished more rigorously."⁶⁹ The members of the republic represented the people in civil or ecclesiastical events, among others the reception of a bishop or the mayor; the same if land measurements were practiced. When the listeners' visits were made, the main Indians presented themselves for interrogation, that is: the mayors, the governor, the aldermen, the chief sheriff, the notary and some maceguals. This was the case in the visit of the oidor Don Juan Dávalos y Toledo to San Juan de Acatic, in 1616; A mayor, the governor, aldermen, the notary, the chief bailiff and four maceguals participated.⁷⁰ The republican officials also represented the people in the visits of the bishops.

The members of the Cabildo also administered community assets, organized the main religious festivities and represented the people in

⁶⁶ Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, *Indian towns and education in colonial Mexico, 1750-1821* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1999), pp. 33-34.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶⁸ *Compilation of laws of the Indies* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1973), book 4, title 3, law 15.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, book 6, title 3, law 16.

⁷⁰ Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, "General visit to the Kingdom of New Galicia made by the oidor Don Juan Dávalos y Toledo", in *Societies under construction. New Galicia according to the visits of listeners (1606-1616)*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Berthe, Thomas Calvo and Águeda Jiménez Pelayo (Guadalajara, Cemca / Universidad de Guadalajara, 2000), pp. 189-190 and 209.

the litigations. In addition, the rulers were in charge of collecting tribute, administering justice, endorsing wills and organizing the collective work of planting in the community's milpa (pasture) and caring for the livestock."

Since the 16th century, the community funds began to operate, with a decree of 1554 their establishment was sanctioned. Years later, Philip II ordered the magistrates to replace the Franciscans to supervise the administration of the funds. It was established that each tributary must cultivate ten fathoms of communal land, this contribution would be made in kind. The funds from the coffers were used to pay the salaries of the indigenous governors as well as to cover the expenses of worship. Starting in the 16th century, the account book, the primary land titles and other documents were kept in an iron chest with three different plates, each one with a different key.⁷² With the Ordinance of Intendants of 1786, reforms were introduced in the community funds that did not benefit the natives.

In the diocese of Guadalajara, as in other bishoprics of New Spain, there were brotherhoods of Spaniards, blacks, Indians and mixed ones. According to Ramón María Serrera, Indians predominated in the bishopric of Guadalajara. These brotherhoods were founded for religious and charitable purposes: the cult of a saint or invocation of the Virgin Mary, masses to the patron saint of the town, prayers, processions, as well as celebrations of the dead. By possessing assets - land, money and livestock - they could fulfill their charitable objectives, among them the founding of Indian hospitals, assistance in diseases, plagues and epidemics, and relief to the needy.⁷³ These institutions were subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without whose authorization the civil authorities could not intervene. The administration fell to the local parish priests and vicars.⁷⁴ According to Serrera, the brotherhoods had deep roots among the natives of Nueva Galicia; in a town there could be one or several brotherhoods with different affiliations. The organization and administration of the assets of these brotherhoods fell to the mayordomo and a prioste.⁷⁵ The brotherhoods supported the hospitals, so both institutions were very united. In the Geographical Relations of the 16th century it is reported that there were hospitals in Poncillán, San Miguel and Mezcala.⁷⁶ There are testimonies about the existence of brotherhoods in the 17th century, for example

⁷¹ Tanck de Estrada, *Indian Towns*, p. 55.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58. The breaststroke measured 1.68 m.

⁷³ Serrera, *Guadalajara livestock*, pp. 353-355.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 353-356.

⁷⁵ Rosa Yáñez, «The indigenous brotherhoods of Tlajomulco, 17th and 18th centuries», *Studies in the History of Religions* 6 (1997): 124.

⁷⁶ Acuña, *Geographic relations*, p. 201.

in the temple of the hospital in Santa Cruz de las Flores, on whose front you can see <year of 1692>. Also in the municipal archive of Tlajomulco there are documents on wills of brothers that confirm the operation of brotherhoods at the end of the 17th century.⁷⁷ Bishop Francisco de Rivera Pareja, in 1627, on his visit to Teocaltiche (Jalisco) visited the hospital of the Pure and Clean Concepción and authorized the founding of the brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament and it is mentioned that another existed in Nochistlán.⁷⁸ Through a report of the visit of Bishop Cabañas we know that at the end of the 18th century there were Indian hospitals in Teocaltiche (Jalisco), Nochistlán, Tlalcosahua, Santiago de Tlatihulco (Colotlán), Mesquitic, Jalostotitlán, Zacoalco and Xilotlán, among others.⁷⁹

As in New Spain, Nuño de Guzmán's men obtained encomiendas in western Mexico. The Indian towns were assigned to the participants of the expeditions; In the 16th century there were 55 encomiendas in Nueva Galicia; In 1570, according to López de Velasco, there were between 50 and 55, the taxes yielded little money.⁸⁰ In the first years, personal services were required, however by the decree of 1549 these were suppressed and the tribute was paid in kind or in currency. Natural people, single, married and widowed, between 18 and 50 years old paid tribute. Indian chiefs, mayors and councilors were exempt from payment. The towns that did not belong to encomenderos paid tribute to the Crown. Between 1599 and 1606 there were still around 43 encomiendas.⁸¹ Petronila de Haro between 1638 and 1641 was encomendera of Acajala and San Felipe Autlán. Between 1636 and 1643, Mixtlán, Acatitlán, Tepozpizaloya, Cuacomán and other towns also remained in encomienda.

Silvio Zavala considers that the custom of using Indians for domestic service is a residue of the encomienda. Even women, in the first decades of the 17th century, were required to work as grinders in the homes of Spanish neighbors. In addition, they were forced to perform other services, including that of wet nurses. In 1620 the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara decided

⁷⁷ Yáñez, "The indigenous brotherhoods", p. 132.

⁷⁸ J. Ignacio Dávila Garibí, Notes for the history of the Church in Guadalajara, volume 2 (Mexico: Culture, 1961), p. 242.

⁷⁹ Visit of Bishop Cabañas, in General Archive of the Indies, 543, ff.

⁸⁰ 53v, 147. Woodrow Borah, Price Trends of Tribute Goods in the New Galicia, 1557-1598 (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco/El Colegio de Michoacán, 1994), p. 32.

⁸¹ Silvio Zavala, Essays on Spanish colonization in America, SepSetentas (Mexico: SEP, 1972), p. 126.

⁸² Public Library of the State of Jalisco (BPEJ), Archive of the Royal Court (ARA), Fiscal branch, Common 1605.

He arranged for a Spanish landowner, Lope de Samaniego, to be given an Indian wet nurse to raise a six-month-old girl, since Samaniego "had a lot of trouble not having chichiguas in the town of Ahuacatlán," 83

According to Domingo Lázaro de Arregui (1621), in the last ten years the number of tributaries in most of the townships and major mayoralties had been reduced; Among the jurisdictions with the greatest number of tributaries, it mentions Ahuacatlán with 360 and Purificación with 300, the district of Tlajomulco had 242, that of Tala only 85.84.

The main occupation of the natives was the cultivation of corn, beans and cotton, don, according to the temperament of the land they inhabited. Lázaro de Arregui reports that in cold or temperate lands they plowed with oxen; in hot lands or rugged places where the oxen could not fit "the Indians plant crops like their ancestors on rocks, clearing the mountains of the trees and brambles that they have, and in that space that is clean they make some holes with things like iron shovels [coas] although of different make, and in the holes they put the corn four grains at a time. 85

The natives of the towns neighboring Guadalajara, in addition to cultivating the land, dedicated themselves to cutting pine beams to take them to Guadalajara for firewood; They also sold watermelons, melons and bananas. The Guaynamota Indians collected honey and made ribbons and ropes from the mezcals, but they also made good mezcal wine. Others passed travelers in canoes along the Rio Grande (Santiago).

Although the legislation provided for the establishment of free labor by paying a daily wage, the provision was not fulfilled; in the second In the middle of the 16th century, the repartimiento of Indians was established. This consisted of assign a number of tributaries from each town to specific tasks for a certain period of time, it was mandatory but they received a salary. HE appointed them for public works construction of buildings, bridges, roads and field tasks - fallow land and sowing and harvesting wheat. In the 1620s, 122 repartimientos were granted; the number of individuals for each of them did not exceed forty, with the exception of

83 Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, «Conditions of indigenous repartimiento work in Nueva Galicia in the 17th century», *Mexican History* 38, no. 3 (January-March 1989): 459; AHJ, Government Books (LG) 1620, 1621, 1622.

84 Lázaro de Arregui, *Description of New Galicia*, pp. 121-125.

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95. Currently, in some towns in Jalisco, among many others, Atengo, Soyatlán del Oro and Tenamaxtlán, as well as in Huichol towns, planting is still done in coamiles, on hills where oxen or tractors cannot enter.

three who received between forty and seventy and those of Juan González de Apodaca for his Cuisillos haciendas, which used up to 100 and 150 workers at a time. The natives who worked in the wheat harvest obtained between one and one and a half reales per day. By 1671 the reapers received two reales a day and the bird keepers one real. ⁸⁶

But those who suffered harsher exploitation were the Indians of Nochistlán, Teocaltiche, the towns of the Juchipila Canyon, Tepechitlán, El Teúl and Tlaltenango; They were forced to work in the saltierra harvest, in the salt flats of Peñol Blanco and Santa María; Starting in 1562, the Court of Guadalajara required the natives to carry out this work. They received a real average daily wage and at the end of the century it increased to one real.⁸⁷ The quota of workers reached 300 tributaries and in the first decades of the 17th century it reached an average of 126.8 per year. ⁸⁸ The complaints of the natives were expressed mainly during the visits of listeners. ⁸⁹

THE LANDS OF THE NATURAL

Upon the arrival of Nuño de Guzmán to the lands that would belong to New Galicia, they found settlements of nomadic people and others of sedentary groups, farmers who cultivated their crops in each town. The Caxcanes, Cocas, Tecuexes and other neighboring groups of western Mexico, as well as the indigenous people of the Valley of Mexico, suffered the impact of the Conquest. From Tello we know that when the conquistadors settled in Nochistlán, to make the first foundation of Guadalajara on December 10, 1532, members of the Cabildo indicated the ejidos of the town; They also ordered that all the lands, mountains and wastelands of the jurisdiction be left for the Spaniards, from the stream that ran under the foot of the mesa on which the town was located to the Atemacapulí River. A certain piece of land that was near the stream was left to the natives. They also provided that

⁸⁶ Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, "Work conditions", pp. 461-463.

⁸⁷ José Enciso Contreras, «Indian workers from the Tlaltenango valley (Zacatecas) in the old salt flats of Santa María in the 16th century», *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 18 (1998): 31-67. Saltierra was used in the amalgamation method to obtain silver; It consisted of a series of processes based on the use of mercury, salt and treatment with iron, later magistral (a calcined sulfate composition) was added. *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Cf. Berthe, Calvo and Jiménez Pelayo, *Societies under construction*.

Because in this part of the stream there are many houses of natives of the said town of Nochistlán in the said ejido named, and they have been ordered many times to cross the other side of the boundary markers and water and they do not want to do so; Before, they clear lands again to make fields and houses to live in.

The mayors and councilors ordered that

Within the first twenty days following, when they are required to move from another band of the said boundary markers and water with a warning that if they do not do so as stated above, they will be ordered to burn and dismantle the houses in this part of said stream. in the said ejido they had. Because they have to designate gardens for the neighbors; because the natural rights have embargoed the sites, where they have to be indicated or have not been indicated.⁹⁰

With this provision, the natives of Nochistlán lost their lands. We do not have data on Spanish settlements in other towns, but they must have followed the same pattern. What benefited, in part, the natives was that Spaniards rarely settled in the already established towns. The indigenous property that was harmed was that which remained outside the population. It is not possible to know what extent of land, located outside the towns, the natives used before the Conquest.

In the disputes of the 17th century, the roots of the natives on the lands that belonged to them since pre-Hispanic times is notable. Some evidence of this appears in the disputes. The Indians of Teocaltichillo, jurisdiction of Juchipila, in 1696, made a request to the President of the Court for half a site of royal cattle, which "they have possessed from time immemorial (since everyone remembered) this part." It is not the only case in which they defended their lands with that argument. There are other references in which stronger expressions appear; When the Indians of Juchipila protested the land grant requested by a Spanish landowner, Doña Francisca de Palencia, the indigenous people claimed that she did not have lands that bordered theirs and the lands they claimed "were those that their ancestors had claimed for natural law that God had given them when he created them in it."⁹¹

90 Antonio Tello, *Miscellaneous Chronicle of the Holy Province of Xalisco*, lib. 2, vol. 1 (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara / IAH / INAH, 1945), pp. 233-234. 91 Teocaltichillo: BPEJ, ARA, Judicial branch, 11:2; Juchipila: AHJ, LG 10, f. 110. Cf. Silvio Zavala, *Natural servitude and Christian freedom, according to the treatise writers*

With some exceptions, the Spanish Crown considered the Indians free men, vassals of Castile. Due to this principle, it recognized the ability of natives to possess, enjoy and dispose of property. Regarding land ownership, it was established in 1642 that the Indians would be left their lands and waters, with a surplus of all that belonged to them, both on private and community lands.⁹² One of the principles that influenced the Spanish colonizing policy was to maintain and promote the existence of communal goods; This right has both Castilian and Mesoamerican antecedents.⁹³

THE LEGAL FUND OF THE INDIANS PEOPLES

The Indian towns during the colony had the right to their lands by reason of town, which in the 18th century were called legal estates; In addition, they were granted community lands and those of their brotherhoods. The Indians, as individuals, could also acquire land by grant or purchase. The royal decree of 1532, issued to protect communal property, was already applied to New Spain. In it, Charles I ordered that when distributing land, water, watering holes and pastures among the settlers, the authorities would leave the Indians enough land for their sustenance."

To contain the advance of the Spanish on Indian lands, Viceroy Luis de Velasco (1550-1564) ordered cattle owners to keep their animals one league away from Indian towns, and was the first to con-

Spaniards of the 16th and 17th centuries (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1944); Silvio Zavala, *The American world in the colonial era* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1967); Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish struggle for justice in the conquest of America* (Boston: Little Brown, 1965). However, the natives were legally subject to guardianship. The instruction of March 20, 1503 established that the Indians could not freely exercise the power to sell. In the Laws of the Indies it was allowed that Indians could sell their estates; but for the sales to be valid, the intervention of the local authority was required, *Compilation of Laws of the Indies*.

92 José María Ots y Capdequi, *The Spanish State in the Indies* (Mexico: FCE, 1976), pp. 141-143; *Compilation of laws of the Indies*, book 4, title 12, law 18.

93 José Miranda, "Communal ownership of land for the social cohesion of Mexican indigenous peoples," in *Colonial Life and the Dawn of Independence* (Mexico: SEP, 1972), pp. 54-57; José Miranda, "Pre-Hispanic property in México", in *Colonial life and the dawn of Independence*, p. 24. 94

Enrique Florescano, *Origin and development of the agrarian problems of Mexico 1500-1821* (Mexico: Era, 1979), p. 40.

ceding small livestock ranches to the Indian towns, with titles similar to those granted to the Spanish, with the only difference that they were inalienable.⁹⁵

The viceroy Marquis of Falces, in the ordinance of May 26, 1567, confirmed the provisions of viceroy Velasco. With this provision he created the legal estate of the Indian towns. It was ordered that all towns that needed land to live and plant would be given 500 varas or whatever they required for their needs, measured from the town's church or hermitage, to each of the four winds; No person, including the Spanish, could establish cattle ranches or caballerias of land less than 1000 and 500 varas, respectively, from the Indian towns.⁹⁶ The legal estate had to be divided into plots of 25 varas per side. After several modifications, the measurement was kept at 600 varas, taking the town church as the center, not the last houses as they had previously requested.⁹⁷

During the colonial period, for a settlement of natives to be granted land, it had to reach the category of town. This was obtained with a minimum of 80 tributaries and a consecrated church that had ornaments. In the center of the town were the square, the church and the priest's house. In some there was a community house, the seat of the Indian government.

The legal estate was made up of the lands to which each Indian town had the right by virtue of its status, in accordance with the Laws of the Indies and royal decrees issued later. The term legal fund was used in the second half of the 18th century; In the documents on land measurements in the 16th and 17th centuries, the expression lands by reason of town was used, although it still appears in some documents from the 18th century.⁹⁸ These lands were granted to the indigenous communities for the settlement and property of the towns. In the measurements of lands of the indigenous people of Teocaltiche - jurisdiction of Lagos - which by reason of their township belonged to them, in 1794, the term legal estate is used.⁹⁹

The Spanish Crown granted larger areas of land to the Indian towns of New Galicia than to those of New Spain, for legal purposes it was

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 41-43.

⁹⁶ William B. Taylor, *Landlord and peasants in colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 68; Chevalier, *The formation of latifundia*, pp. 245-246.

⁹⁷ Florescano, *Origen*, pp. 43-45; Taylor, *Landlord and peasants*, p. 68.

⁹⁸ Wistano Orozco, *Los ejidos de los pueblos* (Mexico: El Caballito, 1975), p. 59. Indicates that this land grant was given the name of legal estate in the official collections of the laws and decrees on land of Jalisco; After independence, the documents consulted confirm that it was during the 18th century.

⁹⁹ BPEJ, ARA, Civil branch, 157:1, quad. 6 ff. 133, 134V.

He granted a league or half a league for each wind to each town. By a decree on the provision of legal estate lands of 1667, the Royal Court ordered that the Indians of Huejúcar, bordering Tepeque, were granted a square league. From this date, land measurements were carried out to which the indigenous communities had the right due to their status. The half league for wind was equivalent to 5000 varas per side or 1755 hectares; the same size as a large livestock site. The league by wind covered 10,000 yards in each direction, comprising land equivalent to four large cattle sites.¹⁰⁰

The Indian towns of New Galicia and northern New Spain received confirmations of their lands by reason of town; Most communities were given half a square league and fewer towns received a title of one league for wind. From the information obtained on the lands by town of 24 towns in Nueva Galicia, eight received one league for wind, fourteen half a league.¹⁰¹ The town of Tala, west of Guadalajara, enjoyed a square league since 1696. A century later, he still kept it; and each of his five subjects had been endowed with the same extent of land.¹⁰²

The legal lands of the Indian towns of Nueva Galicia were day, in the same way as those of New Spain, taking the church as its center. Comparing the land measurements of the legal estate of the Indian towns of Michoacán and Oaxaca with those of Nueva Galicia, we notice that the latter enjoyed a larger area. A fifth of the 260 towns in Michoacán did not even enjoy the legal minimum of 600 varas for wind; Twelve towns had less than half of the land that corresponded to them and three did not even reach a quarter of it.

¹⁰³ On maps 1 and 2 you can see the legal estates of Jomulco and Acasico. The latter received legal estate lands at the end of the 17th century, but in 1800 measures were carried out due to royal rights; The judge decreed that they were also granted five caballerías of land (cultivated land of 43 hectares) to compensate for the hills and ravines that included their endowments where there was only a useful part for planting.

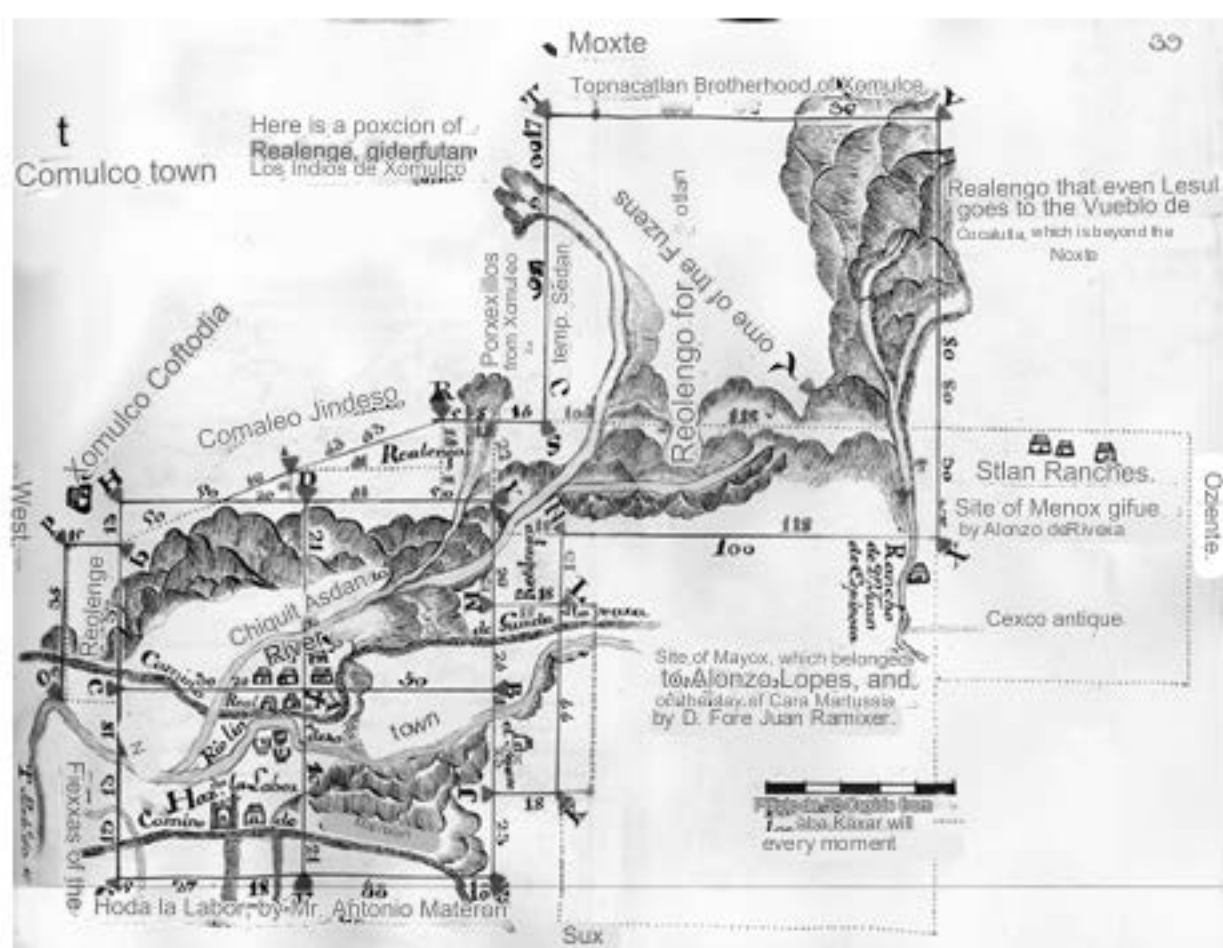
¹⁰⁰ Jiménez Pelayo, *Haciendas y comunidades*, pp. 162-163.

¹⁰¹ Van Young, *The Town and the Country*, p. 335; Tanck de Estrada, *Pueblos de Indios*, pp. 78 and 81. In the case of Teocaltiche, in 1691 it was granted one league, but three years later it was reduced to half; On the contrary, Toyagua obtained half a league in 1689, but in 1760 it obtained the full league.

¹⁰² Collection of agreements, orders and decrees on indigenous lands, houses and lots. Assets of their communities, and legal estates of the towns of the state of Jalisco (Guadalajara: Del Buen Gusto, 1849-1882), volume 1, p. 185.

¹⁰³ Taylor, *Landlord and peasants*, pp. 69-70.

MAP 1. PLAN OF THE TOWN OF JOMULCO



Source: AHJ, Lands and Waters, file 38, exp. 24-27, vol. 161.

In addition, the Indian towns of New Galicia received grants of places for large and small livestock and caballerías of land, so they enjoyed larger areas for pasture for their livestock and crops; These were the community lands. Their brotherhoods also owned lands that were not alienable.

It was common for the Spaniards to invade the lands of the towns, however, the natives took advantage of the visits of the oidores to expose the abuses of their neighbors. In 1616, the inhabitants of Tonalá complained about the damage caused to their crops by the livestock of the owners of the neighboring ranches: they ate the cornfields. In response, by order, the judge Juan Dávalos y Toledo ordered the owners of the Mazatepec ranches, Francisco Suárez Ibarra, Juan Castillo and the parents of the Company to keep the cattle removed "one league from this town and with sufficient guard and custody, so that they do not damage the cornfields, fields and orchards of the Indians of this town, with a warning that for whatever they do they will be paid double", a fine of one hundred pesos was imposed. 104

104 Berthe, Calvo and Jiménez Pelayo, *Societies under construction*, pp. 194-195.

TABLE 1. LAND LITIGATIONS AGAINST SPANISH PEOPLE AND PEOPLES IN THE 18TH CENTURY

TOWN	SPANISH	REASON	TOWNS IN LITIGATION	REASON
Teocaltiche	Juan Bautista Durán	Mountain lands		
Teocaltiche	Bernabé and Manuel Morán from La deama	A place of small livestock, a caballería of land (land to the east of the legal settlement of the town)		
Teocaltiche	Br. don Ignacio Delgadillo	A place of small livestock, a caballería of land (land to the east of the legal settlement of the town)		
Teocaltiche	Hermanos Álvarez Tostado	A small livestock site and two caballerías of land, in the Atepeca post (land to the east of the town's legal estate)		
Teocaltiche	Don Juan Bautista Sáenz de Vidaur	Owner of the Acas poluca estate (land to the east of the town's legal estate)		
Teocaltiche	Nicolás Camillo	A cattle site, six cavalries, four around the site and two at the San Marcos post in La Cieneguita		
Teocaltiche	Melchor Ramírez (1696)	A large cattle site in the San Marcos stream, the lawsuit continues with the succession; holder Nicolás Durán		
Teocaltiche	Don Domingo de Castañedo y Ceballos	Purchase eight caballerías of land from the natives in the work of the Alamo		
Teocaltiche	Lorenzo de Inungaray	Mortgage of a caballería of Toyagua	land	Nine Knights land zone
Mesquitilla (Juchitán jurisdiction)	Clemente Ximenes de Muñana	Owner of the Santa Rosa hacienda, he denied the status of Mesquitilla as a town and the integration of the natives with those of Moyagua	Moyagua	Strong in the title of Huejotlán
Toyagua (Los Pérez Jurisdiction)		Through the Pérez site	Mexican (Cuzco jurisdiction)	Through the bank of the Toyagua Ranch
Toyagua			Nachitán	Two caballerías of land
Quacalco (Tlaltenango jurisdiction)			Talidaga	Land invasion
Tlaltenango	Pedro García Miramontes	Planting on lands claimed by the Indians		
Tlaltenango	Andrés de Rivera	Land dispossession		
San Francisco Huejúcar	Don Baltasar Calceán	For the work called Care		
San Francisco Huejúcar	Pedro de Gaitán	Work at Echenique		
Teoscalcan	Mateo González	graveyard and dispossession		
Quacalco	Andrés de Rivera	graveyard and dispossession		
San José de Talapasco (Toluca jurisdiction)	Manuel García Quevedo (Hacienda El Cuatro)	Harassment, mistreatment, injuries and fires in the village due to a land conflict (Van Young, The city and the countryside, p. 331)		
Nestipac (Zapopan)	Sánchez Leñero, owners of the Santa Lucía hacienda	For the rights to collect firewood on the non-usable lands of the Santa Lucía hacienda (Van Young, The city and the countryside, p. 331)		
San José Arriba			Saint Andrew	For localities: those from San José and those from San Andrés who were working in the fields (Van Young, The city and the countryside, p. 332)

TOWN	SPANISH	REASON	TOWNS IN LITIS WITH	REASON
Tonalá	Marquis of Pinuco	Land measurement (Van Young, The city and the country, p. 333).		
Cocula	Jose Mederos	Two plots called Mesa Grande and Los Morillos with an area of two cattle sites and 8.5 caballerías, were considered a royal estate and by tacit consent they had used it as property.		
Toluquilla	Heirs of the Marquis of Pinuco and Manuel García de Quevedo	Against the construction of a fence that would surround the lands of the hacienda el Cuatro, which the Indians used as pastures to collect wood (Van Young, The city and the countryside, p. 349).		
San Juan de la Soledad (phone of Lake Chapala)	Owner of the San Nicolás de la Labor Hacienda	Appropriation of the town's communal lands, arguing that it was not a village but a neighborhood of the town of Chapala (Van Young, The city and the countryside, p. 350).		
Huandán	Guadalupe Hacienda	Occupation by villagers of lands belonging to the Guadalupe hacienda (Van Young, The City and the Countryside, p. 351).		
Tlajomulco	Miguel del Portillo as owner of the Hacienda de San José	Invasion of land belonging to the hacienda		
Ajijic	Palacio de Salas		San Juan, Cocula and San Antonio	Ajijic claimed to have lost almost half of his lands from the town's legal estate
Ajijic	San Juan de Dios Hospital (Serrera, Guadalajara cattle ranch, p. 336)			
Toluquilla	Marquis of Pinuco	land usurpation		
San Andrés Ajijic	The Hospital of San Juan de Dios			
San Juan Ocotlán (in Tala)	The Belén Hospital of Guadalajara	Through the lands of the La Calerita hacienda, whose limits the indigenous people entered to cut wood		
The Tula	The counts San Mateo Valparaíso (Serrera, p. 336)	By land		
Cocula	The counts San Mateo Valparaíso	By land		
Tizapan	Ignacio de Estrada	By land		
Juchipila	Antonio de Valverde	When measuring the legal estate lands of the town, they were not completed because the wheat work of Luis Flores de la Torre, belonging to Antonio de Valverde, was found		
Minisquis		Usurpation of their legal property by the tenants of the capital's ejidos		
San Miguel Teacalchillo	Diego de Aldrete	Use of land for livestock		
San Miguel Coyotlán		Lands in dispute		
San Juan (Tlajomulco)	Mazatepec Hacienda		San Sebastián and San Agustín	
Tequila	Rosen Family			
San Juan the Evangelist		21 cords in dispute		
Ocotlán			Juchitán	Ocotlán invades Juchitán lands
Zoquiapan	Fernando Miranda Vilasán	Miranda Vilasán's hacienda usurps town lands		
Isban	Hacienda of San Pedro de la Labor	The hacienda usurps 14 caballerías	St Geronimo	land usurpation

Source: Serrera, Guadalajara, pp. 334-337; Jiménez Pelayo, Haciendas and communities, pp. 166-205; Van Young, The City and the Country, pp. 331-337.

bordering the Joanacatique post. The indigenous people paid 100 pesos for the mercy. 105 As Table 1 shows, things got worse in the 18th century, for which we have more information.

In order to recover their lands, the natives had to fight against the invaders; they did not stop at investing their funds in their defense. As can be seen in Table 1, the main invaders were Spaniards, among them powerful figures such as the Count of San Mateo Valparaíso, the Marquis of Pánuco, the Cuervos and other estate owners. To them are added institutions such as the Hospital of Belén and that of San Juan de Dios.

If we move further, at the end of the colonial period 55 towns had disputes over their lands, some were involved in up to two cases at a time, the majority were with the Spanish. But not only did friction arise over land between Spaniards and Indians, but problems frequently arose between neighboring indigenous communities. The Court used different means to resolve the conflicts. When the legal lands of the communities of Apozol and San Miguel Atotonilco were measured in 1793, the Court decreed that the portion of land between both towns be divided in half. 106

According to the Laws of the Indies, Indians had the right to request land grants for their people. These did not stop taking advantage of such concessions, whenever there were royal lands close to their town they requested the grant before the Court. The laws specified that if the number of inhabitants increased or the livestock that grazed on their lands increased, they had the right to ask for new grants.

In 1694, when the half square league of the community of Toyagua was measured, five caballerías of land were discovered that the indigenous people had cultivated. It was reported that there were 284 Indians over the age of eight in the town and the community, not the brotherhood, owned 300 head of cattle. Considering that they needed more land to support the population, they were granted the grant. It was common that when the royalties were recognized, the Spaniards and natives neighboring the lands would make positions. According to ordinances, preference should be given to natural land auctions. 107 The indigenous communities did not always manage to be favored, but they frequently did; They took advantage of all possible means to increase their lands.

¹⁰⁵ AHJ, LG 10, ff. 15-24; *ibid.*, LG 70, ff. 68v-86.

¹⁰⁶ BPEJ, ARA, Civil branch, 139:7, quad. 3, ff. 46-53.

¹⁰⁷ AHJ, Lands and Waters (TA)-3, doc. 82; *ibid.*, doc. 24.

TABLE 2. PEOPLES IN LAND DISPUTES WITHOUT SUFFICIENT INFORMATION ABOUT CONTENDERS. CENTURY XVIII

Teocaltlán	Temacapulín	Tenayuca	Jaliscoatlán
Lagunilla	Ocotlán	Jala	The Magdalena
Huejotlán	Cuxpala	Mexicaltzingo	Tuxpan
Saint Francis Nabdato	Saint Peter	Widows	Huejúcar
Atasco	San Agustín	Mecatabasco	Saint Gaspar
Cocula	Huejutlán	Amecameca	Jalpa
Moyagua	Jocotepec	St. Ana	San Martín Tealtilán
Tepatlán	Ocotlán	San Diego Talcosagua	Zapotlán
Analco	Ahuacatlán	San Juan Jiquipán	Saint Sebastian the Chico
Tequapésan	San Lucas Tepatlán	Cuanusco	

Source: Serrera, Guadalajara, pp. 335-336; Jiménez Pelayo, Haciendas and communities, p. 180.

COMMUNITY LANDS

In addition to the legal estate lands, each Indian town received grants of the so-called community lands. The higher-class Indian towns and where the number of indigenous people was higher were organized into neighborhoods. In Teocaltiche there were three neighborhoods: Arriba, Abajo and Ipalco or Padco. The natives of the Abajo neighborhood and the Arriba neighborhood lived in Jalpa. The communities of Juchipila and Tlaltenango were also divided into neighborhoods, the Arriba and the Abajo.¹⁰⁸

Each neighborhood separately administered its community lands. The extension of community and brotherhood lands was very variable. The success in obtaining a greater number of grants depended on the number of indigenous people who formed each community, the livestock that belonged to them, the amount of land available and the agility of the indigenous people to request them from the Spanish authorities. It also contributed that the natives had funds to make composition payments and land purchases; The influence, power and wealth of their neighboring landowners and ranchers counted a lot in the success or failure when making requests for land or in litigation.

Among the Indian towns that owned the most land in Nueva Galicia, the natives of the Arriba neighborhood in Teocaltiche enjoyed two cattle ranches.

¹⁰⁸ AHJ, TA-3, doc. 33; *ibid.*, TA-2, doc. 4; *ibid.*, TA-3, doc. 5 and 3; cf. Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, "Indian lands of the jurisdiction of Teocaltiche during the 16th and 18th centuries", in First Jalisco research meeting: economy and society (lecture, Regional Museum of Guadalajara, 1981), topic 3.

major and six caballerías of land. By 1760 they also had six caballerías at the site of San Diego; Of these four and a half they bought from the Ximenes, and one and a half from the natives of Apulco. In 1760, those in the Abajo neighborhood had half a cattle herd. Another town that enjoyed a larger area of land was Santa María in the jurisdiction of Tlaltenango; He had obtained six and a quarter sites for larger cattle and one for smaller ones. 109 Tepospizaloya, in the jurisdiction of Guachinango, had received three sites of cattle and eleven and a half caballerías of land. 110

However, it is not the determining factor to conclude that the Indian towns of New Galicia were privileged, when comparing them with those of the center of New Spain and knowing that some of them had extensions of land greater than 11,000 hectares for a single town, as in the case of Santa María. It is essential to realize to what extent they used their lands, and the way in which they were distributed within the members of each community. The quality of the soil and the water available to them are factors of primary importance in revealing the performance of the native lands.

The people of the north of Nueva Galicia, due to the situation of their settlements on the border of the Chichimecas, enjoyed privileges in terms of more extensive land donations than those of other communities in the south of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Spain. When the grant was granted to them in 1726, the title indicated the reasons for granting it to them "because these Indians (of the five towns) were borderlanders; as well as for the great loyalty and vigilance with which they are used and dedicated to the royal service of His Majesty against the barbarian Indians and enemies with invasions that they offer. At the same time, the indigenous communities were confirmed in their rights to the lands of Mount Morones.m

The support that the people of the north of New Galicia received from the Spanish Crown, as they were border Indians, contributed to them defending their forests with incredible tenacity. Although not all indigenous communities could obtain land grants in the mountains; Among those favored, were some towns in the Tlaltenango canyon and to a lesser extent those of Teocaltiche in the jurisdiction of Lagos.

109 Jiménez Pelayo, *Haciendas y comunidades*, pp. 167-168.

no Serrera, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. 330. The composition paid in the period 1760-1800 was recorded in the Royal Treasury of Guadalajara.

111 AHJ, TA-15, doc. fifteen; AAZ, Regulation, Tlaltenango 1802. If we subtract the extension of the rented lands from the 1,755 hectares of its square league and divide them among the 94 heads of family, each of the town's tributaries corresponds to around 17 hectares for land and cultivation work.

However, some towns received three places of cattle and caballerias of land, in addition to their legal property, to take advantage of among the members of the town; They are tiny extensions compared to the properties of the rich landowners of Nueva Galicia.

the 'information' and 'communication' fields. The 'information' field is defined as:

...the study of the nature, sources, uses, and management of information, and the study of the communication of information. (p. 1)

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FIFTH PART
TIMES OF ILLUSTRATION

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses, income, and transfers between accounts.

The second part of the document provides a detailed overview of the accounting cycle. It outlines the ten steps involved in the process, from identifying the accounting entity to preparing the financial statements. Each step is explained in detail, with examples provided to illustrate the concepts.

The third part of the document focuses on the classification of accounts. It discusses the different types of accounts, such as assets, liabilities, equity, revenue, and expense accounts, and how they are used to record transactions. It also explains the importance of using the correct account codes to ensure proper categorization.

The fourth part of the document covers the process of journalizing and posting. It describes how transactions are recorded in the journal and then posted to the appropriate T-accounts. It also discusses the importance of double-checking the entries to ensure accuracy.

The fifth part of the document discusses the preparation of the trial balance. It explains how the trial balance is used to verify the accuracy of the accounting records and to identify any errors. It also provides a sample trial balance to illustrate the format.

The sixth part of the document covers the preparation of the financial statements. It discusses the different types of financial statements, such as the balance sheet, income statement, and cash flow statement, and how they are prepared. It also explains the importance of providing a clear and concise summary of the company's financial performance.

The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of closing the books. It explains how the closing process is used to reset the accounts for the next period and to ensure that the financial data is accurate. It also provides a sample closing entry to illustrate the process.

The eighth part of the document covers the preparation of the final financial statements. It discusses the different types of financial statements, such as the balance sheet, income statement, and cash flow statement, and how they are prepared. It also explains the importance of providing a clear and concise summary of the company's financial performance.

The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses, income, and transfers between accounts.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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POPULATION EVOLUTION

TOWARDS THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Starting in the second half of the 18th century, the population of the kingdom of New Galicia and especially that of its capital, Guadalajara and its surroundings, experienced a strong increase. For this city, this growth was more pronounced around 1790. Peter Gerhard estimates that around 1742 the number of inhabitants amounted to approximately 200,000.² Twelve years later, that is, in 1760, that figure had increased to 306,557 according to the sum of the figures from the bishopric of Guadalajara provided by the records of the ecclesiastical visit to the Guadalajara diocese, carried out by its bishop, Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura Martínez de Tejada. Around 1770, ten years later, according to the Description of the Diocese of Guadalajara written by Canon Mateo de Arteaga, the Neo-Galician population, except for those under two years of age who were not

¹ For a review of the evolutionary development of the Neo-Galician population in the second half of the 18th century, see Ramón María Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara cattle ranch. Novohispano regional study, 1760-1805* (Seville: School of Hispano-American Studies, 1977), p. 11. This author draws attention to the limitations of the known historical sources for the demographic study of New Galicia. These are sources of different origin and therefore prepared with different intentions and for geographical spaces that are not necessarily the same. However, the balance he makes of these sources allows them to be considered valid, which explains that from a broad perspective, the series presented offers great internal coherence between the data that compose it, especially from the decade of the 1790s onwards. nineties of the century XVIII, in which they began to be applied with certain regulations in the viceroyalty inhabitants counting techniques (p. 16).

² Peter Gerhard, *México en 1742* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1962), pp. 37-39.

³ Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. eleven.

counted, the population had amounted to 381,014 inhabitants." Between the years of 1797 and 1802, almost thirty years after the count provided by Arteaga, the population increased to the point of doubling the figure of 1770. According to the visit made to the diocese of Guadalajara by bishop Dr. Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas (1797-1802), the number of inhabitants rose to 654,185.5 without counting the sum of some curates that did not present their respective registers, such as the Tabernacle of Guadalajara.

For the first decades of the 19th century, the trend towards population growth in New Galicia continued. In 1810, according to Fernando Navarro y Noriega, the population amounted to about 658,397 inhabitants;" this number increased to 985,249 by 1821 according to estimates made by Captain Pedro Rongel Laso de la Vega, even though This last figure must be taken with reservation, since it does not obey censuses and registers but rather approximations. However, we can accept a significant growth in the population of the kingdom, which according to the most reliable sources, and as shown in the table 1, a sustained increase began in 1760. If we take into account that by 1760 the kingdom had 306,000 inhabitants, and in 1821 it had about 985,249, we can conclude by saying that in general the growth of its population was actually very important, since in sixty years the population tripled.

⁴ Juan López, *Nueva Galicia and Jalisco, a continued effort* (Mexico: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1980), p. 96.

⁵ Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. 12.

⁶ It is necessary to specify that in the strict sense the sources that we know do not allow us to know in depth the trend of demographic growth of the population for the entire kingdom of Nueva Galicia in the period of study, since as Serrera mentions, these sources are fragmentary and for different geographical spaces, namely: the kingdom, the bishopric of Guadalajara and from 1786 the mayor of Guadalajara. Subject to new research allowing us to discover other sources and shed more light on the topic, for the purposes of this chapter I base myself on the information offered by Serrera Contreras and other available sources. Due to what was stated above, as will be seen throughout the work, starting in 1786 I attempted to study the population of the municipality of Guadalajara, and not of the kingdom itself. However, surely this trend of strong demographic growth that its capital experienced was also experienced in general terms by the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, even though each settlement and region keep their particularities.

Navarro Noriega, *Memory on the population*, cited by Serrera Contreras, 7 *Livestock Guadalajara*, p. 14.

⁸ Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. fifteen.

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF NEW GALICIA
(GUADALAJARA AND ZACATECAS COUNTRIES) BETWEEN
THE YEARS OF 1742 AND 1821, IN NUMBER OF INHABITANTS

YEAR	GUADALAJARA	ZACATECAS	TOTAL OF NEW GALICIA
1742	-----		200 000
1760	-----		306 557
1770	-----		381 014
1791-1802	-----		654 185
1810	517 674	140 723	658 397
1821	833 500	151 749	985 249

Source: extract from *Serrera Contreras, Guadalajara livestock*, p. 16.

Serrera Contreras shows that this increase can also be corroborated with the way in which tax collection grew in the Caja Real de Guadalajara. This author compares what was collected in the decades of 1761-1770 and 1791-1800 and finds that in a period of 40 years the taxes and, therefore, the indigenous population that essentially paid them increased almost two and a half times compared to the first decade. It was the maximum growth rate of all the regions of the viceroyalty.¹⁰ For his part, Eric van Young considers that the main factor in population growth, particularly in the capital of New Galicia and what he designates as its region, was the recovery of the indigenous population from its catastrophic decline in the 16th century.¹¹ S. F. Cook and W. Borah place the nadir of this decline around 1650, the year in which the indigenous population began a recovery. The same authors propose that the natives of Nueva Galicia registered a growth of 12 percent between 1644 and 1760,¹² same that continued until the beginning of the 19th century. As regards the total population of Guadalajara and its surroundings, it grew faster than the indigenous population, in such a way that by the last decades of the colonial era, according to estimates According to Van Young, non-Indians made up about half of the total population.¹³

⁹ Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. twenty-one.

¹⁰ López Sarrelangue, *The indigenous population*, p. 521, cited by Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. twenty-one.

¹¹ Eric van Young, *The city and the countryside in 18th century Mexico: the rural economy of the Guadalajara region, 1675-1820* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), p. 41.

¹² Cited by Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *The population of Latin America: historical sketch* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1968), pp. 89-90.

¹³ Van Young, *The Town and the Country*, p. 41.

Other figures that we know for different regions of Nueva Galicia allow us to know which settlements were most densely populated. These are the counts that appear in the General Description and Census of the Mayor's Office of Guadalajara, compiled between 1791 and 1793 by the visitor Dr. José Menéndez Valdés. The division of the territory of New Spain into municipalities was established in 1786. The census of Menéndez Valdés allows us to know, as Serrera has mentioned, that the jurisdictions of Sayula, Lagos and La Barca, located in the eastern part of Nueva Galicia, were the most populated in the kingdom (map 1).

The growth of the neo-Galician population that can be seen from the second half of the 18th century implied, among other characteristics, that the number of poor, uprooted (according to the qualifications of the time), indigenous people, as well as of the mixed blood settlers, as will be explained later. As Thomas Calvo has argued, by the end of the 17th century, the neo-Galician world had become brutally oppressed and had expanded;¹⁵ for the late colonial period this trend continued, and the two characteristics mentioned by Calvo had been accentuated to such an extent that That period concludes with the turbulent years of the war of independence.

GUADALAJARA AND ITS "REGIONAL VILLAGES"

Who set the tone for the population of Nueva Galicia to register significant growth from the second half of the 18th century onwards was Guadalajara and its surroundings. These included, in addition to other important neighboring settlements, the places that Matías Ángel de la Mota Padilla designated in 1742 as "his regional towns", located "a little more than a league" from the city, these were: "Mexicaltzingo, Lord San José and San Sebastián de Analco, Tetlán, Zalatlán, San Pedro Tlaquepaque, San Andrés, Huentitán, Mezquitán, Zoquipan, Atemajac, Zapopan, Ocotán, Santa María and Tonalá",¹⁶

According to a register prepared for the annual communion, mentioned by Mota Padilla, around 1738 the capital of the kingdom had 8,010 inhabitants¹⁷ and a total

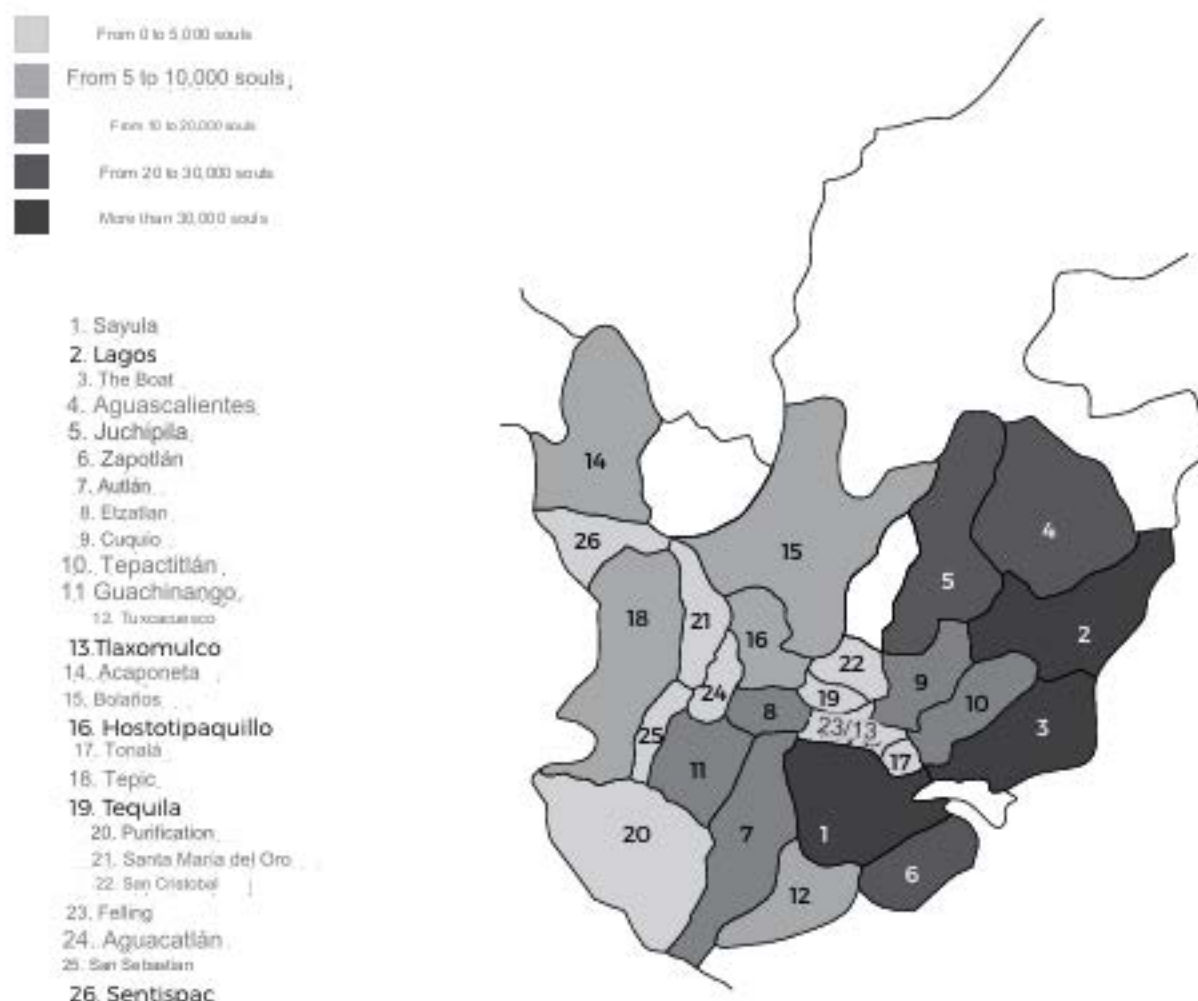
¹⁵ José Menéndez Valdés, *Description and general census of the Municipality of Guadalajara, 1789-1793* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980).

¹⁶ Calvo, "Demography and economy", 587.

¹⁷ Matías Ángel de la Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia in northern America, 1742* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara / UAH, 1973, p. 502).

¹⁸ It is important to clarify that at that time the inhabitants of the indigenous towns of Analco and Mexicaltzingo were not counted, because they were not yet integrated into the city.

MAP 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE GUADALAJARA INTENDENCE BY SUBDELEGATIONS, ACCORDING TO THE VISIT OF 1791-1793



Source: Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. 16.

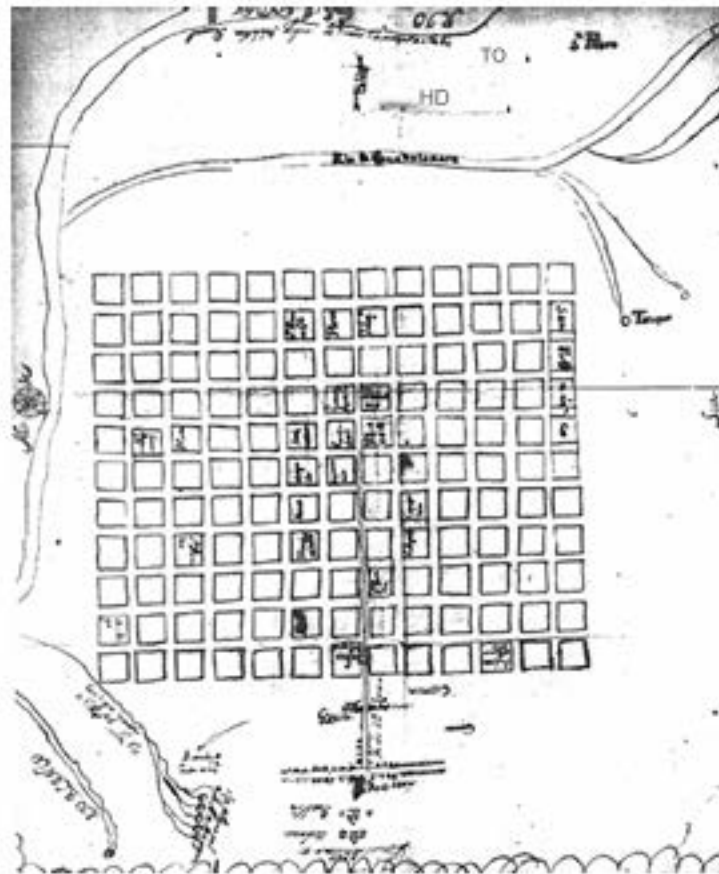
of 1,541 houses, not counting "those of the prebendaries and some others of respect."

18 The population must have been a little larger, since in this type of registers, children or minors who did not take communion were not commonly counted. If we take into account that, according to a plan from 1732 (plan 1), the city had thirteen blocks from north to south and eleven from east to west, the probable extension

¹⁸ The quote continues: «and many neighbors included in the Indian neighborhoods, and the increased number of schoolchildren and other domestic workers of the monasteries, and of ecclesiastical people; and although the number seems small, the competition is greater, because as a court, it is the common home city of all those who live in the kingdom, ... and of all those who trade outside of it and have business to litigate or pursue. See Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia*, p. 504.

of the city was a rectangle of approximately 92 hectares, so a still unclarified density of 8.6 inhabitants per hectare is estimated. 19

PLAN 1. PLAN OF THE CITY OF GUADALAJARA,
CAPITAL OF NEW GALICIA, IN 1732



Source: José Antonio Calderón Quijano et al., *Historical cartography of Nueva Galicia* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara / EEHA, 1984), p. 63.

We do not know data on the total number of inhabitants of Guadalajara after that provided by the 1738 census, until thirty-two years later, when in 1770 Canon Arteaga tells us that the city had 22,394 inhabitants, 20 which means that in Those three decades saw a very significant demographic growth, as the population almost tripled, with an increase of 280 percent.

In addition to others, I consider that three factors came together so that in those years Guadalajara increased its population in this way. Those factors were-

19 Eduardo López Moreno, *The grid in the development of the Spanish American city*. Guadalajara, Mexico (Guadalajara: ITESO, 2001), p. 32..20.

De Arteaga and Rincón Gallardo, «Description of the Diocese», p. 101.

rum: an economy that was diversifying, the migratory flows from the rural world to the city, and the fact that over 22 years (1739 to 1761) there was no significant mortality caused by epidemics. In the mortality records of the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén, even though we observe a slight increase in 1747 and 1751 possibly related to the droughts, frosts and food shortages that were recorded in the territory of New Spain²¹ and with greater force in Nueva Galicia, we did not find significant mortality caused by epidemics. I would dare to describe those two decades as golden in demographic terms, if we take into account that societies of the past were characterized by having short periods in which mortality rose significantly due to the periodic presence of epidemics, added to the high mortality rates common in premodern demographic regimes. I consider that the generational effect of the demographic impulse of those twenty years, added to other factors, flooded the territory of Nueva Galicia and Guadalajara with inhabitants in the last decades of the colonial period.

At the beginning of those two decades, in 1742, Mota Padilla wrote his *History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of New Galicia in Northern America*, and in it he introduces us to its capital, Guadalajara. We could almost say that he takes us on a tour through the streets and surroundings of a city that, according to his words, was located "in a happy, supplied and gifted country", characteristics that seem to indicate that the city was prepared for its population to grow rapidly. It is worth stopping at the valuable, extensive and detailed descriptions of the Guadalajara historian, before continuing to review the growth of the population of Guadalajara, precisely to know what it was like, that city that was about to begin a significant demographic takeoff. In the work of Mota Padilla we find, in addition to references to the abundance of food, frequent allusions to certain healthy factors of what we today designate as the environment, namely: a "benign temperament", or the "purity of the "airs" of the city, or the abundance of "healthy, crystalline and sweet" waters.

The affection and passion for the land where Mota Padilla was born overflows in each of the stories he gave about the capital of New Galicia and its surroundings; He said about its climate that it was "one of the most benign in the world," because the heat of July was tempered with abundant rain, and the cold was moderated by

21 Elsa Malvido, «Factors of depopulation and replacement of the population of Cholula in the colonial era (1641-1810)», In *Historical Demography of Mexico, 16th-19th centuries*, compiled by Elsa Malvido and Miguel Ángel Cuenya (Mexico: UAM /Mora Institute, 1993), p. 68.

The city was founded on a well-extended plain of thin earth "that is barely three-quarters of a crumb, on a cover of jale or pumex stone that is so porous." 22 Regarding hydrology, it mentions that in Guadalajara a stream ran from north to south enough to maintain lush gardens within the city; in addition to two workshops, two tanneries, "without other batteries, which serve as a tannery for the poor, three flour mills with two stones each, and such that the one at the Girls' College grinds thirty loads in twenty-four hours, and with its "waters are irrigated by competent work." 23

He continues in his description by mentioning that in the canals located to the south of the city there were several springs of water "so crystalline and sweet" that it supplied the entire neighborhood and neighborhood of Mexicaltzingo. Note that the city was also supplied with these waters before there were fountains, and they were used to water the vegetables in the garden of the convent of San Francisco, which was located at the southern end of the city at that time. For their part, the nuns of the convent of Santa María de Gracia, located to the north, cultivated "a beautiful garden" with the waters that were in "an abundant spring" that filled "a wide pool."

Access to water, along with other factors, is essential for population growth, which is why we must highlight the importance that this factor had in Guadalajara where the pressure of the number of inhabitants per hectare apparently did not yet represent a problem. As I mentioned above, Mota Padilla's stories about access not only to food, but also to water are frequent; It refers to other springs that surround the city, in addition to those of Mexicaltzingo. It also highlights that in each house there were wells of good water where it was obtained in abundance for "the expense of drinking, washing clothes and cultivating the land and fruit trees and flowers." The quantity and variety of flowers that were grown in the city was such as the "roses that they call from Castile [...] the jasmines from Arabia, from China and native to the land [...] and the smell at night", that our informant says, in addition to filling the houses, streets and churches with fragrance, they especially allowed the bees to "harmoniously produce honey and wax in many hives, which the curious castrated within the city."

24 Only the look of a person in love with his land is the adjective that can be given to Mota Padilla - he could stop to detail the number of plants and flowers that were grown in Guadalajara and its surroundings, where those typical of hot, temperate or cold, because the temperament of the city was

22 Mota Padilla, *History of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia*, p. 499.

23 Ibid., p. 500.

24 Ibid., p. 501.

so benign that there would hardly be any other places like it. The list of fruit trees tells us about some foods that were part of the diet of the people of Guadalajara. About the pomegranates he says that they "exceed all those in America" for their sweetness and size, and that they could fit in the crown of a hat, so it was customary to send them to Mexico as a "gift to the viceroys, archbishops," and other people of distinction. In addition there were: figs, apples, vines, olive groves, peaches, quinces, walnuts, pineapples, avocados, sapotes of various kinds, guamúchiles, amezquites, granadillas, apricots; and "in abundance" oranges, limes, lemons, Chinese limes, royal lemons, guavas, prickly pears, capulines and blackberries, among other fruits.

The list of legumes that were grown in the city and in the surrounding towns, as well as other products that came in through trade, allow us to say, at least for the most favored population, that their diet was very complete. For the most helpless population, such as the Indians, Mota Padilla left us a very valuable reference regarding the food and subsistence of a population that was recovering, when he mentioned that in the porous land of Guadalajara, roots such as chinchayote, root of the chayote, in addition to "jicamas, cacomites, potatoes and sweet potatoes of various species, and among them a head that they call negritos, 25 who support the Indians in their needs." The foods mentioned were naturally found not only in the city and its surrounding towns, but in other regions of the kingdom. Perhaps the important thing about the reference is the use of tubers such as potatoes, sweet potatoes and the so-called "cabra de negrito" to cover, says Mota Padilla, "the needs" of the Indians; We understand that this refers to their nutritional needs, since it is enough to remember the role played by the cultivation of potatoes, brought from America to Europe in the European famine crises. 26 In fact, as far as Nueva Galicia and its capital are concerned, the consumption of tubers such as potatoes and sweet potatoes must have played an important role in the food shortage crises and formed part of the common diet of the poorest. Well, as we will see later, during the food shortage crisis in New Galicia and throughout New Spain, in the years 1785-1786, a notable resident of Guadalajara, Pedro Tapiz, suggested its cultivation. The explicit reference to the foods that indigenous people ate during scarcity crises is very valuable for studies on

25 The head of negro or negrito is the fruit of a tree that can grow from five to Twenty meters high, the pulp of the ripe fruits is edible.

26 It is important to clarify that the severity of famines such as those they sat in Europe did not usually appear in New Spain, precisely because of the access to other foods.

periods of food scarcity in New Galicia and New Spain, I do not know of other sources that make explicit reference to the subject.

Regarding the hydrography of the surroundings of the city when referring to the Rio Grande de Santiago that passes north of it and at a distance of five leagues, Mota Padilla mentions that in its journey when fertilizing the fields "it turns its waters into honey, sugar, panela, "panocha", wheat and other supplies, fruits that supply not only the city, but the entire kingdom. 27 As if these benefits were not enough, when the river empties into the sea, along its same course, he says: «a variety of fish emerge [...] that savor the taste such as snook, "pajacoran" and other species, which by The same currents reach the backwaters that said river makes at a distance of eight leagues from Guadalajara", where those who populated its banks managed to catch with their nets not only river fish, "but those that communicate from the sea."

Twelve leagues from Guadalajara, the Chapala lagoon and its importance in nutritional terms could not go unnoticed: "enough to supply a kingdom." 28 He also reports that to the west of the city, less than a league away, runs from south to north another stream that they call Zapopan whose waters are "very healthy, due to the many tamarisks²⁹ on its banks." He completes his description by mentioning the work of wheat and corn, vegetable and fruit gardens in the surroundings of Guadalajara, in addition to the fact that the pastures of the ejidos were suitable for the livestock of the butcher shops and the many local towns. He also says that in the city's canals there were a copious number of milking cows with which at all times "it was supplied with fresh cheese, curd, jocoqui, butter and other cooking utensils." From the previous descriptions, we can conclude by saying that at least for the most favored of that society, the availability of food provided them with a very complete diet; and for the less fortunate, the tubers mentioned at least satisfied their hunger, when food shortages were not very serious.

27 Mota Padilla, History of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, p. 500.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Shrub or tree up to four meters high with reddish-brown branches. The leaves are elongated and pointed at the ends and with short hairs when young. The flowers are hanging. It is native from Mexico to Chile; It lives in warm, semi-warm, semi-dry, dry and temperate climates, from sea level to 2500 meters above sea level. It grows on the banks of roads, streams and streams; associated with evergreen tropical forest and grassland. Mexican plant that lacks chemical and pharmacological studies that corroborate its effectiveness, although its application in liver conditions has been indicated since the 18th century. "Taray", Digital Library of Traditional Mexican Medicine, last consulted on January 22, 2016.

Under these conditions, for the city and its surroundings, and after the mortality that a matlalzahuatl epidemic caused in Guadalajara in the fall of 1737 and the winter of 1738,³⁰ as we will see later, a period of just over two years began. decades (1739-1761) in which the scythe of deadly epidemics rested a population that was gaining strength in its growth, which was already noticed by the mid-1740s. In these years José Villaseñor y Sánchez, in his review encyclopedic study of New Spain, when commenting on the size of the capital of the kingdom of New Galicia, says that "it becomes populous due to the large number of its permanent residents (compared to that of other capitals)."³¹

I consider that these twenty-two years were the antecedent and the platform for Guadalajara's demographic takeoff that began in 1760. Just after this period, says Van Young, the city's population grew to the point where the food supply was already a concern in some measure to the government of the city, which was considered by contemporaries as "a flourishing republic, very large now." ³²

If in what were the first seventy years of the 18th century the population of Guadalajara probably multiplied by 2.5, in the following decades its Population not only did not increase, but it decreased. Of the 24,249 parishes Those who lived in Guadalajara in 1770, 7 years later, in 1777, that number had dropped to 22,163 inhabitants. ³³ A year later it dropped again to 21,137.³⁴ In 1780, the city's population increased slightly compared to the previous figure to 22,127.³⁵ to reach its lowest point in 1782 with 19,969 inhabitants. ³⁶ After this population decline related to deadly epidemics, as we will see, the city and its surroundings managed to recover their

30 Lilia Oliver Sánchez, *El Hospital Real de San Miguel de Belén, 1581-1802* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1992), p. 185.

³¹ José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *American Theater*, vol. 2 P. 206.

³² AHMG, box 3, exp. 16, 1768; box 3, 1767, cited by Van Young, *The City and the field*, p. 47. ³³

Jean-Pierre Berthe, *Introduction à l'histoire de Guadalajara et de sa région* (Paris: Institut des hautes études de l'Amérique latine, 1970), p.

71. ³⁴ David Carbajal López, "The years of hunger in Bolaños (1785-1786). Mining conflicts, corn shortages and excess mortality", *Relations. History Studies and Society* 31, no. 121 (Winter 2010): 57-81.

³⁵ Carbajal López, "The years of hunger in Bolaños", pp. 57-81.

³⁶ AHAG, Parroquias series, Santuario de Guadalupe, box 1, 1739-1864, file 21, f. 43.

demographic dynamism so that by 1791 its population amounted to 24,249, according to the census carried out by José Menéndez Valdés.³⁷

During the last decades of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th, the demographic growth of Guadalajara and its surroundings did not stop; it even intensified, apparently more than due to the natural growth of the population, due to the migratory currents that widened the a city whose strategic enclave as a passage to the north and its political, economic and cultural power, made it one of the most populated cities in New Spain at the end of the colonial era.

The issue of immigration to the city is difficult to measure precisely due to the limited availability of sources; however, we can register it as an important demographic phenomenon through some known, although certainly isolated, data. For example, around 1763, of the total number of patients admitted to the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén, 52 percent of them had not been born in Guadalajara.³⁸ In 1750, of the total number of people who married in the central parish of Sagrario de Guadalajara, 38 percent, of them were not originally from the city.³⁹ In 1770 that percentage rose to 42 percent, which indicates an arrival significant number of outsiders to the city, even though by 1790 and 1812 the percentage was reduced to 26 percent and 27 percent, respectively. If we review these same values for a peripheral parish such as San José Analco, integrated into the city at the end of the 18th century, we find that the percentage of people who got married and who were not born in Guadalajara is much higher than that recorded in the Tabernacle: in 1790 it was 74 percent and in 1810 it was 70 percent. Of course, these values should be taken with caution, since they are isolated data that only bring us closer to the phenomenon of migration.

It seems that the migratory flows did not stop, even in the central parish of the city, since it is striking that in those years the largest proportion of immigrants surely settled in the suburbs, to such a degree that it was necessary to erect new parishes in the city, as we will see more

³⁷ Menéndez Valdés, *Description and General Census*, p. 161.

³⁸ I thank Juan Pablo Torres for allowing me to quote this information, which is part of his research work as a student of the master's degree in Mexican History at the University of Guadalajara.

³⁹ Even though the parish marriage records from which we took this data do not specify when the couple had come to live in Guadalajara, we can accept that this information is valid to approach the phenomenon of migration to the city.

forward. At the end of the colonial era, in 1822, almost exactly one third of the inhabitants of Guadalajara (34%) were immigrants.⁴⁰

The colonial stage concluded with this demographic impulse and Guadalajara reached 34,697 inhabitants in 1803, to increase in 1821 to 38,087 inhabitants, and in 1823 to 40,272.⁴¹ Furthermore, seen as a whole, the relative growth of the city over the 18th century it was more intense than that of the other urban centers of New Spain.⁴²

For a greater understanding of the way the population of Guadalajara and its surrounding towns grew in the last decades of the 18th century, we must place such growth in a broader period, which shows us the long-term upward trend in the population. This demographic growth can also be corroborated by observing the increase, throughout the century, in the number of patients admitted to the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén, the largest and most important hospital in the city. Even though these data can only offer us an approximation (since some of these patients could have entered the hospital on more than one occasion), it is possible that this information accounts for the significant growth in the population of the capital of Nueva Galicia, although Also, it most certainly measures the growth of a sector of the population, the poorest. If we compare the 317 patients who were admitted to the hospital in 1705 with the 252,343 who were admitted in 1800, we can see a very strong growth in that population, since their number almost quadrupled throughout the 18th century. If we break down this information into three periods we find interesting results. Apparently, in the first decades the growth was more important, since between 1705 and 1736 the increase in the number of patients admitted was 259 percent. Stated in other terms, we find that in the second five-year period of the 18th century the annual average of patients who entered the hospital was 321, and by 1735 that average had almost quadrupled. In fact, the administrators of the hospital, in their eagerness to ask for real help to build a new building for the hospital, make reference to the growth of the population, in a letter addressed to the Court of Guadalajara on January 25, 1735 by Brother Lucas de San José, hospital prefect. The letter said:

⁴⁰ Van Young, *The City and the Country*, pp. 47-48.

⁴¹ Rodney D. Anderson, *Guadalajara to the consummation of Independence: study of its population according to the censuses of 1821-1822* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno de Jalisco, 1983), p. Four. Five.

⁴² Berthe, «Introduction à l'histoire de Guadalajara», p. 227.

⁴³ Oliver Sánchez, *The Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén*, p. 203.

With the increase of new populations, these kingdoms, and the larger neighborhoods of this Republic, the number of poor people is incomparably more excessive, and precisely the inability to provide them with greater assistance is greater, since even now there are so many, that with a lack of beds in the short space, that some offer and others are, (with great pain from our careful fatigue) on the ground, not a few. ⁴⁴

Exactly throughout 1734, a year before the request was made to the king, 988 patients had been admitted, so the description made by the prefect of the hospital seems plausible. This important percentage in the increase in patients admitted to the hospital was maintained in the decade of the sixties of the 18th century. Starting in 1768, except for the years of mortality crisis, when the number of patients skyrocketed, the average annual admission stabilized at around 2,500 patients. ⁴⁵ On this topic, the bishop of Guadalajara Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco said in 1767 that "the city has increased so much that [...] it is enough to see its streets full of people, the competitions for the temples [...] the great consumption of food", ⁴⁶

Perhaps the most compelling proof of the significant growth of the population of Guadalajara was that in the last decades of the colonial period it became necessary to integrate the parish of the town of San José de Analco and create new parishes to spiritually assist the growing number of parishioners. Although once again we have to reckon with the ambiguity of the facts: enlightened despotism needed more instruments of control over the population. The first parish established in Guadalajara since the 16th century was the Sagrario, located in the center of the capital of the kingdom, which served until the end of the 18th century, when the parish of the Indian town of San José de Analco was absorbed by the growth urban of Guadalajara. This town was established, like the capital, in 1542; It was settled in order to gather the dispersed indigenous people and was located to the east of the city, on the other side of the San Juan de Dios river. In this town, Brother Antonio de Segovia built a Franciscan convent and later the parish of San José Analco was built.

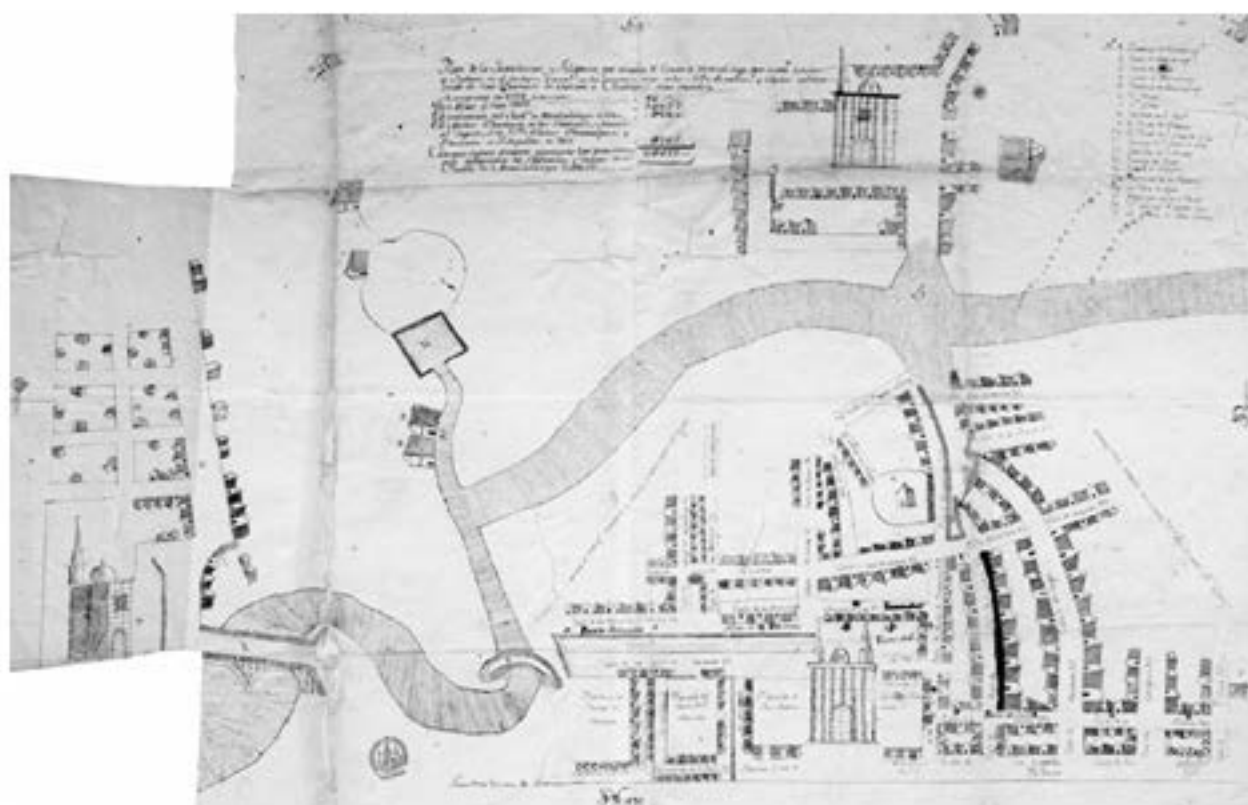
The city also grew to the south and north, so much so that the 18th century concluded with the erection of two new parishes in Guadalajara (see plans 2 and 3). Regarding this, Bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde, in addition to ordering

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 182.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 203.

⁴⁶ Carmen Castañeda García, *Education in Guadalajara during the Colony, 1552-1821* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 1984), p. 133.

PLAN 2. PLAN OF THE JURISDICTION AND PARISHIONSHIP
OF THE CURATE OF MEXICALTZINGO



Source: AHAG, Zapotec section, Parroquias/Sagrario series, year 1777.

MAP 3. PARISH OF THE SANCTUARY OF GUADALUPE



Source: AHAG, Government Section, Parish series, Sanctuary of Guadalupe, box 1, years 1739-1864, fol. 18f.

that "information must be received with witnesses of all exceptions," he gave the following testimony collected in an official letter dated October 10, 1778:

He said that having recognized [...] the great extension of this city and the large number of people who have settled there, mostly to the south and north winds, in whose suburbs many live who, due to their poverty and nakedness, do not occur frequently in the Mother parish, nor in the other interior churches of this city, and consequently they grow without hearing the holy sacrifice of the mass and [without] being instructed in the holy law of God, his Sa. Ylma. opportunely divide the curatorial benefit of this holy Cathedral church and erect two new parishes, one in the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe that at the expense of His Sa. Ylma. It is being made to the North wind, and the other in the sanctuary, which is to the South, and where the miraculous image of the Most Holy Christ of Penance is venerated, so that by this means they may be promptly helped on those shores.⁴⁷

On the aforementioned date, two more witnesses testified about the growth of the city and the misery of those that loomed on the banks, one was the high school student Juan Antonio Ciprian. His statement was heartbreaking when he denounced the conditions of the inhabitants of the suburbs of the city, where "many poor and low-class people" lived who worked as "workers, hatters and other mechanical and vile [trades]", with which they could barely get what was necessary for their sustenance. He also mentioned that because of the nakedness of those poor people, they were rarely seen in the churches closest to the edge of the city, and they rarely or never went to the cathedral, except once a year for the "obligation to fulfill in the annual precept of our Holy Mother Church", and also highlights that they took time to enter the cathedral because they were waiting for other poor people to lend them clothes with which they could present themselves with less indecency to the public.

The other witness was the high school student José Miguel Martínez Martaraña, who mentioned that "he saw and experienced that many sick people ended up in need, due to lack of food and necessary help, also noticing the ease with which they became infected due to the narrowness of their bedrooms". Years later, more witnesses confirmed the growth of the city "to the south and north winds">>> and finally, on July 29, 1782, the separation and erection of the parishes of San Juan Bautista de Mexicaltzingo in the south of the city was formalized. city (plan 2), and the parish of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe (plan 3) in the northern part. Fi

⁴⁷ AHAG, Government section, Parish series, Sanctuary of Guadalupe, box 1, years 1739-1846, fol. rf.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF INHABITANTS IN GUADALAJARA

YEAR	NUMBER OF INHABITANTS
1738	8 010 ¹
1770	22 394 ²
1777	22 163 ³
1778	21 137 ⁴
1780	22 127 ⁵
1782	19 969 ⁵
1791	24 248 ⁶
1803	34 697 ⁷
1821	38 082 ⁸
1823	40 272 ⁸

Source: 1. Mota Padilla, *History of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia*, p. 502; 2. Villaseñor y Sánchez, *American Theater*, p. 101; 3. Berthe, «Introduction à l'histoire de Guadalajara», p. 71; 4. Carlomagno López, «The years of hunger in Bolaños», pp. 57-81; 5. AHAG, Government section, Parish series, Santuario de Guadalupe, box 1, 1739-1864, exp. 21, fol. 43; 6. Menéndez Valdés, *Description and general census*, p. 161; 7. Pérez Verdía, cited in Berthe, «Introduction à l'histoire de Guadalajara», p. 71; 8. Anderson, *Guadalajara to the consummation of independence*, p. Four. Five.

Finally, in the turbulent years of the war of independence with great mobilization of the population, it was necessary to open another parish for the same reason of population increase, so that on January 10, 1815 the parish of Dulce Nombre de Jesús was erected in the northeastern part of the city. The reasons expressed for the erection of this new parish are extremely valuable and explicit; About this it was mentioned that:

The parish of Santa María de Guadalupe, a sub-city that in the year 1782, in which it was erected, did not include in its district more than four thousand five hundred and forty-six parishioners, has increased so extraordinarily and so rapidly that today it already includes in its entirety nine thousand five hundred and fifteen people according to the register formed in February of the current year [1814].⁴⁸

The erection of the new parish was intended to spiritually serve all parishioners who had settled outside the parish boundaries of the Sanctuary and outside the streets of his district, the same as at night, when closed the portcullis, they were cut off from the parish of the Sanctuary, and therefore in absolute impossibility of being helped by their pastor in their

⁴⁸ AHAG, Government section, Parish series, Sanctuary of Guadalupe, box 1, years 1739-1864, fol. 18f.

spiritual needs. These parishioners "lived outside the cuts along the Rastrillo de San Diego, neighborhood of Mexiquito, road to Zapopan, and town of Mezquitán." By the end of the colonial era, with the growth of the population, some of the towns that Mota Padilla designated in 1742 as his regional towns located a little more than a league away were conurbating to the city, such as Analco, Mexicaltzingo and Mezquitán.

In an assessment of the growth of the population of Guadalajara, Van Young states that the growth rate seems to have begun its increase since 1710.⁴⁹ Other studies propose that the important increase was registered after 1760. For my part, after reviewing the data statistics provided by the available sources, I consider that we can locate two periods of significant population growth in the capital of the kingdom, a proposal that does not contradict the approach that maintains that it was from 1760 onwards when what has been designated as the demographic takeoff of the city. The first includes the period of time that goes from 1740 to 1770, and the second that goes from the years after the crisis of 1785-1786 and until the end of the colonial period. In the first period the population almost tripled. As I mentioned in previous lines: the demographic takeoff of the city located in 1760 was preceded by 20 years in which the population was not devastated by major epidemics, so, if we relate both phenomena-population growth and epidemics, we notice a correlation.

In the second period, in addition to the natural growth of the population, it grows mainly as a result of immigration to the city. During those years, two events contributed to an increase in the number of immigrants or neighborhoods that the city commonly received. The first was the food shortage of 1785-1786, when a significant migratory flow of settlers, especially from the outskirts of the city, and "advised of hunger", arrived in the capital of the kingdom, of which surely many who managed to save their lives did not return to "their homeland." If we turn again to the statistics of the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén, the figures are conclusive and tell us, although indirectly, of at least four years of a significant flow of people who came to the city. This immigration is related to the loss of crops and the consequent shortage of food, as we will see. The other event was the war of independence, as a result of which many residents came seeking refuge in the city. By the end of the colonial period, in 1821, the population was 38,087 and two years later, in 1823, it rose even further to 40,272 inhabitants, as shown in table 2.

⁴⁹ Van Young, *The Town and the Country*, p. 46.

MISCELLANEOUSNESS AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

Regarding the structure of the population of Nueva Galicia by ethnic quality, we do not have documentary information for all the settlements in the kingdom. However, the census of the Guadalajara mayor's office, carried out by Menéndez Valdés, allows us to know that structure during the period 1791-1793 for said mayor's office. Regarding the ethnic assignment of the population, it is important to mention that David Carbajal's findings on Real de Bolaños have called into question their reliability. This author, applying the family reconstruction method, found that the same individual could be registered throughout his life with different qualities in the different records; such as records of baptisms, marriages, deaths or registers, both civil and religious, and that the ethnic assignment of the individual was commonly granted according to the individual's phenotype and not to the application of social, sociocultural, socioeconomic and class criteria; or the combination of these, as has traditionally been proposed in demographic historiography on the process of miscegenation in New Spain.⁵⁰ Due to the previous approach, the review that we make below on the ethnic structure of the population of some settlements in Nueva Galicia, based on the census carried out by Menéndez Valdés, is only an approach to the topic. Another of Carbajal's contributions is to show that the growth of racial mixtures in Bolaños occurred to a greater extent as a result of legitimate marital unions and not as a result of illegitimate unions as had happened during the colonial beginning of the period period.⁵¹

It seems that the trend found by Thomas Calvo for the 17th century, when the acceleration of demographic development accentuated the weight of miscegenation, continued in the 18th century to the extent that by the end of this century, as shown by the Table 3 and graph 1, 33 percent of the population of the municipality was of mixed population, in this case of mulattos and castes. This percentage competes with and exceeds by 1 percent the 32 percent of those designated as Spanish, although slightly lower than the 35 percent of an indigenous population well recovered from its distant disaster in the 16th century.

If we review the distribution of the population by quality in the capital of the kingdom, we find that the weight of miscegenation is more noticeable and is surely related in this case also to the significant growth of the population. blation of Guadalajara, which, as Calvo suggests, since the 17th century received

⁵⁰ David Carbajal López, *The population in Bolaños, 1740-1848. Demographic dynamics, family and mestizaje* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2008).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

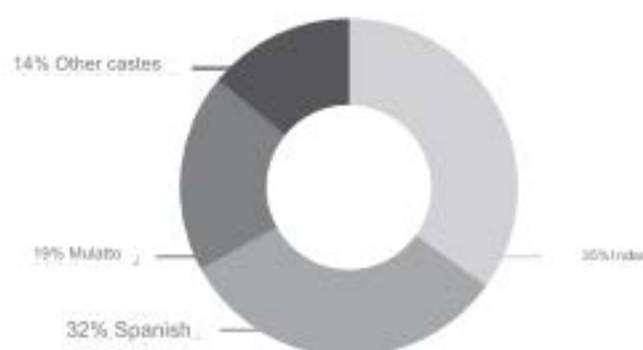
"a flow of mixed blood from its periphery", of which a significant number were women belonging to the castes.⁵² In fact, the vigorous 43 percent of the mulatto and caste population that lived in the city exceeds the 17 percent of Indians and 39 percent of Spaniards, as shown in table 4 and graph 2. It is important to clarify that we accept as mixed blood not only the members of the castes, but also the mulattoes, who in fact are so because they are descended from the union of a person of African origin and a white person. If we break down the 43 percent of mulattoes and castes in Guadalajara, we find that the percentage of people registered as mulattoes is very important, since they constituted 27 percent of the population, greater than the percentage of Indians and castes. We consider that these people surely worked as servants, cooks, wet nurses, drivers, tailors, etc., serving the wealthy strata of the city.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY QUALITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE GUADALAJARA INTENDANCE, 1791-1793

ETHNIC QUALITY	TOTALS	%
European	589	0
Spanish	108 419	32
Indian	117 698	35
Mulatto	65 045	19
Other castes	45 935	14
Total	337 686	100

Source: Menéndez Valdés, Description and general census.

GRAPH 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY QUALITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF GUADALAJARA, 1791-1793



Source: Menéndez Valdés, Description and general census.

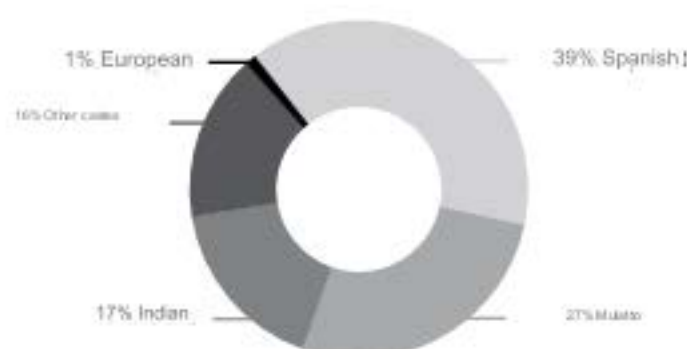
⁵² Calvo, «Demography and economy», p. 582.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY QUALITY
OF THE POPULATION OF GUADALAJARA DURING 1791

ETHNIC QUALITY	TOTALS	%
European	186	1
Spanish	9386	39
Indian	4241	17
Mulatto	6538	27
Other castes	3898	16
Totals	24249	100

Source: Menéndez Valdés, Description and general census, p. 161.

GRAPH 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY QUALITY OF
THE POPULATION OF GUADALAJARA DURING 1791



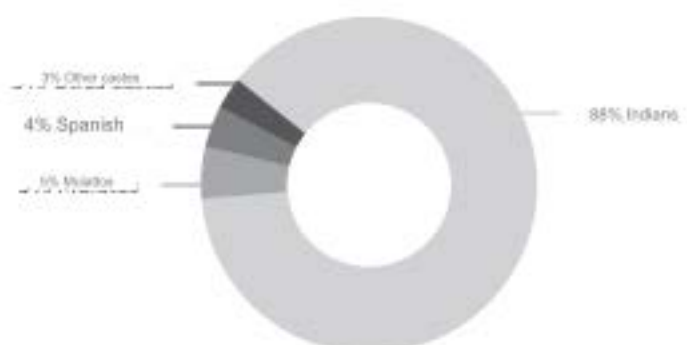
Source: Menéndez Valdés, Description and general census, p. 161.

Of course, within the municipality the structure of the population by quality varies in different jurisdictions, towns and neighborhoods. According to the availability of sources, let's review that structure in some jurisdictions. Tonalá and Tlajomulco were districts that, together with Zapopan, surrounded Guadalajara to the east and formed the indigenous belt of the city, and although this became blurred over the years, the indigenous population continued to dominate the landscape in this region. According to Menéndez Valdés, in Tonalá 88 percent of the population was registered as indigenous, and in Tlajomulco 76 percent (see graphs 3 and 4).

In another region of Nueva Galicia, to the north of its capital and outside its influence, the jurisdiction of the town of Lagos was located in the heart of the Los Altos region, and constituted a Creole frontier dedicated to breeding cattle. In 1791-1793, 23 percent of the population was registered as indigenous, 29 percent as Spanish and almost half, 48 percent, as a mixed population, if we add castes and mulattoes.

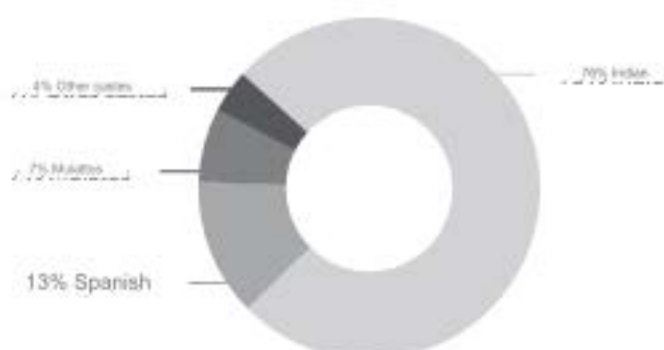
On this topic, Calvo mentions that since the second half of the 17th century, in Lagos as in Ameca and Guadalajara, the mixed population increased.

GRAPH 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY QUALITY IN TONALA, 1791-1793



Source: Menéndez Valdés, Description and general census, p. 158.

GRAPH 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNICITY IN THE POPULATION OF TLAJOMULCO, 1791-1793



Source: Menéndez Valdés, Description and general census, p. 159.

The jurisdiction of the town of Lagos, as I have mentioned, constituted, together with those of La Barca and Sayula, the most populated regions of the kingdom; In the second of them, La Barca, located southeast of Guadalajara, the most important economic activity was the raising of cattle, mules and horses; although agricultural activities also led them to the cultivation of corn, wheat, chickpeas and chili. In this region, and related to its economic activities, the largest population was made up of the so-called Spaniards, with 40.27 percent of the total. Next in importance were the indigenous population with 32.52 percent and the mixed blood populations with 27 percent, of which 13.81 percent were mulattoes and 13.28 percent were other castes.

Regarding the jurisdiction of Sayula or province of Ávalos, located south of Guadalajara, it was the most populated of the entire municipality with 47,460 residents, of which the largest number were indigenous, who constituted 49.67 percent of its population. population followed in importance by the mixed blood groups that constituted 26.33 percent, and then the Spanish with 24 percent. In this jurisdiction, with a temperature that was hotter than temperate, corn, beans, wheat and sugar cane were grown in abundance; Perhaps this last crop explains the presence of mulattoes in the region, who constituted a significant 18 percent of its total population.

In the jurisdiction of Tepic, a coastal region of cocoa and sugar cane plantations, and related to these economic activities, the Afro-descendant population dominates the ethnic landscape; since 41.79 percent are registered as mulattoes, compared to 7.65 percent of other castes, 24.29 percent of Indians and 25.10 percent of Spaniards. Continuing on this tour of the regions of Nueva Galicia, another of which we have information about the ethnic structure of its population is the mining settlement of Bolaños, where at the end of the 1740s the first boom in the extraction of ya - silver foundations. As Carbajal mentions, during the late colonial period "the Bolañon space functioned in an articulated manner until the end of the 18th century," 53 with periods of mining boom and bad times. In that region, the ethnic landscape is characterized by a significant percentage of castes, since 29.33 percent of its population was registered in the Menéndez Valdés census in that ethnic group, and if we add to this the 12.72 percent of mulattos, the mixed population was 42.05 percent, a high percentage and very characteristic of the mining regions that in boom times were repopulated by transplanted, extremely mixed populations. 54

The issue of miscegenation in Bolaños leads us to raise again the contributions that David Carbajal has made in this regard. This is the discovery of multiethnic families, that is, families made up of individuals who were registered as belonging to different ethnic groups.55 Table 5 and graph 5 show that of the total Bolaña families reconstructed by

53 David Carbajal López «El Real de Bolaños: mining activity and demographic dynamics graphics, 1740-1848», *Niuki* 12 (2011). 54

This phenomenon is mentioned by Calvo for Guachinango and Charcas, «the third circle "mining ass" of New Galicia, in the 17th century. Cf. Calvo, "Demography and economy", p. 585.

55 David Carbajal López, «Methodological reflections on mestizaje in New Spain. A proposal from the families of Real de Bolaños, 1740-1822», *Historical Letters* 1 (autumn-winter 2009): 23.

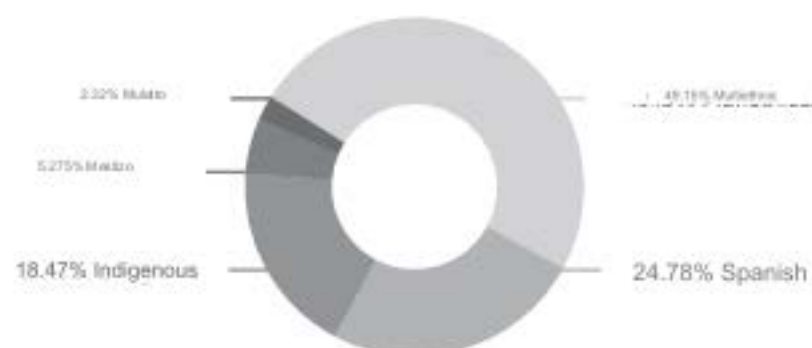
Carbajal, for the period 1740-1822 almost half, 49.15 percent, were multiethnic families.

TABLE 5. QUALITY OF BOLAÑENSE FAMILIES, 1740-1822

ETHNIC QUALITY OF FAMILIES	NUMBER OF FAMILIES (%)	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER COUPLE
Multiethnic	1184 (49.15%)	4187	3.53
Spanish	937 (24.78%)	1875	3.14
Natives	445 (18.47%)	1140	2.96
Mixed race	127 (5.27%)	321	2.33
Mulattoes	56 (2.32%)	148	2.64
Total	2409	7671	3.18

Source: Carbajal López, «Methodological reflections», p. 23.

GRAPH 5. ETHNIC QUALITY OF BOLAÑA FAMILIES, 1740-1822



Source: Carbajal López, «Methodological reflections», p. 23.

In another district of mining origin, Guachinango, the ethnic structure of its population shows the heritage of the past. It is an old mining center from the 16th century, whose boom in silver extraction dates back to the second half of the 17th century, to the extent that, as Aristarco Regalado mentions, Francisco Rodríguez Ponce had 100 black slaves at that time to the work in their mines.⁵⁶ Even though at the end of the 18th century the important economic activity was livestock farming, in the ethnic structure of its population we can see the consequences of how important the population of African origin was, since 32 percent were registered as mulattoes, which Added to the 16 percent of the members of the other castes, they constitute almost half of the

⁵⁶ Aristarco Regalado, *L'ouest Mexicain à l'époque des Découvertes et des conquêtes (XVI-XVII siècle)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013), p. 279.

population, 48 percent of mixed blood. The proportion of Spaniards and Indians is equal, each group making up 26 percent.

To the southwest of Guadalajara, in the jurisdiction of Autlán de la Grana, with hot temperatures and today known as the gateway to the coast of Jalisco, the cultivation of seeds was abundant, in addition to the breeding of "cattle, horses and mules." » constituted another of their important activities, as well as work in some sugar mills. In this settlement where colonization, as in other places, meant not only an "abysmal collapse" but practically the extermination of the indigenous population, in 1748 only 41 Indians lived in its "town and capital of Autlán." Years later, in 1770, a registry records 206 families living in Autlán, of which 101 are Creoles, 13 are mulattos, 48 are coyotes, 8 are Indians, 3 are Tressalbos and one is a Morisco. In 11 families the spouse belonged to a different ethnic quality and in 21 families the quality was not specified.⁵⁷ The above information leads us to propose that this settlement was practically repopulated by people of African origin, Spaniards and the descendants of the mixture between both groups. ethnic groups, in addition to the mixture with the small indigenous population that resulted in a strong miscegenation, as corroborated by the following information: of the total population of the parish jurisdiction of Autlán in 1770, only 7.4% were Indians, 40% were Spanish, 0.15% black and 46.39% mixed blood. Of the total mixed population, a markedly high percentage of mulattos (26.39%) and coyotes (20%) stands out, as seen in table 6 and graph 6. Years later, in 1791, the ethnic makeup of the population of Autlán generally retained the aforementioned characteristics, although with some interesting changes. The population of mixed blood continued to be the largest (38.64%), even though it was ten percent less than that recorded in 1770. Next in importance was the Spanish population (33.39%) and in third place was the indigenous population (28%).

Two more comments about the process of miscegenation in the Autlán region, we must highlight the important recovery of the indigenous population that went from 7.2% in 1770 to 28% in 1791, a characteristic recovery of the time, as I have mentioned, and which certainly contributed to the growth of the population in Nueva Galicia. The other aspect is that the percentage of mulattos, surely related to the cultivation of sugar cane among other activities, is also high: 27.34%, and slightly higher than that recorded in 1770.

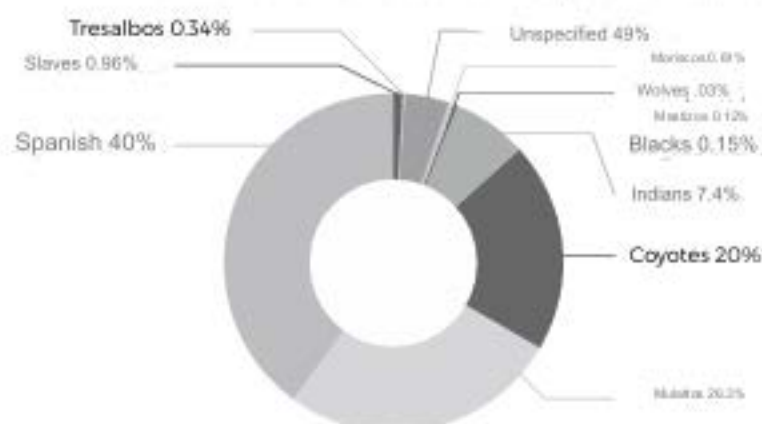
⁵⁷ Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez, *Autlán de la Grana. Population and miscegenation* (Lagos de Moreno, Jalisco: University of Guadalajara, 2014), p. 123.

TABLE 6. QUALITY OF THOSE REGISTERED IN AUTLAN, 1770

ETHNIC QUALITY	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
Spanish people	1040	40
Mestizos	685	26.33
Coyotes	513	20
Indians	189	7.4
Mestizo	3	0.12
Blacks	4	0.15
Mestizo	16	0.61
Tresalbos	9	0.34
Unspecified	111	4
Wolves	1	0.03
Slaves	25	0.96
Totals	2596	100

• I have included slaves in this table, even though it is a condition of those settlers and not their quality or ethnic designation, considering that since they are of African descent, we can count them in the mixed population. Source: Oliver Sánchez, Autlán de la Grana, pp. 109-110.

GRAPH 6. QUALITY OF REGISTERED IN THE PARISH JURISDICTION OF AUTLAN, 1770



Source: Oliver Sánchez, Autlán de la Grana, pp. 109-110.

In the coastal region to the south, the town of La Purificación, belonging in 1791 to the jurisdiction of Tomatlán, was a small settlement with 337 inhabitants in its capital, of which the largest proportion (44.21 percent) was They constituted people of mixed blood; Next in numerical importance were the indigenous group with 29.67 percent, and the Spanish with 20.77 percent of the total population. The ethnic characteristics of this coastal region are similar to Autlán, where miscegenation and recovery

peration of the indigenous population were important. The town of Purificación is the only place for which we have information about the ethnic structure for the second decade of the 19th century, and even though the register that we know of the town of Purificación from 1817 was made for religious and not civil purposes, like that of Menéndez Valdés, generally allows us to make some comparisons. In the parish of the town of Purificación in 1817, 1,515 people in total were registered, distributed in 29 settlements; In them the highest percentage was that of parishioners of mixed blood, who made up 40.33 percent of the total population; They were followed by the so-called Spaniards with 36.37 percent and the Indians with 20.40 percent.⁵⁸ In the mixed population of these coastal places, those of African origin predominate with 37 percent of the total.

I have tried to propose a certain geographical distribution of the population by quality in some jurisdictions of Nueva Galicia between 1791 and 1793, having as a source the register compiled by José Menéndez Valdés. As an example of a more specific geographic distribution, the registry that we know for the parishioners of the town of Purificación allows us to know more detailed information. By 1817, the majority of Spaniards, as expected, lived concentrated in the town of La Purificación; 145 of its 233 inhabitants were Spanish, which represented 62.23 percent of the total population. Only 11 Indians were registered, that is, 4.72 percent; 12 mestizos (5.15 percent) and 65 mulattos (28 percent). The latter made up entire families or appear as servants of families made up of Spaniards, an example of this is the family formed by Juan Manuel Domínguez and Gertrudis Michel, both Spaniards who lived with their three children and three mulattoes (table 7).

In contrast to the town of Purificación, the largest concentration of mulattoes in the entire jurisdiction lived in the Alcíhuatl hacienda; Of the 128 registered, 120 were mulattoes, which means 94 percent of its population; 19 were Indians, 8 Spanish and one mestizo. It is not surprising that such a significant number of mulattoes concentrated on a hacienda where they constituted the workforce.

⁵⁸ The total of these numbers does not add up to 100 percent because in 2.90 percent of those registered their ethnic affiliation was not specified. See Oliver Sánchez, "The population of the town of Purificación", p. 114.

TABLE 7. SPANISH FAMILY DOMÍNGUEZ MICHEL, VILLA DE LA PURIFICACIÓN

Juan Manuel	Dominguez	Spanish	Married	49
Gertrude	Michel	Spanish		43
Manuel	Dominguez	Spanish	Child	13
Jose Margarito	Dominguez	Spanish	Child	10
Lawrence	Dominguez	Spanish	Infant	3
Polonium	Alcantar	Mulatto	Single	16
Brown	Alcantar	Mulatto	Child	13
Andrew	Alcantar	Mulatto	Child	8

Source: Oliver Sánchez, «The population of the town of Purificación», p. 115.

TABLE 8. GENERAL POPULATION TABLE
OF THE GUADALAJARA INTENDENCE
ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL CENSUS OF JOSÉ MENÉNDEZ VALDES OF 1791-1793

JURISDICTIONS	EUROPEAN	SPANISH	INDIAN	MULATTO	OTHER CASTES	TOTAL POPULATION by LOCATION
Zapotlán the Great	20	3865	8196	2600	6393	21074
Saint Sebastian	17	691	0	2206	0	2914
Sentispac	0	8	1121	661	0	1790
Acaponeta	5	1113	2086	2324	251	5779
Tepic	59	1259	1218	2096	383	5015
Santa Maria del Oro	0	747	2074	835	212	3868
Alfaro collan	3	1076	1477	475	202	3233
Hostotipaquillo	15	1497	1362	1718	913	5505
Tequila	4	1446	1668	705	594	4417
Guachinango	10	2724	2725	3317	1667	10443
Tomatlan	3	1335	1074	1414	372	4198
Amula	1	1418	3838	1518	843	7618
Aulán	13	5602	4675	4587	1897	16774
Ahualulco	22	4237	3025	2550	880	10714
Sayula	22	11452	23524	8414	3948	47360
The Isat	36	13304	10744	4565	4388	33037
Tepatitlan	4	5209	2697	1738	830	10478
Lagos Village	30	10667	8394	8674	9283	37048
Aguascalientes	64	9940	8617	3357	3719	25697
Juchipila	27	10110	8086	1415	2129	21767
Bolton	39	2401	849	722	1665	5676
San Cristobal	0	457	2553	189	301	3500
San Felipe de Cuervo	5	6594	2902	879	270	10650
Tonala	0	239	4793	267	148	5447
Santiago de Tlajomulco	0	791	4496	421	230	5938
Elm	4	851	1263	860	519	3497
Guadalajara	186	9386	4241	6538	3898	24249
Total population by category	589	108419	117698	65045	45935	337686

According to the numerical importance of mulattoes and coyotes in Autlán during 1770, and of mulattoes in the town of Purificación during 1817, we can infer that the mixture of the population of African origin with the white population predominated in the demographic landscape of the southern coast of Jalisco, so that their descendants managed to take root in the region, helping to form their own identity. Originally, these groups were generally the result of non-formalized sexual relations, and to the extent that they were, they were discriminated against even by written laws.

For their part, indigenous people mixed with both whites and blacks throughout the colonial era. What seems to be clear is that the process of miscegenation in Nueva Galicia and its capital Guadalajara accelerated with the significant growth of its population in the last decades of the colonial period, as shown in table 8, in which we include the distribution of the population for all the jurisdictions of the municipality of Guadalajara, in the period 1791-1793.

DIVERSIFICATION AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION

The recovery of the indigenous population and in general the growth of the entire population of the kingdom of New Galicia that has already been noted since the decade of the forties of the 18th century, as stated in previous lines, acted as the driving force that it promotes the recovery of the Neo-Galician economy registered in the late colonial period. In turn, this economic recovery feeds back, supports and drives this population growth, particularly that of the capital of the kingdom and its surroundings, without neglecting its confines, although unevenly in the different regions, the north and the most coastal, depopulated than the Altos region and the center. During the second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, there was a sustained increase in the sectors agricultural-livestock, industrial-artisanal, and consequently, commerce in the region, resulting in the economy diversifying and expanding.

During the last decades of the 18th century, the agricultural prosperity of the Nueva Galicia has turned it into the second region of the viceroyalty, after Mexico, regarding the growth rate in that sector.⁵⁹ Already for the beginning of the 19th century, the value of the agricultural production of the territory of the Guadalajara mayor's office exceeded 4,500,000 pesos, of which 2,800,000 corresponded to the agricultural sector and 1700,000 to livestock. The most production important was the cultivation of corn (1657,200 bushels produced in 1802

⁵⁹ Serrera Contreras, Guadalajara livestock, p. 25.

and 1860 300 in 1803), followed by beans and wheat, the three basic foods in the population's diet. ⁶⁰ These crops were followed in order of production by chili, sugar, cotton, panicle, banana and grain. With this information Serrera concludes by saying that "the region had not only managed to increase its production rate astonishingly within half a century, but had also managed to diversify crops within the territory to supply a large part of its own demand".

Eric van Young explains this process of economic expansion as the result of the change from an extensive economy, with little use of labor, small markets and low capital investment, characteristics of the old regime, to the established economy in Guadalajara and its region; distinguished by rising land values, intensive land use, employment of a rural labor force based largely on indebted peonage, with a mix of temporary wage workers, expanded markets, increasing capital investment and system expansion of the estate. ⁶² Another characteristic of this change in the economic system was the rural

impoverishment that, Van Young says, was largely behind the prosperity of Guadalajara at the end of the colonial period. ⁶³

As for the livestock sector, its importance was such that during the second half of the 18th century, the region as a whole, together with what was known as "inland" made up of Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León, Nuevo Santander, Sonora and San Luis de Potosí, were the places that supplied large livestock for the interior of New Spain. Just at that time, Nueva Galicia exported more than 30,000 cattle each year to Mexico City. ⁵⁴ Its annual production increased in such a way that by the first years of the 19th century, what was the municipality of Guadalajara produced between 300,000 and 350,000 cattle, a figure that seems short, Serrera proposes, if one takes into account that the census was calculated of cattle in about 5000000 heads in those years. ⁶⁵ This production was much higher than that of all the regions of the so-called Tierra Adentro of the north, including the Californias, which places the municipality of Guadalajara as the largest producer of cattle in the viceroyalty;

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶² Van Young, *The city and the countryside*, p. 22.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁶⁴ Matías Angel de la Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia (1742)* (Guadalajara: Graphic Workshops of Gallardo and Álvarez del Castillo, 1920), p. 394.

⁶⁵ Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. 78.

This allowed it to fulfill an important function as a supplier of cattle to New Spain during the second half of the 18th century. Among the areas of greatest production and export of cattle, the lower districts of the coastal region of the territory of Nueva Galicia stand out, these were: Acaponeta, Sentispac, Tepic, Purificación, Autlán, Colima and Rosario. From these seven districts came 67 percent of the total of cattle exported between 1760 and 1800, the jurisdiction of Tepic stands out, where 38 percent of the cattle shipments of the entire region during the said period came from. 66 On this topic, a valuable testimony from the year 1777, from a buyer of livestock at the Toluca livestock fair to supply the capital of the viceroyalty, mentions the following: «The majority of this livestock is brought from La Barca, Sayula, near Guadalajara, Compostela, Tepic and Rosario», 67

During the months of August and September, the herds of robust bulls from Guadalajara and its region left to coincide with the main livestock fairs in the areas of Puebla, Toluca and Mexico that were held in the month of October. Entire consignments were also exported to Oaxaca (see map 2). Even though on a smaller scale, horse and mule breeding had an important development during the second half of the 18th century. In the northern territories of the viceroyalty of New Spain, Guadalajara and its region was one of the prominent places for the breeding of horses and mules; since ancient times, shipments of these livestock were exported to the consumption centers of the viceroyalty. Mota Padilla mentions that in the mid-18th century, 4,000 mules and 4,000 horses were exported to Mexico from Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya for sale. 68 Even though in the last decades of the 18th century its output decreased and supply exceeded demand, Guadalajara continued to have a prominent place in horse and mule production during that time. For the beginning of the 19th century, official statistics from the Guadalajara mayor's office propose a census of almost one million horses and mules. 69 The volume of exports in absolute figures during the time period from 1761 to 1800 was 26,726 mules and 18,096 horses exported from New Galicia to the interior of New Spain, and the value of these shipments was approximately 108,576 pesos per the sale of horses and 400,890 of mules. 70 In Neo-Galician geography, Aguascalientes and Lagos stand out as producers of mule and horse cattle.

66 Ibid., p. 92.

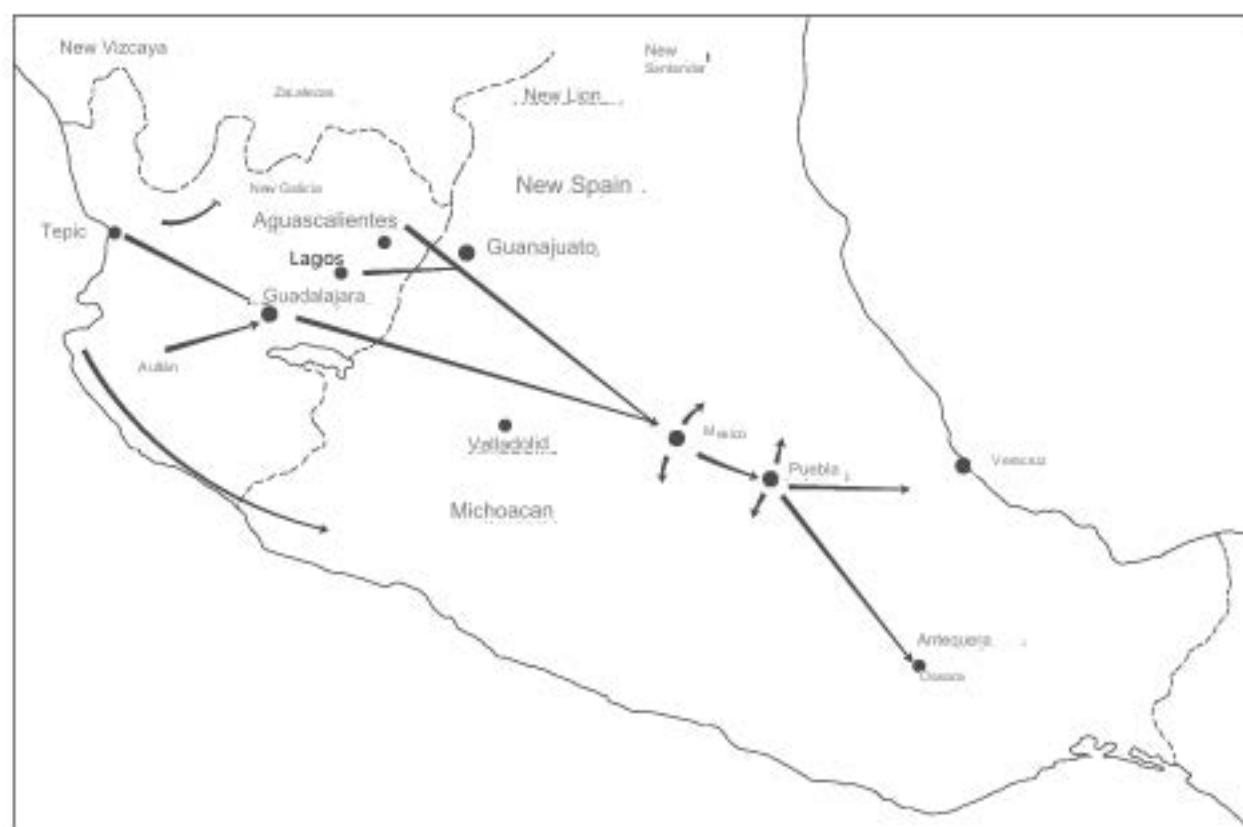
67 Ibid., p. 99.

68 De la Mota Padilla, *History of the conquest*, p. 393.

69 Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. 92.

70 Serrera proposes for the price of horses at that time in New Spain

MAP 2. MAIN LINES OF LIVESTOCK COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC IN THE VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

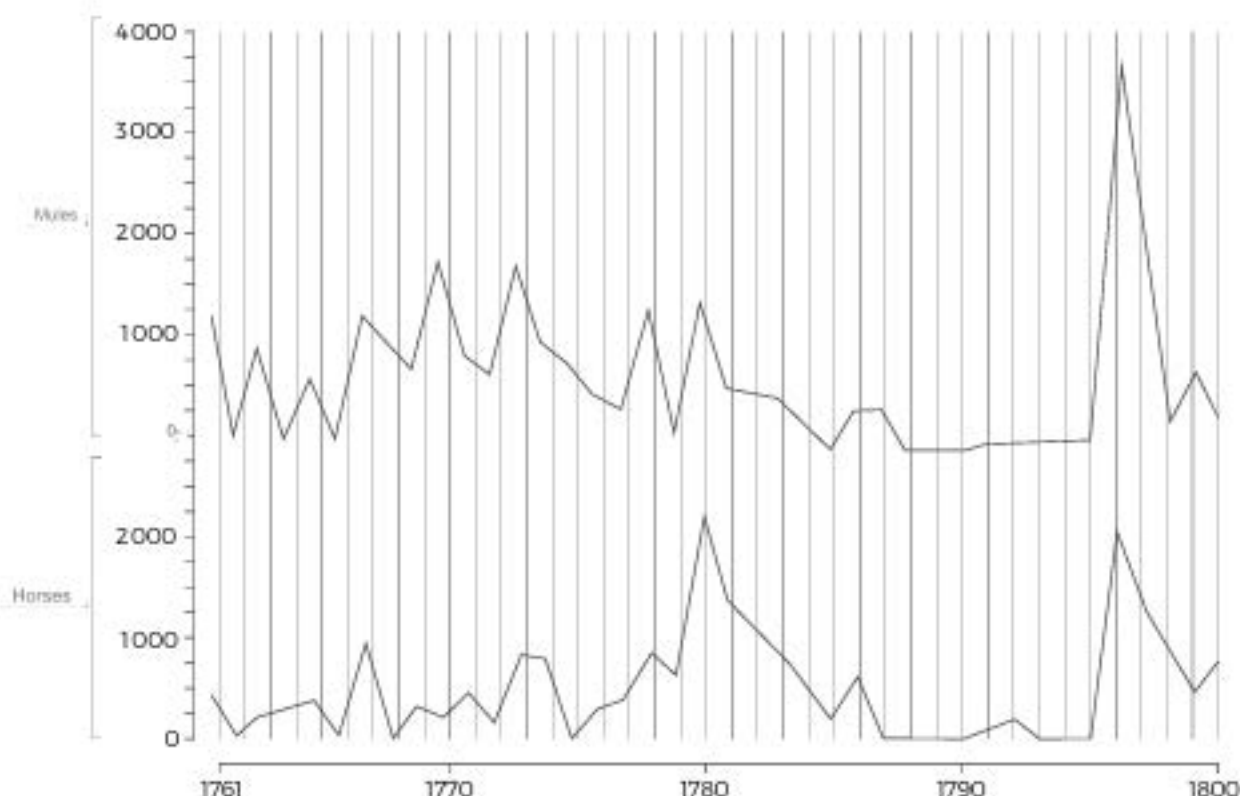


Source: Serrera Contreras, Guadalajara livestock, p. 101.

It is important to mention that mule breeding was an activity prohibited by the Spanish Crown, however, it came to be imposed in New Spain as the main means of transportation and land communication in an orography that was difficult to access and without navigable river systems. For the Indian, it became an essential means of transportation to take their products to local markets, in such a way that the small-scale indigenous mulework is typical of the New Spain landscape in colonial times. The mule industry throughout Mexico provided work for a significant number of Indians and, above all, mestizos from north to south and from east to west and its economic importance is beyond dispute. Thomas Calvo has demonstrated the important economic function that this resistant animal had in New Galicia since the 17th century (see graph 7). Finally, we must mention as part of the livestock sector the breeding of sheep, whose development was much lower than those already mentioned. The most important place in New Galicia in terms of sheep farming was Aguascalientes and specifically the enormous Ciénega de Mata hacienda owned by the Rincón family.

— six pesos and fifteen pesos for mules. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

GRAPH 7. EXPORTS OF MULE AND HORSE CATTLE FROM GUADALAJARA TO NEW SPAIN IN NUMBER OF HEADS. 1760-1800.



Source: Serrera Contreras, Guadalajara livestock, p. 194.

Gallant. The supremacy of Aguascalientes was such that of the total number of female sheep slaughtered throughout Nueva Galicia in the period from 1767 to 1781, 43.89 percent came from this district. One way to verify the lack of importance of sheep farming is through the values shown by the textile industry derived from wool compared to cotton at the beginning of the 19th century; Of the textile values of the entire municipality of Guadalajara, wool represented only 14.30 percent compared to 85.70 percent of cotton; and in relation to textile exports, wool represented 16.30 percent and cotton 83.70 percent.⁷²

Let us now look at another of the important economic activities of the kingdom: during the last third of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th century, industrial and artisanal activities received a clear boost in the region. The first attempts at industrialization were born in the territory during the decade of

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 315.

⁷² Ibid., p. 323.

the sixties of the 18th century.⁷³ Civil and ecclesiastical authorities strongly supported the creation of new industries and craft centers. An important actor in this issue was Bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde, the hospital bishop, who on February 8, 1776, from a modern mentality, explained to the Audience that the reason why there were so many thefts and crimes, as well as idleness. What a large part of the population lived in was the lack of work. Their request was echoed and the City Council, at the request of the Court, convened a meeting of merchants in which it was agreed to create wool, cotton and fine leather industries such as the cordobanes that were brought at that time from Querétaro and San Miguel. el Grande." A company was founded and the City Council offered to waive tax rights for four years, however, after two years the company was dissolved, leaving one hundred cotton, wool and fleece workshops established, where "blankets were made." "rayadillas, cambayas, shawls, handkerchiefs, quilts, blankets, serapes of all sizes, jargons and cloths to dress the troops, and in the tanneries fine corbates."⁷⁵ The successor of Bishop Alcalde, the enlightened doctor Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas, also decisively promoted the industrialization of the bishopric, considered by him indispensable for the natural and moral happiness of its inhabitants.⁷⁶

Already at the beginning of the 19th century, the municipality of Guadalajara was one of the four first textile regions of the Viceroyalty, next to Puebla, Mexico and Valladolid." By 1804, cotton cultivation not only satisfied the demand of the mayor, but was exported to places like Mexico, Puebla or Querétaro. According to Abascal Souza, warm regions such as Colima, Tuxcacuesco and Autlán stood out in cotton cultivation. In 1804 alone, a total of 240,123 pieces of cotton blankets were produced. ⁷⁸ The production of woolen cloth was very small compared to cotton cloth; Between 1802 and 1804, of the value of textile production, wool represented only 14.30 percent compared to 85.70 percent for cotton. ⁷⁹ Along with cotton cultivation, cocoa and grain cultivation was also promoted. Industries derived from leather followed

⁷³ Alejandro de Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1973), p. 451.

⁷⁴ Luis Pérez Verdía, *Particular History of the State of Jalisco* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 1988), vol. 1 p. 384.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Serrera Contreras, *Guadalajara livestock*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 58.

in importance to the textile production of cotton and wool, regarding the production values in that sector, Serrera mentions that:

At the beginning of the 19th century, the municipality produced around 22,600 tanned beef hides, 20,780 deer chamois, 13,500 cows, 8,150 dozen sheepskins, 940 dozen tanned goat hides, 460 dozen pig hides, 62,000 dozen cordobans, 4,875 dozen chamois pads, 12,230 dozen shoes, 8,850 cowgirl saddles, and 7,500 pairs of suede boots. The total value of what was produced ranged between 430,000 and 440,000 pesos annually.⁸⁰

In terms of industrialization by geographical location, the jurisdiction of Sayula was the most important due to its production and diversification, and as we had mentioned, also the most populated in the municipality; It shows more clearly the interrelation and reinforcement of the demographic and economic variable in the towns that made it up where mezcal wine, wool and cotton manufactures, as well as leather tanning were produced.

GRAPH 8. REAL OF BOLAÑOS MINES. ARGENTIFERA PRODUCTION, 1740-1848



Source: Carbajal López, "El Real de Bolaños".

To conclude this section, it is necessary to mention the general decline that was recorded in mining production during the second half of the 18th century, in the face of agricultural and livestock prosperity, to the extent that by 1802 and 1803 this activity represented only 10.12 percent of the total value of global production of all economic sectors of the Guadalajara municipality. Without

However, we must point out that it was also in the second half of the century XVIII when periods of prosperity were recorded in the mining exploitation of the

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 39.

mines of Bolaños as demonstrated by Carbajal López.⁸² In the mid-1740s, the exploitation of some of the richest deposits in Bolaños began. As a result of this mining bonanza, Viceroy Revillagigedo ordered the erection of a royal coffer in order to ensure the abundance of metals in Bolaños.⁸³ After a period of mining decline, a productive rebound was recorded (1790-1799), to such an extent that an important group of businessmen from the capital of the viceroyalty began activities and managed to increase production.⁸⁴ Finally, the colonial period concludes with a mining crisis in Bolaños as a result of technical drainage problems in its mines.

⁸² Carbajal López, "El Real de Bolaños."

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS AND EPIDEMICS¹

Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez, University of Guadalajara

The high levels of mortality and its sharp rises were a common characteristic of the societies of the Ancien Regime. In this context, high mortality regimes such as those prevailing in the New Spain and nineteenth-century populations of our country are characterized by being intense and with frequent increases, resulting in what scholars of the subject have called demographic crises. More than a 50% increase in normal mortality must be recorded to speak of a small crisis, while to speak of large crises mortality could quadruple.²

Thomas Calvo «considers an "acute demographic crisis" when the number of deaths doubles and at the same time there is a 50% collapse in births; Furthermore, it is characterized by its abruptness, its intensity and its short duration. What is beyond dispute is that the presence of a demographic crisis implied an alteration in demographic dynamics; In addition to the increase in mortality, a sharp drop in births and conceptions, it also implies a collapse in the number of marriages, because many of the future spouses were victims of the demographic crisis, and then, because circumstances were not favorable for marriages.⁵ One

¹ Some paragraphs in this chapter are part of an article of my authorship published in the magazine *Letras Históricas* 3 (autumn-winter 2010): 47-67.

² Massimo Livi Bacci, *La société italienne* (Florence: Dipartimento Statistico, 1978), p. 10.

³ Thomas Calvo, *Acatzingo. Demography of a parish* (Mexico: National Institute of Anthropology and History, 1973), p. 62.

⁴ Juan Javier Pescador, *From the baptized to the faithful dead. Families and mentalities in an urban parish: Santa Catarina de México, 1568-1820* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1992), p. 91.

⁵ Calvo, *Acatzingo. Demography of a parish*, p. 65; Claude Morin, *Santa Inés. Zacatelco (1646-1812): contribution to the historical demography of colonial Mexico*

A general characteristic of demographic crises is that at a later time the affected populations began a demographic recovery.⁶

THE MATLALZAHUATL EPIDEMIC OF 1737-1738

Although the epidemics of 1692 and 1727 were powerful, the Matlazahuatl epidemic of 1737 is of essential importance. In December 1736, the first outbreaks of this disease appeared in a Tacuba factory in Mexico City, which at the end of 1737 and beginning of 1738 devastated the city of Guadalajara. The epidemic spread throughout New Spain. Lourdes Márquez Morfin finds similarities between the typhus outbreak of 1813 and the matlalzahuatl of the colonial period. This was one of the bloodiest epidemics suffered by the

nial (Mexico: INAH / SEP, 1973), p. 41. There are important advances regarding the study and debate on the causes of the demographic crises of populations in the past. The pioneering works in this regard stated that these were related to agricultural crises and famines, that is, to subsistence crises. Later studies have shown that demographic crises were not necessarily related to agricultural crises. In general, there were three different causes of the demographic crises, namely, hunger - caused in some cases by subsistence crises; epidemics and wars (and in the American case, colonial exploitation). Sometimes two or all three causes could be combined. Likewise, irregular attacks of infectious epidemic diseases used to occur independently of irregular crop cycles. See Edward A. Wrigley, *History and population: introduction to historical demography* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1985), p. 75; Michael W. Flinn, *The European demographic system, 1500-1820* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1989), p. 80.

This recovery was carried out by the following mechanisms, as Pescador points out: "liberation of the marriage market, reduction of interpregnancy intervals and a notable decrease in mortality to levels lower than those in force before the epidemic appeared, among the more important". See Fisherman, *From the baptized to the faithful dead*, p. 93.

⁷ Nicolás León mentions that the word matlalzahuatl literally means: "eruption like a network in the shape of grains", and is derived from the etymological formation: matlatl, "network" and zahuatl, "scabies, eruption, grains", etc. Nicolás León, "What was the matlazahuatl and what was the cocoliztli in pre-Columbian times and in the Hispanic era?", in *Essay on the history of epidemics in Mexico*, volume 1, compiled by Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido (Mexico: IMSS, 1982), p. 383.

⁸ América Molina del Villar, *La Nueva España y el matlalzahuatl, 1736 y 1739* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), pp. 77-81.

⁹ Lourdes Márquez Morfin, *Inequality in the face of death in Mexico City*

New Spain; The death toll was very high. Lucas Alamán mentions that in Mexico City alone there were 40,150 fatalities. Luis Pérez Verdía reports that in New Galicia the evil "took such a strong hold on the indigenous race that the ranches and villages were depopulated."¹⁰ The number of inmates increased so much in the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén that, according to the notary Manuel de la Sierra, the number of poor people who were being cured at the same time in the said royal hospital often reached 116 and 121.¹¹ As the hospital then had 54 beds divided into five rooms, De la Serna says that "the patients could not fit in these five rooms, nor in other rooms, which, to the great discomfort of the religious, also served as infirmaries."¹² In such circumstances, the Betlemitas, the hospital order that attended the hospital, had to open a provisional hospital that during the epidemic functioned as an extension of that of San Miguel, called the San Rafael ward for women.¹³ This would not be the first time that A provisional center, one of those frequently set up during epidemics, operated in Guadalajara. In the aforementioned San Rafael room, 36 beds and mattresses for 108 patients were put into operation. It began operating on January 27, 1738, and According to a contemporary, "healing in said room appears to have ceased on April 28, all this year because the Epidemic (and Glory to God) has been very large, it is greatly diminished and almost extinct."

co. Typhoid and cholera (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1994), pp. 215-222. Molina del Villar mentions the following about the etiology and symptomatology of the disease: «The symptoms of matlalzahuatl show great similarity with typhus, the plague and possibly with murine typhus. These diseases are transmitted by microorganisms called rickettsiae, small coccobacilli whose survival requires going through a cycle that includes an insect vector (lice, flea and tick) and a host or reservoir animal (rat, mouse or man). Human infection occurs during rubbing or scratching the skin of the individual bitten by these insects. Through this bite, the flea or louse injects its infected feces into the bloodstream. Molina del Villar, *La Nueva España...*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁰ Luis Pérez Verdía, *Particular history of the state of Jalisco: from the earliest times of which there is news, to the present day*, vol. 1 (Guadalajara: Graphic, 1951), p. 415.

¹¹ Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez, *The royal hospital of San Miguel de Belén, 1581-1802* (Guadalajara, University of Guadalajara, 1992), p. 189.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

THE EPIDEMICS OF 1762 AND 1763

During the years from 1738 to 1760, based on the mortality recorded in the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén, we find that there were no important increases in the capital of Nueva Galicia; Only in 1747 and 1751 was there an increase in mortality possibly related to the droughts, frosts and food shortages that occurred in New Spain and with greater force in New Galicia. It was not until 1762 and 1763 when both the number of patients admitted to the Belén hospital in Guadalajara and the number of deaths rose again. This increase in mortality is related to the presence of epidemics caused by a combination of typhus and smallpox that from 1761 to 1764¹⁵ affected the population of New Spain. ¹⁶ In Guadalajara it was during the months of January, February and March 1762 when mortality increased as shown in graphs 1 and 2. The city council recorded the presence of a deadly epidemic and the way it was treated. conceived those calamities as divine punishments; In this regard, in their session on March 3 of that year they expressed the following: "this City Council must put all its attention on the benefit of the public who today have been greatly dismayed and mortified with the general illness and plague with which they have dealt with of the Almighty to make himself known and feared so that in this way we live in the Christian arrangement and recognition that we owe and that this said benefit would be achieved in another way than by occurring with submissive deprecations to the worthy indignant judge by the multitude of our great sins so that, redressing grievances, he may return to us and look at us with pious eyes of mercy."¹⁷ The members of the Cabildo agreed to take out in procession "the image of the crucified God and man who, under the title of penance, is venerated in the town of Mexicaltzingo suburbs of this city"¹⁸ so that the epidemic would cease and "the

14 Elsa Malvido, "Factors of depopulation and replacement of the population of Cholula in the colonial era (1641-1810)", in *Historical Demography of Mexico, 16th-19th centuries*, compiled by Elsa Malvido and Miguel Ángel Cuenya (Mexico, Instituto Mora / UAM, 1993), p. 68.

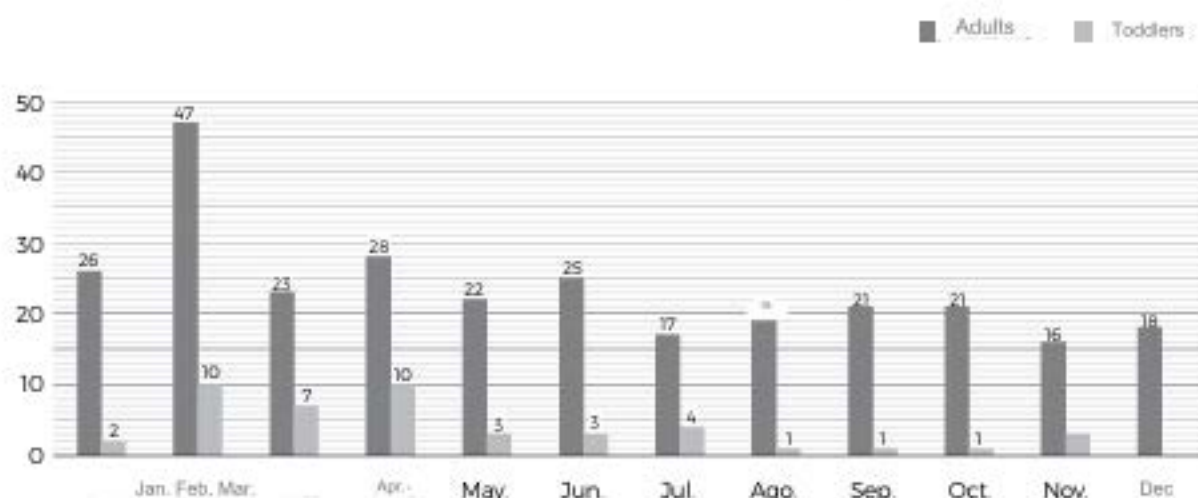
15 Chantal Cramaussel, ed., "Introduction", in *The demographic impact of smallpox in Mexico from colonial times to the 20th century. Smallpox before the introduction of the vaccine*, vol. 1 (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2010), p. 13.

16 Malvido mentions that in 1760 a smallpox epidemic was recorded, and that in 1761-1763 another one of matlalzahuatl occurred in Cholula, Puebla. See Malvido, <<Depopulation factors>>, p. 68.

17 AHMG, Cabildo minute book, 1762.

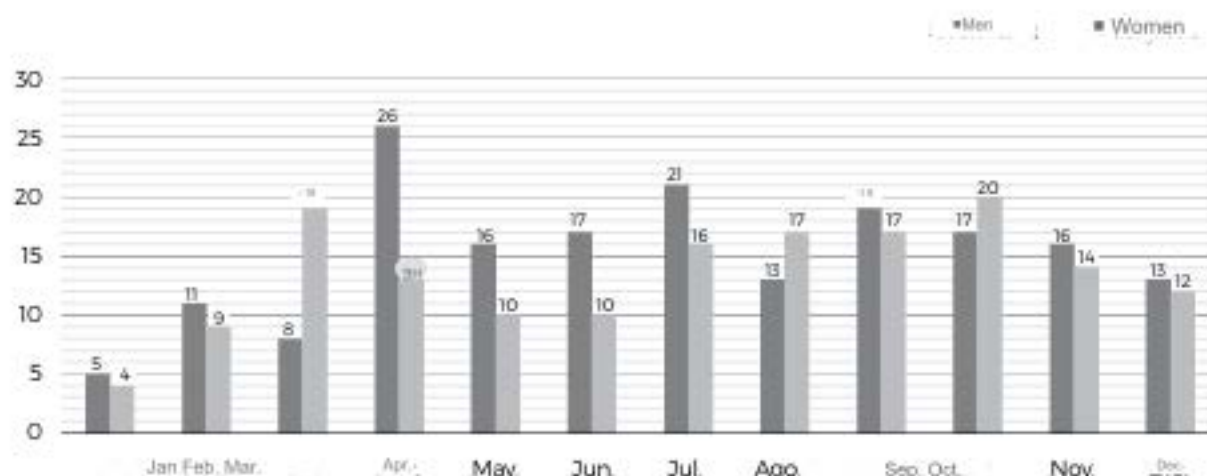
18 AHMG, Cabildo minute book, 1762.

GRAPH 1. DEATHS REGISTERED IN THE PARISH OF THE METROPOLITAN
SAGRARIO OF GUADALAJARA, 1762



Source: APSM, Parish Mortality Records, 1780.

GRAPH 2. DEATHS REGISTERED BY MONTH AND GENDER IN THE ROYAL
HOSPITAL OF SAN MIGUEL DE BELÉN DE GUADALAJARA, 1762



Source: AHJ, Books of entries and exits of patients of the Royal Hospital of Señor San Miguel de Belén.

benefit of common health. The following year, in a session on September 9, 1763, they again agreed to take out the aforementioned image in procession to ask for an end to "the general epidemic of disease that he suffers from and with which the public is noticeably dismayed, this point being of the greatest attention of this chapter and wishing to contribute to the relief of so many poor people who suffer", 19

¹⁹ AHMG, book of minutes of the Cabildo, 1760, f., 100. About epidemics that plague the city.

The two graphs present here are of greater importance, beyond the moment of crisis they record. On the one hand, they show that at that time (statistics are becoming established) two records of deaths are kept: those who die in the hospital and those who die at home (and recorded in the parish books). Working with or having a single source would mean losing an essential part of the information. It is also clear that the hospital is no longer just that gloomy, deadly place where people refused to go, as was the case in the 17th century. About a third of the sick, so we propose, or at least of the dead, passed through its door. However, it is possible to notice a reluctance: in the first months, when the epidemic appears, few dare to go to the hospital, the majority die at home. But the onslaught of the disease is so great that families are breaking down, and there is no choice but to cross the threshold of the Royal Hospital of San Miguel in Belén, starting with the nursery schools, where in April there are almost as many deaths as in the homes.

In 1768 and 1769 the number of deaths in the Royal Hospital rose again of San Miguel de Belén possibly due to a measles epidemic.²⁰ The decade of 1770 passed in Guadalajara without any mortality shocks, but the following decade of 1780 was synonymous with death for the inhabitants of New Spain, New Galicia and of course for its capital, where that decade began with an epidemic of smallpox.

Regarding this, it is important to point out that the attacks of death caused sada by epidemic outbreaks, and demographic crises in the last decades of the colonial period, occurred with much greater frequency and violence than in previous times. Juan Javier Pescador mentions that the last years of the colonial period, from a demographic point of view, were "definitely disastrous for the inhabitants of Mexico City and therefore for the inhabitants of the Parish of Santa Catarina."²¹ For Guadalajara and Nueva Galicia, those last years of the colonial period were also demographically disastrous, even though the important rate of population growth has not been significantly affected. It is clear that the population did not grow more due to, among other factors, the frequent stalking of mass death; Let's review the epidemics and crises of those last decades suffered in the capital of the Kingdom and its surroundings.

²⁰ Malvido reports that an epidemic of measles and whooping cough was recorded in Cholula in 1768. Malvido, "Depopulation Factors," p. 68.

²¹ Fisherman, *From baptized to faithfully deceased*, p. 103.

THE SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC OF 1780

Smallpox is a contagious disease caused by a virus, which is transmitted by direct contact with respiratory discharges from a person with the disease or contact with objects contaminated by a sick individual. This disease came to America following the discovery of the New World. Beginning in June 1520, when the first epidemic decimated the Aztec warriors of Mexico Tenochtitlan, the disease periodically devastated the populations of New Spain.

As far as our study period is concerned, we know that during the years from 1778 to 1782, a smallpox epidemic was restricted to the American continent, which originated on the east coast of the United States in 1775, and spread very soon in New Spain starting in the spring or summer of 1779.²² Chantal Cramaussel has described the routes of spread of the disease in New Spain as shown on map 1. Elsa Malvido mentions that mortality in Cholula, Puebla, was increased due to smallpox in 1779.²³ In same year, during the month of August, several cases of smallpox appeared in Mexico City, and in September the epidemic was officially declared in the capital of New Spain;²⁴ On October 31, the city council reported that the intensity and virulence of the epidemic had worsened alarmingly. Donald Cooper reports that just as in the outbreak of 1761, hospitals were once again filled to maximum capacity.²⁵ The contagion left Mexico City and spread to Toluca, where cases of the disease still occurred on February 3, 1780.²⁶ The smallpox epidemic that devastated New Spain during the years from 1778 to 1782 has been described by some scholars as one of the bloodiest. Sherburne Friend Cook mentions that the hospitals in the capital of New Spain were overcrowded and there were corpses on its streets,²⁷ and describes it as "the most devastating epidemic in living memory."²⁸ The same author mentions that this epidemic was more devastating compared to the following smallpox epidemic that in

²² Chantal Cramaussel (editor), "Introduction", in *The demographic impact of smallpox in Mexico from the colonial era to the 20th century*, vol. 1, *Smallpox before the introduction of the vaccine* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2010), p. 14.

²³ Malvido, "Depopulation factors", pp. 74-75.

²⁴ Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemics in Mexico City (1761-1813)* (Mexico: IMSS, 1980), p. 89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

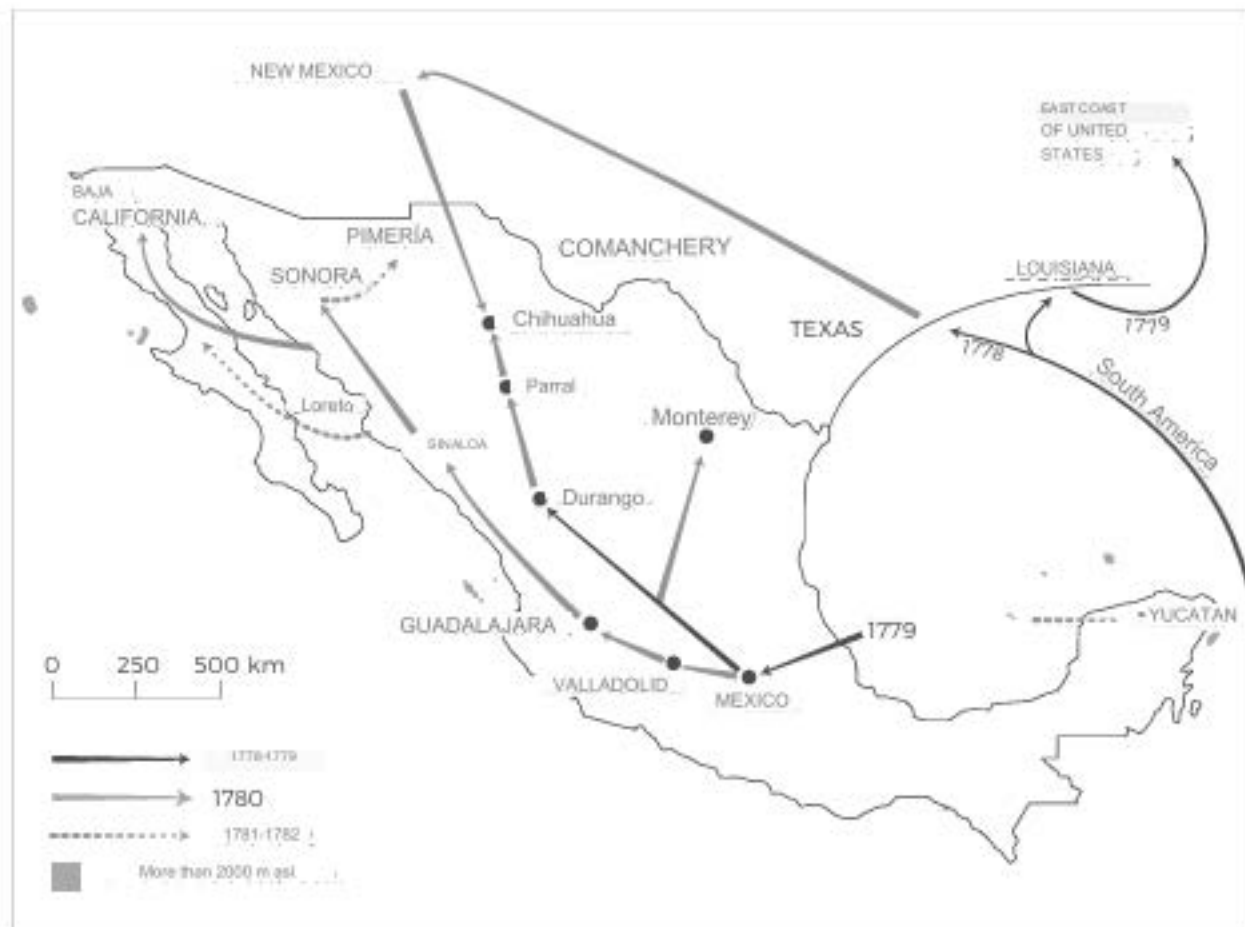
²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

Mexico City was presented in 1797.²⁹ Mario Alberto Magaña mentions that the smallpox epidemic that spread through Antigua California and the Baja California border between 1781 and 1782 caused one of the greatest demographic crises in that region.³⁰

MAP 1. ROUTES OF SPREAD OF SMALLPOX IN NEW SPAIN (1778-1782)



Source: Chantal Cramaussel, *The demographic impact of smallpox in Mexico*, p. fifteen.

On its fatal journey the contagion reached New Galicia; In Guadalajara it was during the months of March, April and May 1780 when smallpox wreaked havoc. As table 1 and graph 3 show, the total number of deaths registered in Guadalajara during 1780 was 1,268, a figure that we must take

²⁹ Sherburne F. Cook, "The smallpox epidemic of 1797 in Mexico", in Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido (ed.), *Essays on the history of epidemics*, p. 305. ³⁰ Magaña Mancilla, «Epidemics in the Baja California Peninsula between 1769 and 1814, with special emphasis on the magnitude and significance of smallpox of 1780-1782» in Cramaussel, *The demographic impact of smallpox*, p. 44.

with reservation because it most likely hides a significant under-reporting. As would happen in later epidemics, the highest number of deaths was recorded in the parish of Analco, a settlement of indigenous origin located to the east of the city, which made up one of its suburbs, with the worst conditions and where a large number of poor people lived in overcrowded conditions. In the parish of Sagrario Metropolitano, as happened in Analco, and in other settlements in the kingdom, the highest number of deaths was recorded in the adult population in relation to children (graph 4). In the mortality records of the parish of Analco during the months of April, May and June there are only a few nominal records of the victims, but in death book number 3 a marginal note appears with the following information: «in the month of April (1780) there were 197 people under the age of 20 who died from smallpox, in the month of May 222 died, mostly infants, and in the month of June 10 infants died.³¹ This information is valuable due to the explicit reference to smallpox as a cause of death and the reference to the age groups affected by the disease; As the parish priest says, in the month of April 197 minors under 20 years of age and in the following month of the 222 deaths, the majority were children, which implies that adults also died. Surely this responds to the fact that, as Malvido suggests, when diseases such as smallpox and measles did not occur in periods of more than 15 years, they not only attacked the population from 0 to 5 years old, but also affected the groups from 0 to 15 years. years, causing mortality to rise further. The fact that during the 1780 epidemic a significant number of adults died leads me to propose as a working hypothesis that the increase in mortality in 1768-1769, described by some scholars as smallpox, was possibly caused only by measles.³² After the crisis, mortality returns to its previous levels, leaving, in the long term (15 or 20 years later), hollow generations.³³ The age groups that smallpox attacked in the parish of Analco also coincide with what Cecilia Rabell states when she says that "The crisis of 1780 spared the population aged 20 and over, but it led to the grave a very high proportion of children and young people.³⁴ Cramaussel mentions that the 1780 epidemic was the last to present a significant mortality of the adult population. Just like in Guadalajara, for the

³¹ APSJA, death book number 3, 1780.

³² I consider that this is an unresolved topic of study and more research is needed, which is why it is up for debate, my proposal remains at the level of a working hypothesis.

³³ Elsa Malvido, "Factors of depopulation and replacement of the population of Cholula", p. 82.

³⁴ Cecilia Rabell, "The New Spanish population in the light of parish records", Cuadernos de Investigación 21 (1990): 50.

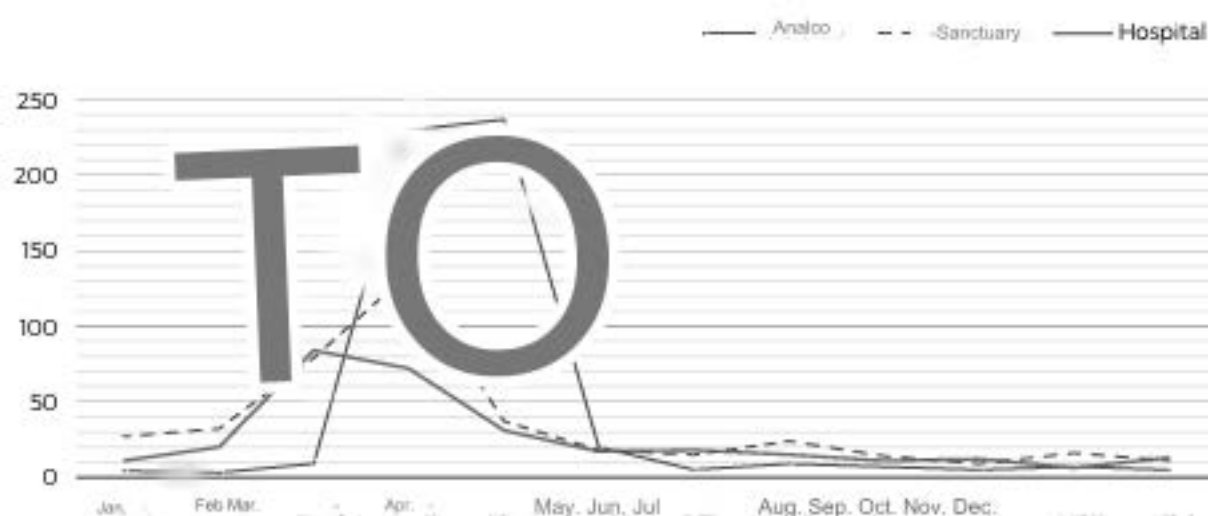
Real de Minas de Bolaños, located north of Guadalajara, the highest incidence of the epidemic occurred in the months of March and April.³⁵

TABLE 1. TOTAL DEATHS REGISTERED IN GUADALAJARA DURING 1780

MONTHS	ANALCO	SANCTUARY	HOSPITAL	TOTALS
January	4	27	11	42
February	3	32	20	55
March	9	79	84	172
April	230	135	72	437
May	237	37	31	305
June	20	18	17	55
July	5	15	18	38
August	9	24	15	48
September	8	14	11	33
October	5	9	12	26
November	7	16	6	29
December	5	11	13	29
Totals	542	417	310	1269

Source: AHJ, Books of entries and exits of patients of the Royal Hospital of Señor San Miguel de Guadalajara, Parish mortality records, book number 10, 1780.

GRAPH 3. DEATHS REGISTERED IN THE PARISHES OF ANALCO AND SAGRARIO, AS WELL AS IN THE ROYAL HOSPITAL OF BELÉN, GUADALAJARA, 1780

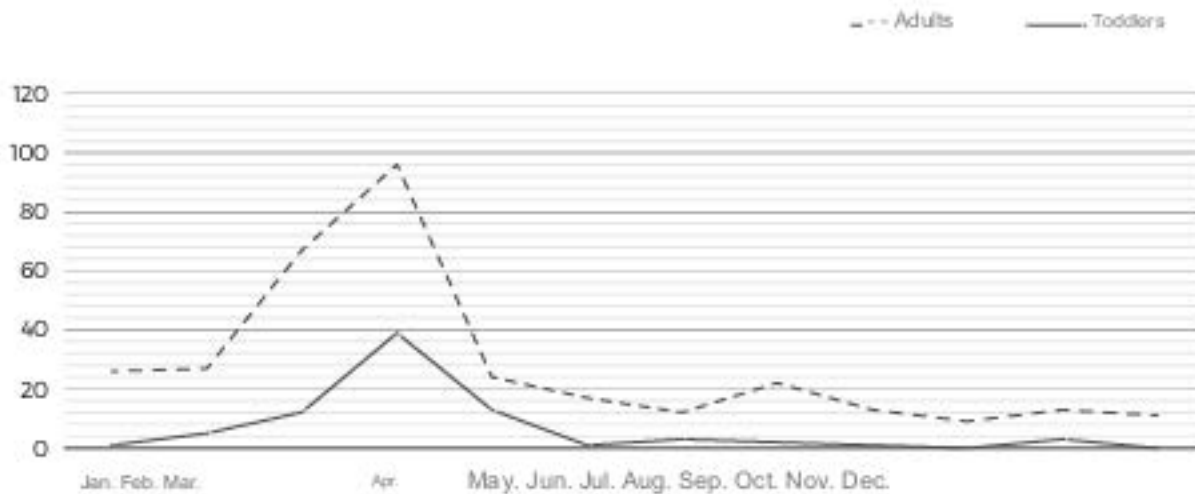


Source: AHJ, Books of entries and exits of patients of the Royal Hospital of Señor San Miguel de Guadalajara, Parish mortality records, book number 10, 1780.

35 David Carbajal López, «The smallpox epidemics in Bolaños, 1762-1840», *Relaciones. History and Society Studies* 29, no. 114 (Spring 2008): 21-43.

It is important to note that if the terrifying smallpox epidemics had not occurred after almost two decades, this possibly caused the disease to be more severe during the epidemics of 1778 to 1782, but on the other hand almost 20 years without smallpox epidemics also contributed. for the recovery of the population not only of Guadalajara but of the entire kingdom of New Galicia and New Spain, since it is one of the most devastating diseases throughout the history of humanity, to the extent that Demographic transition is associated with the reduction of this evil, although of course also with many other factors.

GRAPH 4. DEATHS OF ADULTS AND CHILDREN,
REGISTERED BY MONTH, IN THE PARISH OF THE METROPOLITAN
SAGRARIO OF GUADALAJARA, 1780



Source: APSM. Parish Mortality Records, Book Number 10, 1780.

EPIDEMICS, FOOD SHORTAGES AND THE YEAR OF HUNGER» IN 1785-1786

Five years after the smallpox of 1780 in Guadalajara, in 1785-1786 the loss of crops in New Spain caused the bloodiest agricultural crisis of the 18th century.³⁶ With regard to Nueva Galicia at the end of August 1785,

³⁶ Regarding crop failure, Cook mentions that "in the summer and fall of 1785, central Mexico suffered a series of natural calamities that completely destroyed all grain crops and reduced large sectors of the population to extreme poverty", Sherburne F. Cook, "The Hunger Hospital in Guadalajara, an Experiment in Medical Relief", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, no. 8 (1940, April): 533; Malvido, «Chronology of epidemics and agricultural crises in the colonial era», in Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido, *Essays on the history of epidemics*, pp. 171-177; Malvido, «Effects of

The crops were lost due to a strong hailstorm. In September of that year, Guadalajara began to feel the consequences of a strong immigration of expelled people from the countryside who at that time were wandering the streets and squares, some begging for alms and others stealing, victims of hunger.³⁷ We cannot quantify the amount of those who daily arrived in Guadalajara, however, their number must have been considerable because at the end of October 1785, the regent of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia, Eusebio Sánchez Pareja, ordered that the Guadalajara City Council summon "the people with the greatest judgment and knowledge," tending them to present in writing a project referring to the measures that should be taken to remedy public ills.³⁸ In one of the projects presented to the City Council it is mentioned that towards October 1785 the most important of the public evils was "the influx of wandering people and families who, advised of hunger that they cannot kill in their patriotic soils, already occur and have to happen indispensably to this capital as the common homeland of all the peoples that make up this Kingdom of New Galicia.³⁹

The situation was serious for a city that did not have the services or resources to accommodate this multitude of poor people. A group of neighbors heeded the call of the City Council and presented their projects to the city council in mid-November 1785. The most important were presented by Juan Ángel Ortiz, José de Samobe, Manuel Otero, Juan Alfonso Sánchez Leñero, Juan García Cano, Manuel de Yerra, Pedro Manuel Tapiz y Arteaga, Juan de Arredondo, Manuel Puchal and Salvador Gutiérrez de Espinoza y Arce.⁴⁰ From this group of wealthy people in the city we know that Juan Ángel Ortiz was a renowned merchant, and Juan Alfonso Sánchez Leñero was a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Three approaches can be distinguished in the projects to resolve the situation. In the case of eleven of the notables who expressed their ideas to the

epidemics and famines in the colonial population of Mexico (1519-1810)", in Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido, *Essays on the history of epidemics*, pp. 179-201.

37 In Guadalajara, the agricultural crisis of 1785-1786, as in other settlements in New Spain, was the only one of the 18th century in which there was a causal relationship with food shortages and hunger. Even though regarding the same crisis Cramaussel has verified that in the real of Chihuahua it was caused due to an epidemic and not due to bad harvests.³⁸

Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 2, 1917, p. 83. I have made this reference cited in Oliver, «Health services, pp. 54-55-

39 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

In this regard, the fear of the immigration of poor people to the city is clear. One more reference to the problem of hunger was made by Juan García Cano, when he said that "the multitude of miserable people without employment or destiny" meant "continuous homicides, repeated robberies, repeated robberies, more visible prostitution and inexcusable the insults to which it leads, "that leisure and because it causes hunger."⁴¹ For this reason he proposed to prevent by all possible means "families from staying in this city that would increase the calamity, and raise some furious pestilence and make the subsistence of those who they populate it. ⁴² It seems important to me to highlight in the previous proposal that implicit relationship that a contemporary makes between hunger and some furious pestilence; In fact, by April of the following year, an epidemic undoubtedly favored by the hunger and health status of those wanderers who arrived in Guadalajara caused an increase in mortality. ⁴³ Regarding the loss of the crops, the bishop of the diocese of Guadalajara, Brother Antonio Alcalde y Barriga, through a statement to the priests and doctrinal fathers, expressed on December 30, 1785:

When, with great pain in my heart, I was receiving frequent reports of the scarcity, which in many territories of this diocese, has been feared precisely in corn and bean seeds, which are the main and daily food of the majority of its inhabitants, demand of the almost general loss of the crops, on the occasion of the anticipation of the ice, the news of which occupied my entire attention, excited my paternal love to premeditate, and provide the most opportune means, with which the fatal ones could be consulted. consequences that must necessarily be expected from such an occurrence. ⁴⁴

Another proposition that emerges from the projects delivered to the Guadalajara City Council in November 1785 is the one that suggested that immigrants be put to work. Manuel Puchal mentions that the reason why those in need had to be cared for was not only by divine right but - and he mentions it first - by natural right. The suggestion is that the poor should be employed in the construction of public works, roads and repairs to the ravines that prevented access to Guadalajara, or in the construction of a warehouse and a barracks for the troops. Similarly,

⁴¹Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 2, 1917, p. 85.

⁴² Ibid., p. 85.

⁴³ It is important to clarify that epidemics had occurred in the city in both 1774 and 1785.

⁴⁴ AHAG, Edicts and Circulars, 1780-1799.

proposes that agriculture be promoted. Here, both Pedro Tapiz y Arteaga and Manuel Puchal have a clear idea in this regard: to lend the city's ejidos to the poor farmers without requiring rent, with the condition of cultivating quickly produced fruits or seeds to be their food.

Pedro Tapiz's proposal once again mentions the consumption of tubers such as potatoes and sweet potatoes for times of food scarcity, a reference that Mota Padilla had already made, as we mentioned previously. Tapiz's proposal allows us to see the feeding strategies that were used in times of food crises:

If the shortage of provisions is as feared, all that is stored in this city could be consumed, and then the subsistence of its inhabitants would not be achieved, even if they manage to buy them and for this reason they will have to give priority to those jobs that at the same time provide food and wages to the workers, such as those of cultivating fields, surrounding lands for planting potatoes, sweet potatoes and others that are considered useful and healthy, among which experience certainly teaches that preference should be given. the sweet potato for its greater fertility and better nutrition. Four. Five

Also interesting is the proposal of neighbors Ortiz, Samobe, Otero and Sánchez Leñero to buy "two or three thousand arrobas of cotton" with the purpose of manufacturing them into thread that could be sold to manufacturers "of blankets and other goods" that They were made at that time in Guadalajara. Measures were also proposed to promote, among other areas, livestock farming. The third proposition that was raised is related to care for the sick and was the one that was put into practice; It is the one that indicated that the poor and sick were concentrated in one place, to avoid "begging" and theft, and that the streets were filled with vagrants and idlers.

In Guadalajara the year 1785 ended with that crowd that wandered and slept in the streets, doorways and squares of the city. Pérez Verdía mentions that the price of corn rose from one to five pesos per bushel, also "butter at nine pesos per arroba, the same as beans, and wheat at eighteen pesos per load, when days before it only arrived at seven pesos. 46 Almost all the activities of the authorities, especially the City Council and the Church, were dedicated to resolving the situation. In November of that year, the City Council commissioned two citizens to start buying corn to help the poor. Perez

⁴⁵ Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 2, 1917, p.

86. 46 Pérez Verdía, Particular history of the state of Jalisco, p. 377.

Verdía also mentions that Bishop Alcalde established kitchens in the neighborhoods of Santuario, Analco and Carmen, where more than two thousand people were fed daily; In addition, he provided the City Council with 100 thousand pesos, without revenue, to buy corn and sell it to the poor at a low price, and he sent 50 thousand pesos to the foreign priests so that "planting could be done that could remedy that need the following year." He also sent an important donation to the parishes of Sayula, Tepatitlán, Asientos and Fresnillo.⁴⁷ The situation was such that on November 11, the City Council ordered the killing of all the dogs in the city because the day before 11 of them had been stolen for the purpose of to skin them and sell them like sheep.⁴⁸ In other parts of the viceroyalty, the priest of Pénjamo proposed to alleviate the misery "to make tortillas with two-thirds of ground corn kneaded with salt."⁴⁹ José Antonio Alzate proposed eating roasted nopal and organ and "making the soup of Dolphinfish and to take advantage of the bones, horns and hooves of the waste",⁵⁰

As for Guadalajara, the following year, that is, in 1786, in fact, the city was invaded by those hungry wanderers who wandered through the streets, neighborhoods and squares of the city. In the words of Pérez Verdía: "in vain they begged for help, and corpses of men and women lay everywhere, accusing the most cruel situation."⁵¹ In this context, an epidemic called the ball, due to the combination of various contagious gastrointestinal and lungs, caused a strong demographic crisis. In a writing in the *Gaceta de México*, the diseases that occurred in Guadalajara during 1786 were described as follows:

The illness presented symptoms of constipation or cold with low fever in the morning and high fever at night, severe headache, copious sweat and bleeding from the nose; On the seventh day the skin is covered with petechiae or reddish or purple spots; Patients complain of deafness and eyes turn red, stomach bloats; there is unconsciousness accompanied by delirium; The lungs shrink and the patient dies between the eleventh and twenty-first day. In other cases the ordinary symptoms were complicated by pain in various parts of the body, mainly in the chest.⁵²

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 378.

⁴⁸ Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 1, no. 6, 1917, p. 56.

⁴⁹ Pérez Verdía, Particular history of the state of Jalisco, p. 379.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 379.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 378.

⁵² Cook, «The Hunger Hospital», p. 536.

Cook says that there probably would not have been a clear epidemic, that perhaps it was not a single disease, but rather a series of gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases that probably included typhoid, dysentery, pneumonia and influenza, 53 and from the description above, we must add dengue. Let us now look at the quantitative analysis of mortality in that fateful year of 1786.

ANALYSIS OF MORTALITY IN 1786

In graphs 5 and 6, and table 2, we can see that both in the parishes and in the hospital the highest number of deaths was recorded in the month of April. Despite this, the 244 burials registered in the hospital (which represents 58.65% of the total deaths that month in the city), were more than the 172 deaths registered in the four parishes (41.35%). This is possibly due to the fact that a good part of the patients who died in the hospital were part of those "wanderers who, advised by hunger that cannot kill in their patriotic soils, already occur and must inevitably occur in this capital," as he said in October. In 1785, one of the neighbors consulted by the City Council, even though in no case do hospital and parish records refer to hunger as a direct cause of death. In the hospital, during the months of March, April and May, deaths increase and then decrease in June and July and rise again in August. Regarding the deaths registered in the parishes, mortality, after the increase in April, rose again in the month of October.

The total number of burials recorded in Guadalajara during 1786 was 2,413, which means a significant mortality. We do not know the total population of Guadalajara for that year, however, we have the total population for a date as close as 1782, that is, four years before the so-called year of hunger, when the city had about 19,969 inhabitants. 54 If we were to take this figure to estimate the mortality rate, under the assumption that in those four years the population should not have increased significantly, even more so taking into account that from 1784 and 1785 mortality increased as a result of the fact that there had been presented epidemic diseases, the mortality rate was approximately 12%. This is a rate that we can consider high, although certainly lower than the rates that used to be recorded during the characteristic premodern demographic regimes.

53 Ibid., p. 536.

54 AHAG, Government, Parishes, box of the Tabernacle of Guadalajara, 1782, f.s.n.

of the New Spain colonial period. This leads us to assume that, even adding hospital records to parish records, mortality continues to be significantly under-recorded.

TABLE 2. DEATHS REGISTERED MONTHLY IN
GUADALAJARA, 1786

MONTHS	ANALCO	SANCTUARY	SANCTUARY	MEXCALTZINGO	HOSPITAL	TOTALS
January	14	19	8	5	43	89
February	9	22	6	7	72	116
March	14	35	7	8	107	171
April	50	65	26	31	244	416
May	39	46	16	14	119	234
June	20	44	16	5	84	169
July	29	51	17	8	71	246
August	25	53	35	8	141	262
September	51	62	17	23	82	235
October	53	77	30	4	68	232
November	38	51	17	15	54	175
December	32	37	13	5	50	137
Totals	374	562	208	133	1135	2413

Sources: APSJA, Book of Deaths, no. 2 (1746-1786) and no. 3 (1779-1803); APSM, Book of Deaths, no. 10 (1782-1798); APSG, Book of Deaths, no. 1 (1782-1798); APM, Book of Deaths, no. 1 (1782-1808); AHJ, Entry and Exit Books, no. 11 (1786).

In fact, there is qualitative information that speaks of hundreds of deceased people of whom it was not possible to know who they were or "their state or country", that is, no records were kept of them. Fortunately, this qualitative information also provides us with figures on the number of deaths in Guadalajara during that year of scarcity and illness. The city's cemeteries were not enough, just as the hospitals were overwhelmed. Bishop Brother Antonio Alcalde assured:

From the beginning of the month of March until today (September 13, 1786) there have been buried in the Church and Cemetery of Guadalajara twenty-five corpses each day, one with another of children and adults who add up to five thousand with little difference

and tombs cannot be opened without the risk of touching one that exhales pestilent vapors, with very serious danger to the city. 55

In that same month, according to a report that the crime prosecutor made to the governor of Nueva Galicia, in the atrium of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe every morning there were corpses piled up that were taken away during the night and left "most of them, completely naked, without being able to know who they are, their state, or their country. 56 For the analysis of the levels and behavior of mortality during the crisis of 1786 in Guadalajara, it is essential to take into account the crime prosecutor's report on these corpses that were left in the aforementioned atrium, which translates, as I mentioned, in a significant underreporting of mortality. If we take as closest to the number of deaths in the city the one provided by Bishop Alcalde, until September 13 of that year (1786), of 5000 deaths (without taking the total number of deaths that we have registered for the rest of the year) we would have that the mortality rate would be 22%, a value that is more consistent with the mortality levels in that period and in a demographic crisis caused by the combination of food shortage and epidemic. A vivid description of what was happening in the city in mid-September is found in a statement that the city council sent to Bishop Antonio Alcalde, in which it requested financial support to help the needy.

Surely the effects produced by food shortages and diseases were the cause of those skeletal bodies to which the Cabildo's description alludes:

This council also reflects that the sick leave the hospitals half-cured, or convalescents whose two very dangerous states are enough to make the healthy sick. This expression does not need any other support than seeing them lying in the streets, and others with better breath are asking for alms from door to door so emaciated, weak and haggard that like skeletons they can barely stand, experience showing that some dead have been found in squares and neighborhoods, so presiding over the natural horror, it is inevitable that the epidemic swarming from day to day makes within a very short time a pitiful progress.⁵⁷

55 Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 3, no. 1, 1919, p. 23.

56 Ibid., p. 23.

57 AHAG, Ecclesiastical Chapter Minutes Book number 13, 1786, f. 7f.

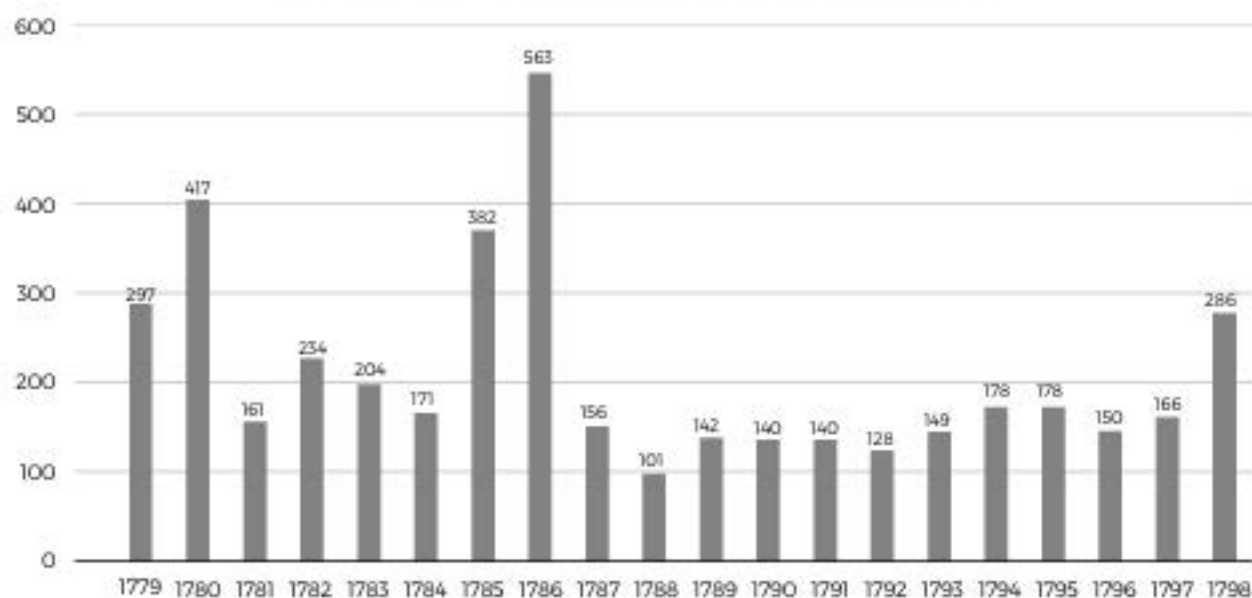
It was certainly the most important demographic crisis not only of the last decades of the colonial period, but of the entire 18th century. In an account of the mortality of the parish of Sagrario de Guadalajara, for the years from 1779 to 1798, it is detected how the excess mortality in the years 1785-1786 was greater than during the smallpox epidemics of 1780 and that of 1797-1798⁵⁸ (see graph 5).

The effects of the mortality crisis were felt in the decrease in baptisms in the months immediately following the increase in deaths, characteristic of demographic crises, as shown in graph 6, which shows the case of the parishes of Analco and El Sagrario. Starting in April, when mortality registered its greatest increase both in the parishes and in the hospital, baptisms suffered a dizzying decline that lasted throughout the year. On the other hand, according to the annual count of deaths recorded in the books of the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén and the number of people admitted annually throughout almost the entire 18th century, as can be seen in graphs 7 and 8, respectively, the mortality crisis of 1786 was the bloodiest of that century. Pérez Verdía maintains that more than 50 thousand people died throughout the kingdom of Nueva Galicia.⁵⁹ In an account of mortality from 1783 to 1788, for thirteen parishes surrounding Guadalajara, Juan Luis Argumaniz shows that also in those places (see map 2) mortality increased in the biennium of 1785-1786, as shown in graph 9.

⁵⁸ Juan Luis Argumaniz Tello, «The years of hunger, 1785-1786, and the epidemic of Measles of 1825 in Guadalajara» (master's thesis, University of Guadalupe), p. 152.

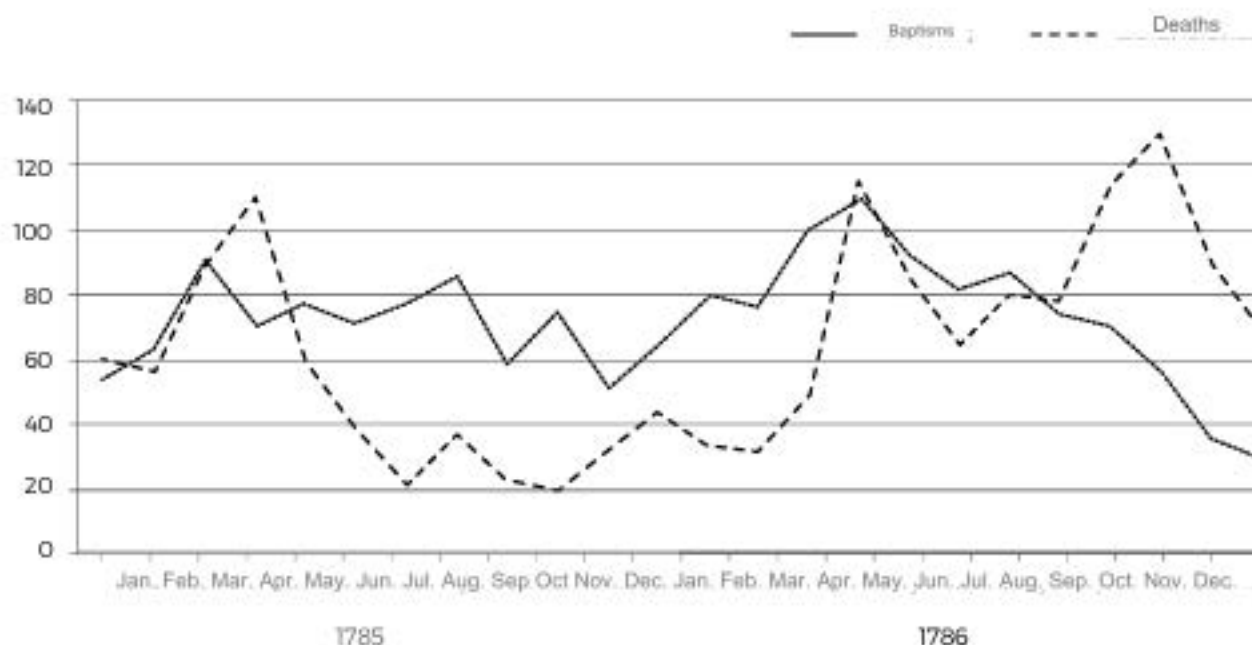
⁵⁹ Pérez Verdía, *Particular history of the state of Jalisco*, p. 451.

GRAPH 5. DEATHS REGISTERED IN
THE PARISH OF EL SAGRARIO, 1779-1798



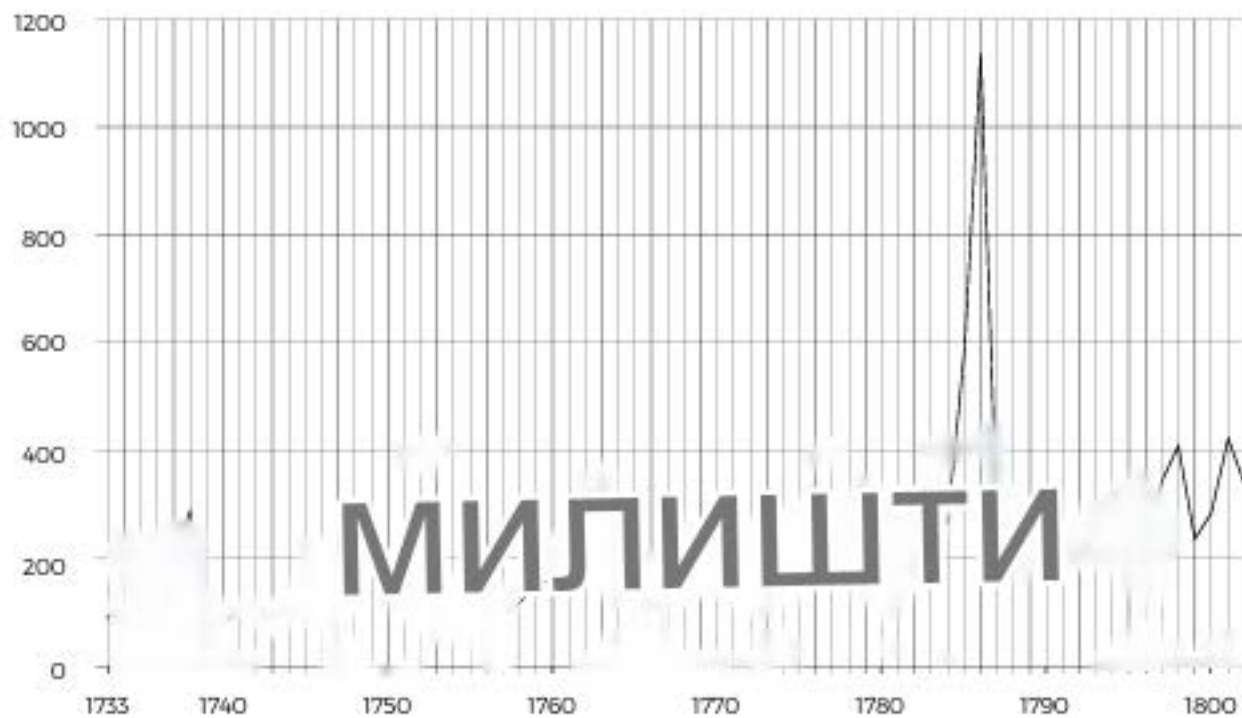
Source: Argumaniz, «The years of hunger.» Guadalajara and its surroundings », p. 152.

GRAPH 6. BAPTISMS AND DEATHS REGISTERED
MONTHLY IN THE PARISHES OF ANALCO AND EL
SAGRARIO DE GUADALAJARA, 1785-1786



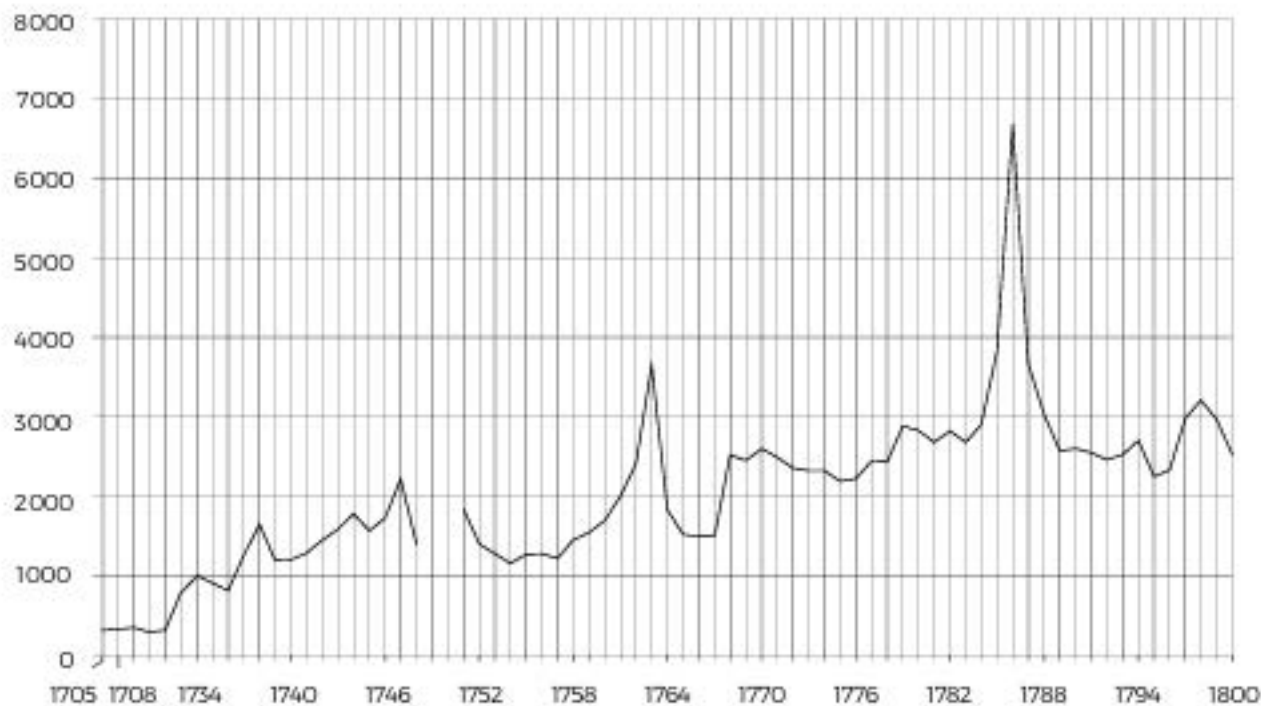
Source: Parish records of baptisms and deaths from the parishes of Analco and El Sagrario de Guadalajara, 1785-1786.

GRAPH 7. DEATHS REGISTERED IN THE ROYAL HOSPITAL
OF SAN MIGUEL DE BELÉN DE GUADALAJARA, 1733-1802



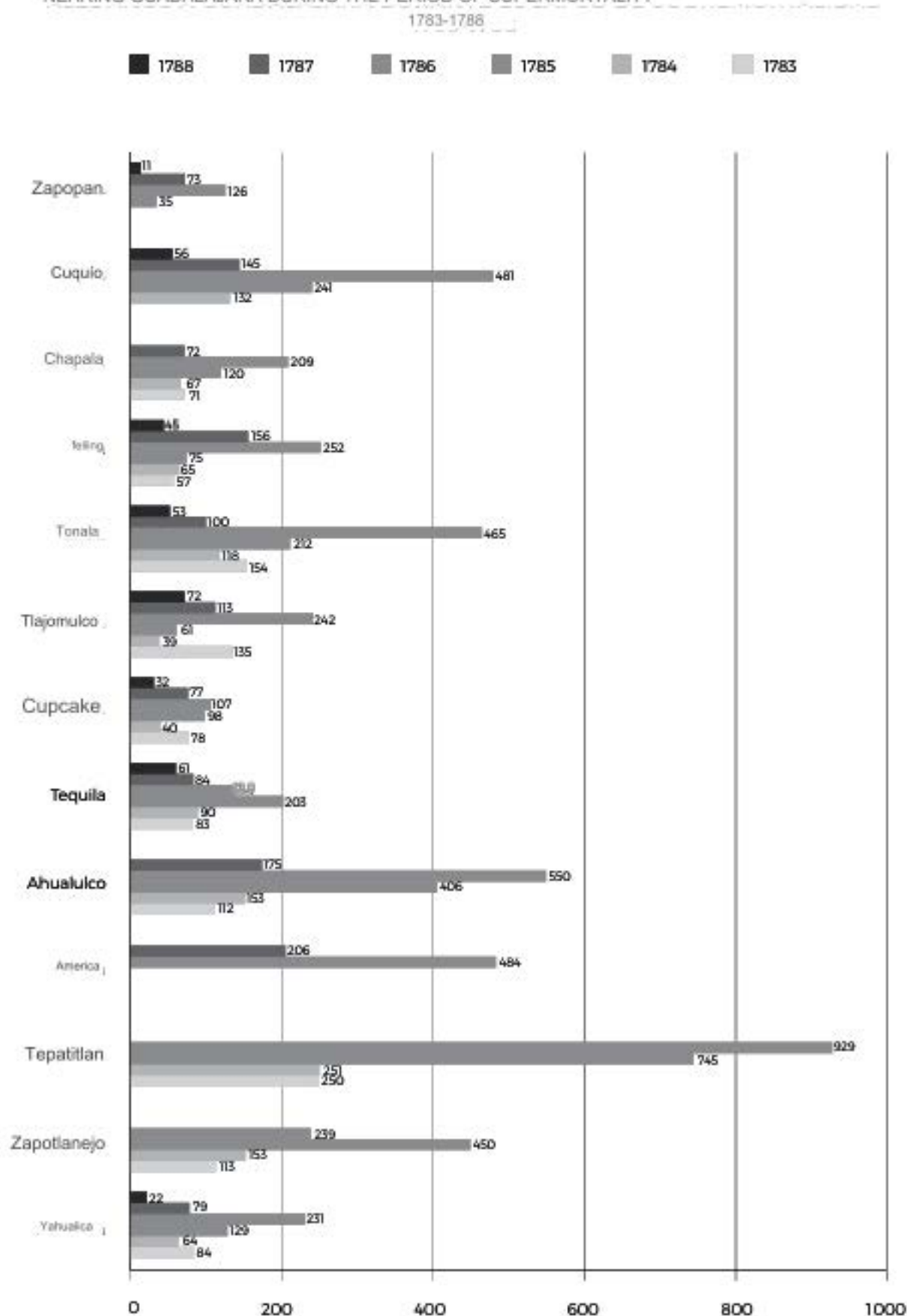
Source: AHJ, Books of entries and exits of patients, 1733-1802.

GRAPH 8. RECORDED ADMISSIONS IN THE ROYAL HOSPITAL
OF SAN MIGUEL DE BELÉN DE GUADALAJARA, 1705-1800



Source: AHJ, Books of entries and exits of patients, 1705-1802.

GRAPH 9. NUMBER OF DEATHS REGISTERED IN THE PRIESTS
NEARING GUADALAJARA DURING THE PERIOD OF SUPERMORTALITY



Source: Argumaniz, «The years of hunger, 1785-1786», p. 219.

MAP 2. PARISHES SURROUNDING GUADALAJARA



Source: Argumaniz, «The years of hunger.» Guadalajara and its surroundings », p. 199.

A HOSPICE FOR THE POOR, A PROVISIONAL HOSPITAL,
AND A NEW FACTORY* FOR THE ROYAL HOSPITAL
OF SAN MIGUEL DE BELÉN

Let's now see what measures were taken in the city in that fateful month of April when mortality increased. That which proposed that beggars, the sick and thieves be locked up and that the healthy be put to work was put into practice through the establishment of two provisional institutions, a hospice for the poor and a hospital; What actually worked in these facilities, as we will see shortly, was a mixture of hospital, hospice and prison for the poor and sick. The hospice came into operation first

of poor, as Juan Pablo Torres has clarified.⁶⁰ On February 14, 1786, the City Council had consulted the governor of the Royal Court about the creation of a hospice for the poor. Some time later, on April 3, 1786, the president of the Court established "a provisional hospice for the poor, the needy, beggars, vagrants, the unemployed and strangers." That day the City Council requested:

The sooner S.S. is served, order to publish by order that all the truly poor who want to apply themselves to work, present themselves to the hospices where they will remain without leaving them, continuously occupied in the tasks that are indicated, and that those who do not voluntarily present themselves to the City Council and found begging for alms, or in groups, playing and idleness in the square, streets, exits and outskirts of the town, they will be arrested and taken to the same hospices they will exercise for longer and in heavier work than those they perform.⁶¹

The recommendations that were made on the way to treat the poor regarding the opening of the provisional hospice, also designated as the House of Mercy in a document dated December 23, 1786, allow us to see what I consider were the first ruptures and continuities between tradition and

⁶⁰ I appreciate the information on this topic that Juan Pablo Torres has provided me, as part of his findings in the preparation of his master's thesis in History of Mexico at the University of Guadalajara. Torres has found and explained the establishment of the Hospicio de la Misericordia, which was opened at the height of the crisis during the so-called year of famine in 1786, which both Cook and I had confused with the provisional hospital, an institution that it worked outside the hospice. The root of this confusion lies in the fact that Cook translated as a hospital what the original documents mentioned as a hospice, a matter that I clarified in a work published in 1983, but I continued to consider that it was only a temporary hospital. The contribution of Juan Pablo Torres is very valuable because he knew how to distinguish that what Cook called the hunger hospital was actually a poor hospice. See Cook, "The Hunger Hospital in Guadalajara," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 8 (1940, April); Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez, *Memoirs of the Seminar on Health Services. Health services, enlightened thought, the agricultural crisis of 1785-1786 in Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 1984); Juan Pablo Torres, *The Misericordia Hospice of Guadalajara: an experiment in social control during the subsistence crisis of 1786*.

⁶¹ AHMG, Leg. 13, exp. 1, April 6, 1786, ff. 36-39.

⁶² José R. Benítez, *The hospitals and doctors of Nueva Galicia during the viceroyalty of New Spain* (Guadalajara: Colegio Internacional, 1975), pp. 72-73.

modernity in the way of conceiving the problem of poverty in Guadalajara at the end of the 18th century. At the time of the opening of this institution, emphasis was placed on the fact that the inmates should remain locked up in the hospice, that only those who decided to return to "their own homes" would be allowed to leave, in which case they would be placed outside the hospice, city, at a proportionate distance, with the prevention that if they met again in the city, they would irrevocably and for the same reason become prisoners for six months in the work of the Royal Palace.⁶³ At the same time it was also said about the poor that they should not: "force them to work, not even by keeping them idle but with light and honest entertainment, taking care that they are instructed daily, and especially those of puberty, in the law of God." and main mysteries of our holy Catholic faith.⁶⁴ Aside from these pious recommendations, we must highlight that with the coercive confinement of "the poor, needy, beggars, vagabonds, unemployed and strangers" in that provisional institution, we can say, according to the sources we know, that it begins in Guadalajara a more modern conception of poverty, understood as a social problem that can no longer be faced with charity and mercy alone, but with confinement; measures that can only be the product of modern thinking within the Enlightenment movement.

The Poor Hospice or House of Mercy had funds from the Crown and neighbors. A list was drawn up of members of the Royal Court, the bishopric, the municipal council, merchants and some neighbors who could contribute with their alms to the creation and maintenance of that institution, so that on April 6, In 1786 the City Council ordered that the poor be collected; Two separate buildings were secured and equipped: the inn of the souls for men and the inn of San Francisco for women, property of the monastery of Santa Teresa.⁶⁵ By the end of April 1786, 240 poor people were cared for. The administration of the hospice was carried out by two directors and a treasurer; one of the directors was a member of the Audiencia and the other of the ecclesiastical Chapter, Mr. José Ramón Mateos, chamber secretary of the Government; and Don Juan Alfonso Sánchez Leñero, butler of the cathedral church. The treasurer was Manuel Homoza. Two other officers were appointed separately who were directly in charge of the two sections into which the hospice was divided. Don Francisco Troncoso was appointed treasurer of the

⁶³ Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 1, no. 1, 1917, p. 96.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 95.

men's section and Mrs. Josefina Munguía, 66 rector of the women's section; They had the obligation to live in the premises of the two sections of the hospice and their functions consisted of the internal administration of the institution.

Very soon both officers died inside the provisional hospice, probably due to the contagion of the diseases that prevailed in the city. On May 27, the rector died and on June 27, the treasurer died. No one in the city wanted to carry out their positions, despite the salaries offered. The lack of those two officers was a problem and the inmates were left without control; For the month of December there were complaints that women hid, threw away and even stole dough so as not to work, in addition to having indecent dealings with the men who helped them in their work. Of course, this comment was loaded with a connotation of discrimination against women, since men were also involved in maintaining indecent treatment.

Towards the end of 1786 it became evident that the temporary hospice had served its purpose and was no longer needed. The epidemic had practically disappeared and the number of poor people decreased. Around November 12, a novena was prayed "because the pestilence is descending and now mortality is actually decreasing."⁶⁷ On December 23, 1786, the City Council agreed to the extinction of this provisional institution because "most of the contributors to this pious fund, for the provisional subsistence of the House of Mercy, have withdrawn their alms, and each month they leave decreasing because the public and general calamities that inclined the City Council to the aforementioned establishment have ceased, also with respect to the small number of poor people who currently exist in the same hospice."⁶⁸ It was finally closed on January 4, 1787. The children and boys were distributed as servants and apprentices, according to the trade in which they wanted to train; The lonely and needy women were taken to the collection house. Able-bodied men were put to work cleaning streets. Along

with the growing number of poor there is the number of sick people, so much so that the two hospitals in the city could not cope. I have argued in other works that Guadalajara became a kind of hospital-city, alluding to the fact that practically all the available spaces in the city functioned as hospitals and were occupied by the sick, including the aforementioned hospice for poor as we will see shortly. With this increased number of patients, almost a

⁶⁶ Luis M. Rivera, *Documentos tapatíos: colonial era* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial del Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 1989), pp. 94-95.

⁶⁷ *Gazette of Mexico*, vol. 2, no. 23, p. 269.

⁶⁸ AHMG, Leg. 13, exp. 1, December 23, 1786.

A month after the hospice was in operation, a provisional hospital was opened on April 30, 1786 when the Royal Court, by means of an edict, declared "the establishment of a provisional hospital, through the limited capacity of which it was in charge." of the PPs. of Bethlehem, for the excessive extraordinary number of sick people that have been experienced for some time in this city.⁶⁹ As we saw in previous lines, it was not the first time that a provisional hospital was put into operation in Guadalajara in times of crisis; the same had been done in 1737-1738 during the Matlalzahuatl epidemic. The headquarters of the emergency hospital was the old Colegio de San Juan, previously occupied by the Jesuits.⁷⁰ We find an overview of the hospital situation in Guadalajara during that fateful year of hunger in a publication in the *Gazeta de México* of April 24, 1787, where, as I mentioned, all the spaces that served to confine the sick are outlined, in addition to the two hospitals that were in the city, including the poorhouse during 1786. The publication says about it:

The Royal Hospital of this City founded with the dedication of San Miguel (Patron of it) that was once run by the Ecclesiastical Chapter of that Holy Church, and due to his resignation is today run by that of the Betlemitica Religion, is found - located in the center of the population, reduced to very narrow limits and extension: both defects of the greatest severity, and which have produced in this public the most pitiful consequences at all times, and mainly in the fever epidemic that this city suffered on Next year last year, because the Infirmarys were not sufficient to comfortably accommodate the increased number of patients that occurred, it was necessary to put three orders of beds in each one, and even occupy some cells of the religious, the offices intended for the school, and others; with which the sick were infested, the corruption was communicated to the rest of the place, and there was the mortality that is notorious: this even though of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios: the one that was established in the hospice, and the provisional one that was placed in the College of San Juan that belonged to the former Jesuits."

The urgent need to provide the Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén with a new building became painfully evident during the subsistence crisis experienced in Guadalajara in 1786, known as the year of hunger. Even though the construction of a new building is directly related

⁶⁹ Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 1, no. 1, 1917, p.

96. ⁷⁰ The San Juan school, headquarters of the hunger hospital, was located in the block that currently crosses the streets of Ocampo and Juárez.

⁷¹ *Gazeta de México*, volume 2, April 24, 1787, no. 33, pp. 333-334-

With the deadly epidemics that decimated the population of Guadalajara throughout the 18th century, 72 the crisis of 1786 was the immediate cause to carry out a project that had begun at the beginning of the 18th century at the initiative of the Bethlehemite friars who administered the hospital. Bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde y Barriga was the executor of this centenary project, who in addition to the construction of a new building for the hospital, offered the construction of a church, a convent and a cemetery for the city. On December 25, 1786, the bishop requested the plans for the construction of "the new hospital factory." On May 6 of the following year, that is, 1787, the foundations of the new hospital were opened in Guadalajara, and it seems that the magnificence with which it was built - capacity for a thousand beds - was directly related to the catastrophe experienced, with the number of patients who were hospitalized at the same time, in addition to those who at the time of death had the floor of the squares and streets of Guadalajara as their bed during the year 1786.

The aforementioned *Gazeta de México* reviewed the decision made by Bishop Alcalde y Barriga in the following way:

The Illustmoman deeply condolences. bishop Mr. Don Fr. A more solid, capable and well-disposed city than the current one, in which more than a thousand sick people of both sexes could be comfortably accommodated, and in addition to this it offered to build a church, and a convent for the religious, and a cemetery capable of containing as many corpses as were found. in the hospital and throughout the city. This Illustrated Court admitted this pious proposition, and consequently granted His Majesty. Illma. the license he requested, and deputed the ministers so that in the name of His Majesty and the same court they would give S. Illma. How they did it,

72 In one of the plans designed to build a new building for this hospital, and approved by King Charles III in 1760, is clearly specified in the legend of the same when referring to the infirmaries for men and women, that "Compose both of the number of 28 rooms with separation of people and accidents. They fit 500 to 600 beds and in epidemics many." If the plan design for the hospital led its author to conceive it keeping in mind the need that the city had of large wards for the sick especially during epidemics, also the construction of the same monumental building is related to that

fact and cannot be explained without taking into account the havoc caused by the epidemic diseases that devastated the city during 1785 and 1786. Consult Oliver Sánchez, *The royal hospital of San Miguel de Belén*.

Well deserved thanks for this generous thought. The noble city ceded to S. Illma, all the land necessary for the aforementioned works, and with effect the Rev. took possession of it. P. President of Belén on February 26 with the assistance of Mr. Manuel Joseph de Urrutia, of the Council of H.M. and Ombudsman of this Royal Court, of two gentlemen Councilors and of the Ombudsman. 73

The construction of the new building for the royal hospital of San Miguel de Belén - the current Fray Antonio Alcalde civil hospital - was carried out between 1787 and 1794. On May 3 of that year, the magnificent facility with 775 beds and "a place for put others" and "in many epidemics."74 Until the beginning of the 20th century, it was the hospital with the greatest capacity on the American continent.

THE SMALLPOX OF 1797-1798

In a communiqué that the viceroy of New Spain Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca y Branciforte sent to the bishop of Guadalajara Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas on February 28, 1797, he informed him, among other things, that "the spread of the terrible disease of the smallpox from some towns in the province of Guatemala" had arrived in Tehuantepec in Oaxaca, where on June 9, 1795 the "first virolents" had been discovered. 75 The disease arrived once again in New Spain to begin its fatal journey along the busiest roads and most important trade routes of the viceroyalty. Cramaussel reconstructed the routes of spread of smallpox in New Spain (1793-1799). On this occasion, this journey was part of a pandemic of the disease that at the end of the 18th century once again took its toll on lives. 76 The epidemic was officially declared in Mexico City on September 20, 1797. It was the last important outbreak of the disease in New Spain, before the vaccine was introduced in the Spanish colonies in 1804, even though it was not It was the most disastrous of the epidemics that devastated the capital of New Spain and other parts of the viceroyalty in the 18th century.77

73 *Gazeta de México*, volume 11, April 24, 1787, no. 33, pp. 333-334- 74

Oliver Sánchez, *The royal hospital of San Miguel de Belén*, p. 251 and 254.

75 AHAG, series: Bishops, years: 1775-1799, file 14, box 1, f. 1. For a study on the epidemic in Tehuantepec, consult: Machuca, "The smallpox of 1795-1797 in Tehuantepec Oaxaca."

76 Cramaussel, "Introduction" in *The demographic impact of smallpox in Mexico*, p. 13.

77 Many more deaths were recorded in the outbreaks of 1737, 1761 and 1779. See Cooper, *Epidemics in Mexico City*, p. 113.

In Guadalajara, on November 25, 1797, a month before the contagion arrived and smallpox brought death to the city and the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, as in other years, and left its aftermath of survivors with disfigured faces. - cured and eventually blind or insane, the enlightened bishop of the city Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas informed the priests of his diocese about the imminent entry of the disease in the following terms: «the terrible and regrettable epidemic of smallpox that our neighbors, and that we must fear that it will come upon us with the haste and rapidity that usually accompanies this deplorable contagion. 78 In the same report he also mentioned what was the perception of a contemporary who was aware of the ravages that this disease caused, and that, as the prelate said, there was no one in the context of "all the serious and public needs who could put and place this exterminating plague. 79 In fact, his perception evaluated very well what the smallpox epidemics were at that time, they were the most exterminating. In the 17th and 18th centuries, smallpox was the most devastating disease on the planet. 80 In Guadalajara (as shown in graph 10) mortality increased from December 1797 to January 1798, that is, five months after the epidemic that affected Mexico City, in Guadalajara it continued to charge. lives during the months of January, February and March, when it began to descend. We know that by March and April of the same year the contagion reached Real de Minas de Bolaños.

81 It is from this smallpox epidemic that the massive application in some places of one of the prophylactic methods of this disease, variolation or inoculation, began in New Spain, a procedure prior to the discovery of the vaccine, with some risks. in its application but that could also save lives. This method consisted of introducing the human virus into healthy people by inhaling scabs or inserting them. It had been introduced in Europe since the 1820s, where it had shown its effectiveness; However, in the Spanish metropolis it was rejected, so it also reached its colonies until the end of the 18th century. For New Spain there is no reference to variolation before 1780,82 but from the

⁷⁸ AHAG, Obispos series, years 1775-1799, file 14, box 1, f. 1.

⁷⁹ AHAG, Obispos series, years 1775-1799, file 14, box 1, f. 1.

⁸⁰ Carlos Viesca Treviño, "The expedition of the smallpox vaccine", in *Novohispana Medicine of the 18th century*, volume 4, coordinated by Martha Eugenia Rodríguez Pérez and Xóchitl Martínez Barbosa (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001), p. 365.

⁸¹ Carbajal López, «The smallpox epidemics in Bolaños», p.

32. ⁸² On inoculation in New Spain consult: Cook, «The smallpox epidemic

epidemic of 1793-1799, was applied with great success in places as distant as Durango and Chiapas, to mention just a few examples. For Guadalajara and La Nueva Galicia, even though we have not found documentary information in this regard, it is very likely that it was applied, even more so since a bishop like Cabañas was in the episcopal chair, who years later would decisively support the application of the newly discovered vaccine against smallpox in his diocese, when in 1804, it was applied en masse in Guadalajara, as part of the arrival of the Royal Philanthropic Vaccine Expedition to this city.⁸⁴

Regarding inoculation in Guadalajara and Nueva Galicia, at least we know that knowledge of this method was learned when Bishop Cabañas received, as in the other dioceses of the viceroyalty, a communication dated February 28, 1797 from Viceroy Branciforte about the arrival of smallpox to Oaxaca; It was an extensive document, with a series of recommendations. In them, the eighth section was the most important both because it recommended the application of inoculation, and for mentioning that this practice had had "happy success constantly experienced in Oaxaca, Tehuantepec and in other towns where the results have been favorable to humanity." ⁸⁵ Bishop Cabañas sent two copies of the extensive document to the priests, who were to copy it into their government book and pass it on to the next priest. Even though we do not know with what date the viceroy's communiqué arrived in Guadalajara, it is certainly surprising that Bishop Cabañas took so long.

from 1797 in Mexico»; Donald Cooper, *Epidemics in Mexico City*; Rodríguez de Romo, "Inoculation in the smallpox epidemic of 1797, Mexico: myth or real solution?"; Ana Cecilia Rodríguez de Romo, "Inoculation, economics and aesthetics: three dilemmas in the fight against smallpox", in *Medicina Novohispana. Siglo XVIII*, volume 4, coordinated by Martha Eugenia Rodríguez Pérez and Xóchitl Martínez Barbosa (Mexico: National Autonomous University of Mexico, 2001); Robert McCaa, «Inoculation: An Easy Means of Protecting People or Propagating Smallpox? Spain, New Spain and Chiapas, 1779-1800", *Mexican Bulletin of History and Philosophy of Medicine*, vol. 2, new era (1998, September); Cramaussel, ed., *The demographic impact of smallpox in Mexico from the colonial era to the 19th century. Smallpox before the introduction of the vaccine*, vol.

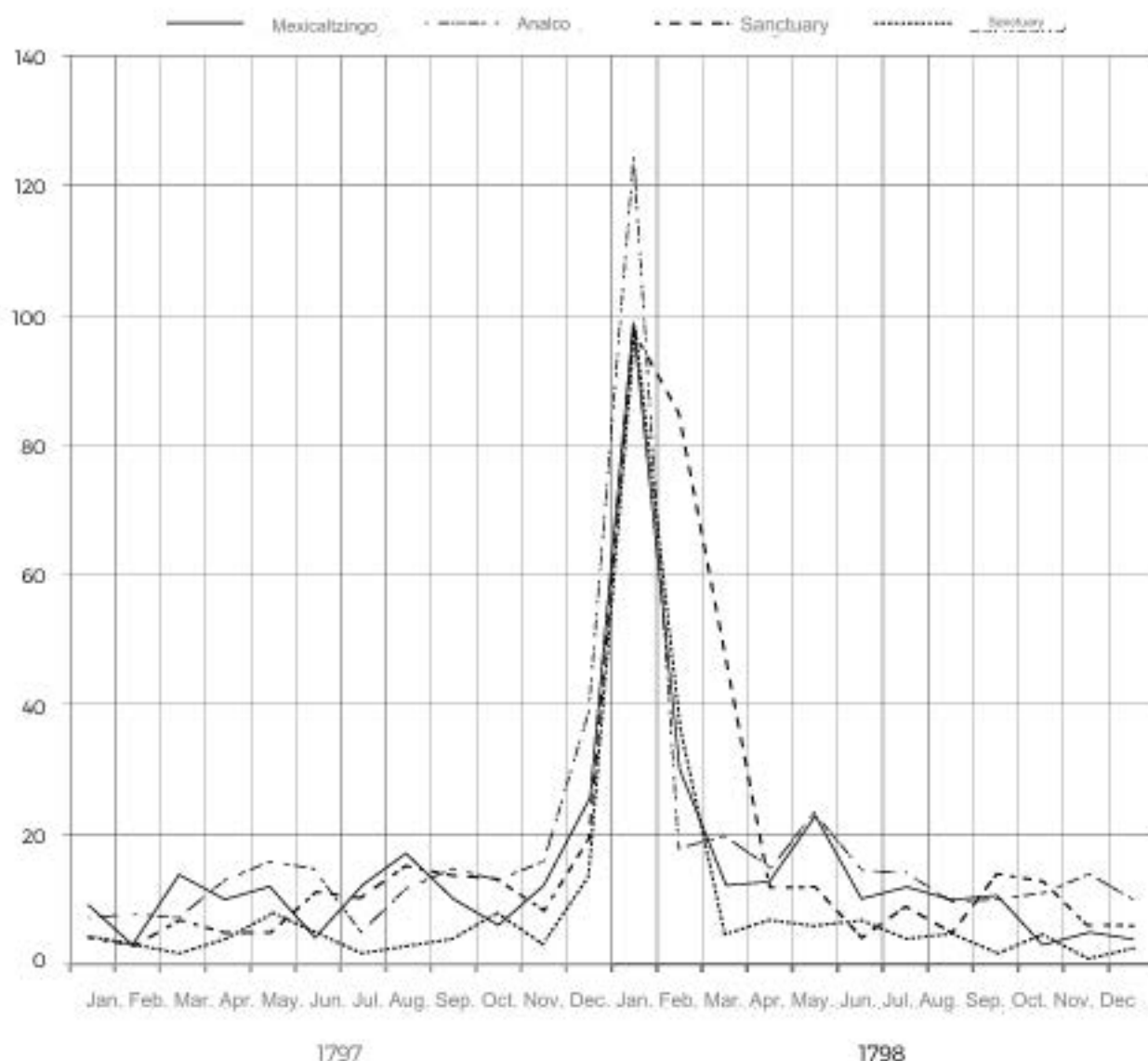
⁸³ 1. Many years ago I had the opportunity to see in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara a box labeled with the name smallpox that I assume contained information about inoculation and the vaccine, currently I have not been able to locate documents on inoculation.

⁸⁴ See: Oliver Sánchez, «The Royal Philanthropic Expedition of the Vaccine and the Central Vaccination Board of Guadalajara», in *Convergences and divergences: Mexico and Peru, 16th-19th centuries*, coordinated by Lilia V. Oliver Sánchez (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 2006).

⁸⁵ AHAG, Obispos series, years 1775-1799, file 14, box 1, f. 1.

given so much to send it to the parishes of his diocese. We know that by December 15, 1797, two weeks before the epidemic began, the document had reached the following places: San Pedro Analco, Tequila, Atemajac, Magdalena, Hostotipaquillo, Camotlán, Aposolco, Guaximic and Amatlán de Jora.⁸⁶ In how many places in Nueva Galicia was inoculation applied?

GRAPH 10. DEATHS REGISTERED IN THE PARISHES OF
GUADALAJARA DURING 1797-1798



Source: Parish records of El Sagrario, Analco, Santuario and Mexicaltzingo. I have not included the count of hospital records because I do not have it. Parish Archive of El Sagrario (APSM), burial book, no. 10 (1782-1798); Parish archive of San José de Analco (APSJA), burial book, no. 2 (1746-1796) and no. 3 (1777-1803); Parish archive of El Santuario de Guadalupe (APSG), burial book, no. 1 (1782-1798); Parish archive of San Juan Bautista de Mexicaltzingo (APM), burial book, no. 1 (1782-1808).

⁸⁶-- AHAG, Obispos series, years 1775-1799, file 14, box 1, f. 1.

FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1814

The first great crisis of the 19th century in the kingdom of New Galicia and its capital, Guadalajara, as in many other cities of the convulsed territory of New Spain, was caused in the context of the war of independence by typhus, a disease, like we have said, infectious transmitted by the human body louse and associated with unhealthy living conditions, lack of hygienic habits, hunger, overcrowding, poverty and wars. Calleja and his army are credited with the idea that the siege of Cuautla (1812) was the cause of the epidemic of the so-called mysterious fevers and "malignant fevers of the year 1813", which spread throughout the territory causing great havoc among the poorest in the big cities.⁸⁷ Cuenya and Malvido studied this epidemic in the city of Puebla and analyzed the relationship of this disease with the movement of troops due to the war that was going on at that time.⁸⁸

In the country's capital the epidemic appeared in 1813 and in Guadalajara in 1814. It is the most devastating crisis of the first half of the 19th century. In Mexico, burials rose to 17,267 according to data from Maldonado Márquez, who mentions that this figure is undervalued and that mortality reached 20,000 deaths. If we consider this figure, then we find that mortality tripled. The values for Guadalajara, in 1814, were similar; Mortality also tripled. Going a little deeper into the case of Guadalajara, and breaking down mortality by parish, the results we found are similar to those found by Lourdes Márquez for Mexico City, and by Malvido and Cuenya for Puebla. The most affected parishes were those in the suburbs inhabited by people with fewer economic resources, where health conditions were terrible, with totally unhygienic places where the poorest lived overcrowded.

In the capital of Nueva Galicia, the two most devastated parishes were Analco, located to the east, and Mexicaltzingo, located to the south of the city. In the first of them, mortality almost quadrupled and in the second, the hardest hit in the entire city, mortality quintupled. In the documents of the time, these neighborhoods are called the suburbs of the city, where the poorest lived in overcrowded conditions "with an entire family living and sleeping crowded together in a single room or hut, with no breathing room other than the door [where] the atmosphere it cannot but be sick and unhealthy, because it is contained in such narrow enclosures, which are easily impregnated with

⁸⁷ Hernández Torres, pp. 139-137.

⁸⁸ Malvido and Cuenya, pp. 522-523.

the fetid miasmas.⁸⁹ It was common for a sick person's clothes to be worn by another person without being washed, among other unhygienic practices. For these poor neighborhoods the epidemic meant a demographic catastrophe, and in general it was for the entire city; In the parish of El Sagrario, which occupied the central part with the best living conditions, mortality almost tripled that year. The consequences of the epidemic on short-term demographic dynamics were felt in the collapse of marriage and birth rates, precisely when mortality took its toll, particularly between the months of July 1814 and February 1815. Comparing this mortality with that caused in Mexico City, it is important to note that for Guadalajara the excess mortality extended until 1815. It is important to mention that the intensity of the typhus epidemic of 1814-1815 in Guadalajara was, by far, greater than the epidemic of cholera of 1833, which in particular I had considered in my previous works as the most important mortality crisis for Guadalajara in the first half of the 19th century.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Municipal Gazette of Guadalajara, volume 1, no. 6, 1917, p. 62.

⁹⁰ Lilia Oliver Sánchez, «Intensity of the demographic crises in the cities of Mexico and Guadalajara, 1800-1850», *Takwá* 8 (fall 2005): 34.

ILLUSTRATED INFLUENCES: REFORMS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

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The 18th century was for the kingdom of New Galicia, with Guadalajara and Zacatecas at the helm, a period in which regional identities crystallized around the two future mayoral capitals. It was a process that reached its culmination in the second half of this century with the establishment of regional civil-administrative institutions such as a consulate of commerce, a university, a printing press, a house of mercy and a regular transport of travelers between Mexico and Guadalajara. Some regional historians have described this historical moment as the awakening of Guadalajara's regional consciousness and have considered that the materialization of these institutions was a long-lasting process that began in the 16th century, from the deeds of the conqueror Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, who under the practice of war with fire and blood laid the foundations for the construction of his own regional political culture in the west of New Spain.

It should be noted that New Galicia was not the only case of regional redefinition that materialized during the 18th century. If we look at the entire territories of the Hispanic monarchy, we can see that the majority of jurisdictional entities on the American continent were immersed in similar processes. In general, the economic change that occurred in that century awakened regional consciousness and there were rethinking in relation to how they were articulated with the Peninsula and other centers of territorial power in America.

1 Ramón María Serrera Contreras, Guadalajara cattle ranch. Non-regional study of hispano, 1760-1805 (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992); "The Definition of Regions and the New Political Divisions", in General History of Latin America, vol. 4 (Madrid: Trotta, 2000), pp. 231-250; Mary of the Ángeles Gálvez Ruiz, Regional consciousness in Guadalajara and the government of the mayors (1786-1800), prologue by Ramón María Serrera (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial of the Government of Jalisco, 1996).

An early example that is often cited to exemplify this process was the decision to found in 1717 "detached from the jurisdiction of Peru" the viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Granada, with Santa Fe as its capital.²

In New Galicia, the figure who symbolized the construction and awareness of this region was the Creole Don Matías de la Mota Padilla, who was born in the city of Guadalajara in 1688. This man from Guadalajara graduated in law in Mexico, because Guadalajara He did not have a university then, he was the architect of forging the small homeland in the face of the power of the elites of Mexico City. His work written in 1742 and titled *History of the Kingdom of New Galicia in Northern America* was a wake-up call to recognize, within the framework of New Spain, the characteristics and uniqueness of western Mexico. The original of this meticulous work in which the history of Nueva Galicia was told and described the region, its location, extension and limits, number of inhabitants, climate, political and ecclesiastical institutions, products of the land and other elements of identity, It was sent to Spain and, although it was not published until 1855, it had a large circulation in the form of manuscript copies. Today it continues to be a work of enormous value and usefulness for scholars of the 18th century, since it is the first known testimony of some of the jurisdictions of Nueva Galicia, offering data on the districts of its understanding, population, ethnic groups, diseases and pests among other issues.

This work and many others written by American Creoles during the 18th century provided primary information about the territorial characteristics of the different regions of the American continent; in this case from the western region of New Spain. They were writings created within the framework of the modernization project undertaken by the Bourbons that, under the generic name of Bourbon Reforms, transformed and reorganized the administration of the American territories. The main objective of the project of the new Bourbon dynasty was to reactivate the trade of the Peninsula with the American territories through the implementation of a policy that favored the introduction of Spanish manufactures in exchange for American raw materials. This claim required greater knowledge of the American territories, their wealth and population. This was how the Bourbon Reforms, in their efforts

² The decision to found the viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Granada took place in 1717, however it would not be carried out until 1739. Western Colombia and a large part of the current territories of Ecuador were placed under its jurisdiction, and Venezuela.

³ Matías de la Mota Padilla, *History of the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia in Northern America* (1742), Historical series of facsimile works 3 (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara-IJAH, 1973).

"In order to achieve greater fiscal profits, they promoted the development and fragmentation of the regions while deliberately favoring the representation of the interests of the social sectors involved in the economic development of their spaces."

The most recent historiography has stopped seeing this century as a period of intensification of monarchical absolutism that undermined, as a result of the reformist ideal, the freedoms of American subjects and generated a feeling of exaggerated oppression and discontent that would lead years later to the insurgency. Rather, it has been concerned with studying how the modernization process undertaken by the Crown to regain power in America was carried out in different regional settings. A modernization that was based on the Enlightenment movement, a set of ideas and values supported by a minority.

In fact, the Enlightenment was the main cultural movement of the 18th century in which rationalism was the basis of all its thinking and actions. The utilitarianism characteristic of the movement was added to the despotism of the Bourbon monarchs to try to transform society into a vertical pyramidal form through the actions of the State. The enlightened people sought scientific truth and hoped, by disseminating this knowledge, to raise the cultural level of society and improve the situation of those who wished to cultivate reason and escape ignorance, thus achieving the ideal society. Its main characteristics were an inexhaustible faith in progress, reason, science and technology for the transformation of society and, as the ultimate goal, the achievement of happiness. For the Enlightenment, scientific language was "the most perfect of all human languages, insofar as it reflects in the purest form the universal structure of reason."⁵ All this is situated in an environment in which secularization was disappearing, spreading, starting with the instruments of power themselves, and the image of the sovereign.

In Spain, Enlightenment thought, with deep European roots, assumed the form of regalism, a set of ideas and practices to expand the king's control over the Church. The theoretical support was found in the texts written by prominent figures of the time such as the Minister of Finance Cam-

⁴ See Annick Lempérière, «Political representation in the Spanish empire at the end of the Old Regime», in *Dynamics of the old regime and constitutional order. Representation, justice and government in Latin America, 18th-19th centuries*, comp. by Marco Bellingeri (Turin: Otto Editore, 2000), pp. 55-75-

⁵ Santiago Castro-Gómez, *The hubris of the zero point: science, race and illustration in New Granada (1750-1816)* (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2005), p. 18.

pomanes (1723-1802), the enlightened jurist and politician Jovellanos (1744-1811), the economist Jerónimo de Uztáriz (1670-1732), the economist and politician Bernardo Ward (?-1779) or the jurist and politician José de Gálvez (1720-1787), characters who contributed with their work to spread reformist doctrines and energize the reform process promoted by the Crown.

In New Galicia, the reformism of the Bourbons came from the bureaucrats and ecclesiastics, who played a great role in implementing the eighteenth-century measures in this region. The mayors of Guadalajara Antonio de Villaurrutia (1787-1791), Jacobo de Ugarte y Loyola (1791-1799) and José Fernando de Abascal Souza (1800-1804), the jurist Eusebio Ventura Beleña appointed regent of the Court in 1792 and The bishops Fray Antonio Alcalde (1771-1792) and Juan Ruiz Cruz de Cabañas y Crespo (1796-1824) were those who, among others, in line with the new Bourbon policy, introduced numerous reforms and promoted multiple changes. Their libraries, and those of other enlightened officials who also had Nueva Galicia as their professional destination, can be traced in the inventories of the archive of the Court of Deceased Estates of the Court of Guadalajara and account for the acquisition and circulation of the enlightened thought throughout the 18th century in this region.

THE PROSPEROUS NEOGALLEGA CAPITAL

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

By the second third of the 18th century, Guadalajara, the capital of New Galicia, showed signs of suffering from a certain narcissistic fever because, as Thomas Calvo points out, it had ceased to be a rural village. Between 1732 and 1753, four plans of the city were made, the first known graphic documents, and the streets were already shown without the wastelands of past times where it was customary to take cattle to graze or for neighbors to have their crops. Instead, an urban layout with an impeccable grid was visible that put an end to the conquest of its internal space and appeared free of the perimeter wall that had surrounded it since the 17th century. Throughout the 18th century, the limits of the city would be marked by the temples-convents of the religious orders that had arrived attracted by the constant economic growth of the city.

⁶ Eduardo López Mendoza, *The grid in the development of the Spanish-American city* (Guadalajara, Mexico: University of Guadalajara, 2001).
Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara and its region in the 17th century, population and economy* (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), p. 11.7

city. To the west, on a spacious plot, the Carmelites who had arrived in the city in 1724 continued building the convent building and the convent garden at the end of the 18th century; To the south was San Francisco, to the north Santo Domingo and the building of the San Diego Girls' School still under construction, as well as its temple; and to the east appeared Santa María de Gracia. Further on, on the other bank of the San Juan de Dios River, you could see the hospital of the same name administered by the Juanins, who had arrived in the early years of the 17th century. Other temples populated the city, such as La Soledad next to the Cathedral, San Agustín, La Merced, Jesús María completed under the government of Bishop Gómez de Cervantes (1727-1734), Santa Mónica, Santa Teresa, or that of the Compañía de Jesús. As for educational institutions, the city had the Colegio Seminario de San Juan Bautista de la Compañía de Jesús and the Colegio Seminario Tridentino del Señor San José, in front of the Temple of Soledad, where young people could only study grammar. Only a few, those who could afford to live in Mexico City, had the opportunity to study at the University.

Despite the lack of educational, cultural and economic institutions, by 1741 the capital of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia showed signs of being a consolidated urban center. Around its main square were the Cabildo houses built in 1734 and which for a time were also the provisional headquarters of the Court while the Government Palace was being built. Previously this court had been in the river plain, in the middle block between the Plazuela de la Horca and the San Juan de Dios bridge. Around 1740, construction began on the new building, which had a square floor plan and had beautiful bastions, similar to that of the viceroys in Mexico, and was located in the main square, the heart of the city's civil power. The work was financed with funds from the mezcal wine tobacco and its construction lasted until 1790.⁸ The image of the main square was completed with different sections of the portals, which provided shade for merchants and fruit sellers. Over these portals the factories of those who lived in their tents were extended and raised.⁹

During these years, Guadalajara finally solved one of its most pressing problems that had been going on since the founding of the city: water supply. The City Council gave the commission to the lay brother Fray Pedro Antonio Buzeta, famous bricklayer and sugarcane worker in his time, who brought it from the

⁸ At first the seat of government was in the river plain in the middle block between the Plazuela de la Horca and the San Juan de Dios bridge. See Joseph Comejo Franco, *Testimonies from Guadalajara* (Mexico: UNAM, 1942), p. 159.

⁹ Mota Padilla, *History of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia*, p. 503.

Colli volcano taking advantage of the flow of underground waters. Through an extensive network of pipes, the precious liquid was brought to the center of the city and water was provided to the main square with the inauguration in 1745 of a fountain that became the pride of the population and the government due to its beauty.¹⁰ In 1750, as a result of an earthquake, the pipes broke and were not repaired until 1761. Other points supplied water to the city such as the fountain in the Government Palace, the prison and the squares of the convents of Carmen, San Francisco and San Agustín. The water also reached the homes of the most prominent families of Guadalajara such as that of Don Lorenzo Villaseñor, Don José Segura, Don Eusebio Arriaza, Don Bernardo de Mirando, Don Antonio Mena, Don Francisco Soto, Don Gabriel Leñero, Don Eugenio Castro, Don Isidro Serrano, Don José Colazo, Don Joaquín Chaurri, and the Marquis of Castillo de Ayza. These names appeared recorded in the plan that the judge, Don Martín de Blancas, had prepared in 1745 to send to Madrid as proof of the great undertaking carried out." During the ten years that the work lasted, between 1731 and 1741, it was financed with the mezcal wine tobacco, and its cost was 75,269 pesos. Later, the city would be thirsty again in 1777, 1790, 1804 and 1808-1811, years in which new work had to be undertaken.

Compared to Mexico and Puebla, Guadalajara had a small population before the 18th century. But towards the end of 1730 the trend reversed, initiating rapid growth that did not leave its inhabitants indifferent. The bishop of the diocese Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco (1763-1770) pointed out in 1767 the bustle of the streets full of people, the attendance at the temples and the great consumption of all kinds of provisions, going so far as to affirm that the city "It has increased so much that without recognizing the registry, anyone would come to know that it exceeds 24,000 souls."¹² This is what the census taken in 1792 by

¹⁰ «The beautiful perennial water fountain that in the middle of the square delights the view at the height of six rods pouring crystalline and water from a high globe onto a bronze cup from which they run to the concavities of four generous stone eagles through whose beaks they support the "how many thirsty people come to carry such a necessary element for the ministry of their homes." Calvo, Guadalajara and its region, p. 75.

¹¹ General Archive of the Indies (AGI), Maps and plans (MP), Mexico, 153, Plano ignographic of the City of Guadalupe of Nueva Galicia that Mr. Mr. Mr. Martín de Blancas, Oidor of it, ordered to be made... Year of 1745.

¹² Carmen Castañeda, Education in Guadalajara during the Colony, 1552-1821 (Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco / El Colegio de México, 1984), p. 159.

José Menéndez Valdés¹³ and there are many authors who point out that overall the growth of the city throughout the 18th century was more intense than that of other urban centers in New Spain. ¹⁴

During this time the city did not fail to achieve urban reforms that beautified it, because in addition to the imposing perennial water fountain that delighted the main square, the Alameda promenade was built, "planting a beautiful park on the banks of the river Saint John of God", ¹⁵

In 1747, an important celebration was the swearing-in of Ferdinand VI, which attracted a large number of provincials to the capital. This celebration contributed to "the making of regional cohesion, still in full development, even [...] at the level of fashion and clothing." ¹⁶ A few years before this lavish party organized in Guadalajara in honor of the king, Mota Padilla, who acted as municipal commissioner along with the Jesuit Francisco Ganancia, had written *The History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of New Galicia* and with this work he laid the foundations for what this region was and what it wanted to become.

The History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of New Galicia was not the personal vindication of Mota and Padilla against the centralism of Mexico, but the manifestation of the development of local identity and the emergence of a group consciousness. In a context of profound economic and social change, studied by authors such as Serrera or Van Young¹⁷ and seen in previous chapters, the neo-Galician elite needed to have its own mechanisms and institutions since the 18th century to expand its spaces. This is why for the first time, Mota Padilla proposed to the Crown, despite Mexico's opposition, obtaining permission to trade with Guatemala and the royal decrees to erect a trade consulate and a mint in Guadalajara. With these tools, he stated Mota Padilla in his work, "the entire

¹³ José Menéndez Valdés, *Description and general census of the mayor's office of Guadalajara, 1789-1793*, preliminary study by Ramón María Serrera (Guadalajara: UNED, 1980), p. 161.

¹⁴ Jean Pierre Berthe, «Introduction to the history of Guadalajara and its region», in *Historical readings of Jalisco. Before Independence* (Guadalajara: UNED, 1982), vol. 1 p. 227.

¹⁵ Luis Pérez Verdía, *Historia particular de Jalisco from the earliest times of which there is news, to the present day*, volume 1 (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1988), p. 351.

¹⁶ Thomas Calvo, "The oath of Fernando VI in Guadalajara (1747): from the royal religion to the festivity", in *Takwá* 8 (autumn 2005): 87.

¹⁷ See Eric van Young, *The city and the countryside in 18th century Mexico. The rural economy of the Guadalajara region, 1675-1820* (Mexico: FCE, 1989).

kingdom" and "families will settle." As local historiography has pointed out, the establishment of these local institutions at the end of the 18th century made possible the configuration of a regional economic elite that expanded its commercial interests beyond the restricted urban and regional space to which it was accustomed and gave way, after the opening from the port of San Blas in 1796,¹⁸ to larger scale maritime and commercial traffic.

Mexico's opposition to Guadalajara having a university and printing workshop like those that operated in Puebla, Oaxaca or in the viceregal capital itself was fought vigorously by the neo-Galician elite. In 1750, at the request of the City Council, Mota Padilla prepared a report entitled «Conducive foundations, in order to once again move the spirit of the [...] governor of Nueva Galicia [D. Fermín de Echevers y Subiza] to help [...] his Majesty [...] to establish a university in that city.¹⁹ This writing was a long presentation to obtain royal authorization and build a university in Guadalajara, since there was concern about the lack of doctors to serve an increasing population and the requirement that young people who wanted to study had to travel to the capital. It was argued that it was necessary "so that the children of these kingdoms and of more vassals who come here can study and graduate in all faculties because until now only those who applied to the ecclesiastical state and those who came to the city came to the city." "Scholastic and Moral Theology is enough"; and that "if in this city degrees were given and the chairs of Jurisprudence and Medicine were taken, so many would not be lost [...] because by not being ordained, the study of theology, which is what they were able to study, is of no use to them." In 1758 this regional aspiration became a formal petition supported by the city council and was taken to court by a solicitor, with the support of the members of the Audiencia and the cathedral chapter.²⁰

Another example of the formation of regional consciousness in the West of New Spain can be seen in the judicial sphere starting in 1745 when the Crown

¹⁸ Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano, Mexican legislation or complete collection of the legislative provisions issued since the independence of the Republic, vol. 1 (Mexico: Imprenta de Eduardo Dublán, 1876), «Bando de November 2 of 1796, inserting the royal order of May 2 of the same year, which enabled the port of San Blas for commerce», p. 66. José

¹⁹ Luis Razo Zaragoza, *Chronicle of the Royal and Literary University of Guadalajara and its primitive constitutions* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 1980), pp. 20-26.

²⁰ Ibid., "Proposals formulated by agreement of the Guadalajara City Council made by Mr. Matías de la Mota Padilla."

He expanded the jurisdiction of the Acordada court - hitherto limited to New Spain - to New Vizcaya and New Galicia. With this measure, the court judge was empowered to appoint lieutenants and delegates in almost the entire viceroyalty, punishing all types of crimes. The broad power granted to the Acordada limited the actions of the local justice system and with the implementation of the mayoralties in 1786, the conflicts of jurisdiction intensified, which is why, in the face of the rulings of the court of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, the figure of the viceroy as the competent authority for its resolution.

The presence of the Acordada in the Guadalajara municipality found a regional response to the problem of banditry that by the end of the 18th century had intensified, especially in the Altos region, and extended to the neighboring municipalities of Zacatecas and Valladolid. To solve this problem, in 1795 Jacobo de Ugarte y Loyola asked the Council of the Indies for permission to create a brotherhood court independent of Mexico in the mayor's office. The initiative had been the work of the subdelegate of Ahualulco Manuel del Río, a rich local landowner with certain aspirations and, although the new court contemplated its endowment and financing, it did not obtain the approval of the Crown but introduced a certain regional counterweight to the power of the Acordada, since from now on the appointments of the court agents for Nueva Galicia had to have the approval of the mayor of Guadalajara. twenty-one

METROPOLITAN INTERVENTION IN THE REGION

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

It was at the end of 1765 when José de Gálvez arrived in New Spain with the task of putting into practice the reformist policy of the Bourbons. This visit was a great upheaval that shook the foundations on which it was built, established the structures of the Habsburg monarchy. There were three actions with the greatest impact: the expulsion of the Jesuits, the establishment of the tobacco tabacconist, and an expedition to the northwest of New Spain where the Arizpe mayor's office was installed, a laboratory where the ideas that would later transform society were tested. It was the beginning of a new way of doing government.

21 Gálvez Ruiz, *Regional consciousness in Guadalajara*, pp. 284-291; Gabriel Torres Puga, «Centralization and struggles for the control of justice in the times of the Marquis of Branciforte», in *Memories of the Mexican Academy of History*, vol. 47 (Mexico: Academia Mexicana de la Historia, 2004), pp. 33-60.

Accompanying the visitor Gálvez on his Mexican enterprise was Eusebio Ventura Beleña, 22 a provincial native of the distant Castilian lands of Guadalajara who had arrived in New Spain with the entourage of the bishop of Puebla Francisco Fabián y Fuero. This bishop together with the archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana; and Brother Antonio Alcalde, future bishop of Guadalajara, were those who promoted the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council that was held in Mexico in 1771 to reform the customs of the faithful and the diocesan clergy.

Eusebio Ventura Beleña arrived in the capital of Nueva Galicia in 1767, commissioned by Gálvez as subdelegate and visitor of the Royal Treasury and with the mission of carrying out the expulsion of the Jesuits. The action took place at dawn on June 25 when Eusebio Ventura Beleña appeared at the Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino - today the headquarters of the Octavio Paz Ibero-American Library - to execute the royal decree of his expulsion. The twelve Jesuits who were in the school led by the rector Juan Mota listened with surprise to the instructions to leave the city. The consequences on the economic, cultural and pastoral life of Guadalajara were profound. On an educational level, the closure of the Santo Tomás school meant a major disaster, since it had been the first educational center in the city where "higher Latin studies" were taught outside the capital of New Spain.

Another episode of imperial policy that had an echo in the west of the viceroyalty was the taking of Havana and Manila by the English in 1762. This event, which was at the same time a moment of commercial prosperity for the island and the recognition of the interest that America aroused for the European powers, triggered with the rise of monarch Charles III and his policy of establishing greater control over the American territories, the concentration of a large amount of energy and resources placed at the service of science and materialized in a series of enlightened expeditions aimed at the recognition of the American environment.²³ Both scientific expeditions and the universal language

²³ VVAA, *Manifiesto of Eusebio Bentura Beleña* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / University of Guadalajara / El Colegio de Sonora, 2006).

²⁴ An antecedent to this external gaze was the internal gaze provided by the local officials who completed the questionnaire of the instructions published in 1777 in Veracruz by the sailor and scientist Antonio de Ulloa, *Printed Compendium for complete knowledge of physical geography, natural history, antiquities, mineralogy and metallurgy of the kingdom of New Spain*, so that it can supply the lack of teachers and teaching instruments, in the State Public Library from Jalisco (BPEJ); Historical collections, Manuscripts, manuscript 2, *Compilation of various documents including printed government documents, Royal Decrees,*

of the Enlightenment were part of the imperialist discourse and practices of the 18th century, so it was not easy to detect the markedly economic, medical-pharmaceutical, agricultural, industrial and fiscal utilitarianism that guided them. Only in this way, from the perspective of an undoubted reason of state, is it possible to understand the support that the Crown gave to that entire operation and the great investment carried out that surprised even Humboldt himself, who pointed out that "No European Government "has sacrificed sums as considerable as those that Spain has spent to advance the knowledge of nature."

One of the most notable expeditions was the Royal Botanical Expedition sent to New Spain and which coincided in time and space with the scientific-policy carried out by Alejandro Malaspina around the world (1789-1794). This exploration took place from 1787 to 1803, and established a chair of botany, a botanical garden, and a cabinet of Natural History in the capital of New Spain. Its origin was in the discovery and printing of the results of the expedition carried out by Philip II's proto-physician Francisco Hernández (circa 1570), the results of which were collected in an extensive catalog of New Spain flora and fauna. It emphasized the nutritional and healing virtues of plants and, after years of oblivion, it was discovered in the Jesuit archives after their expulsion. This discovery, coupled with the Spanish enlightenment process, led to the formation of another expedition in order to continue and clarify Hernández's work, this time using a new tool: the linear binomial classification, or sexual²⁴ classification of animals, evils and plants. Its objective was to carry out an inventory of natural resources and establish a botanical garden that would function as a center of activities for expeditionaries who would carry out systematic collections of the New Spain territory, in addition to teaching modern botany.²⁵ Among its main

papers for education... They were the instructions to cover the questionnaires of geographical relationships that incorporated knowledge about geography, physics, natural history, antiquities, mineralogy, metallurgy, petrifications and testaceans. The responses from Nueva Galicia were abundant and of great interest.

²⁴ Based on Vaillant's thesis in his *Sermo de structura florum* (1718), Linnaeus recorded in flowers the sexual function of stamens and pistils and reduced all flowering plants to 23 classes according to the male organ, by their number, length, etc. Roberto Moreno, *The first chair of botany in Mexico, 1788* (Mexico: Mexican Society of Science and Technology, 1988), p. 23. He also assigned two names to each plant, the first belonging to the genus and the second to the species.

²⁵ Graciela Zamudio, «The botanical garden of New Spain and the institutionalization of Botany in Mexico», in *The origins of national science*, ed. by Juan José Saldaña (Mexico: TAECT, 1992), p. 57.

Members were Martín de Sessé, Vicente Cervantes and José Mariano Mociño. The first chair began on May 1, 1788, and the botanical garden began to be filled with plants, mostly native to the surroundings of the Valley of Mexico.

In 1790 Castillo, Echeverría, de la Cerda, José Mariano Mociño and José María Maldonado, all of them Creoles, began the exploration of the northwest of New Spain in Neo-Galician lands, through Michoacán and Sonora. José Longinos Martínez Garrido is responsible for the first scientific explorations under the auspices of the Bourbons, in California, New Mexico and Guatemala; He also dedicated himself to the organization of the first Natural History Cabinet of America in the capital of New Spain, inaugurated in April 1790.²⁶

Longinos was interested in exploring the Pacific coasts, from San Blas to the northernmost latitudes, where he planned to obtain great scientific achievements. «In May of that year he indicated to the viceroy his intention to tour the coasts of Colima when the rainy season passed, to visit, among other areas, the mine sites, especially the Placer de San Telmo, since he knew of the existence in this area. place of a "coral tree", a valuable piece to enrich your Cabinet. ²⁷ Furthermore, he wanted the painter Atanasio Echeverría "to join his commission in the Chapala lagoon, as he was the most skilled animal illustrator, and for him to take with him the books, drawings and all the utensils belonging to his field."²⁸

Longinos and Senseve began their journey on January 20, 1791, leaving Mexico City to reach Alta and Baja California through Querétaro, León and Guadalajara where the rest of the Botanical Expedition were in March of that year, although they were not seen. They remained in Tepic for several months and in July 1791 they arrived in San Blas. ²⁹ Its route continued through the south of the valley and bay of Banderas (currently Puerto Vallarta) towards the north, establishing its base of operations in Loreto. From there they toured California and by November 1792 they were back in San Blas. Senseve returned to Mexico and Longinos remained in the company of an Indian mecca in the surroundings of Nayarit, approximately

²⁶ José Luis Maldonado Polo, "The first cabinet of natural history of Mexico and the recognition of the northwest of New Spain", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 21, no. 21 (1999): 52.

²⁷ Maldonado Polo, "The first cabinet of natural history of Mexico", p. 60. ²⁸ Letters from Longinos to Revillagigedo, Mexico, January 17 and 18, 1791, Mexico. General Archive of the Nation (AGN), History, 461 and 462; Maldonado Polo, "The first cabinet of natural history of Mexico", p. 60.

²⁹ Letter from Longinos to Revillagigedo, Presidio of Loreto, March 30, 1791. AGN, History, 462.

approximately one year, practicing as a surgeon in Tepic. The last days of December 1793 he was in Guadalajara on his way to Mexico. The result of the expedition was more than 2,000 leagues traveled, and eleven volumes of journals and natural history studies.

The trip to New Galicia and known as the Third Expedition was led by Sessé. He left Mexico City for Michoacán and Sonora on May 17, 1790. Juan de Castillo and José Mariano Mociño also went. They traveled through San Juan del Río, Querétaro, Guanajuato and Valladolid where they arrived in August. They continued through Pátzcuaro, Uruapan, and arrived at Jorullo, which had erupted in 1759; They went to Apatzingán, where they stayed for a month until October 20. They studied more than 140 species, most from the area around Apatzingán. They continued along the west coast to Tepalcatepec, about 65 kilometers from Apatzingán; They continued through Colima, Tonila, Zapotlán, arriving at Sayula, Lake Chapala and Guadalajara, where they remained for around four months organizing the collected material and sending it to Mexico or Madrid, depending on the importance of the specimen. Between July and August 1792 they moved towards Tepic, reaching Álamos, Sonora. One of the most notable plants was the *Geum resinosum* found in San Juan de los Lagos. About one hundred drawings and about 172 specimens for the herbarium resulted from this excursion.³⁰ It seems that the expedition had taken place outside of the inhabitants of Nueva Galicia, judging by the absence of information about local collaborators and the absence of materials in local archives in this regard, and even in national ones. In this case, the resource count would increase scientific knowledge and the appropriation of the territory by the Crown would expand.

Faced with the brilliance of these scientific expeditions aimed at the recognition of the American territories and their integration through the representation generated by the drawings, maps and specimens collected by the wise men, there were other types of tours that were carried out. of the mayors, the new officials introduced by the Bourbons within the framework of the territorial and administrative reorganization. The responsibility that was granted to them by the Royal Ordinance of Mayors in the Police Case, particularly in article 57, stated that they had to commission topographical maps from engineers to ensure the exact and local knowledge of that

³⁰ Rogers McVaugh, "Botanical Exploration in Nueva Galicia, México, from 1790 to the present time," *Contributions from the University of Michigan Herbarium* 9, nos. 3-7, pp. 205-357.

Kingdom" and in article 58 that, through these engineers and their individual relationships, they will be informed:

Particularly and separately from the temperament and qualities of the lands that each Province comprises, from its natural productions in the three Mineral, Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms, from active and passive Industry and Commerce; of its Mountains, Valleys, Meadows and Dehesas; of the rivers that can be communicated, swelled and made navigable, at what cost, and what benefits may result to that empire and my vassals, from executing it; where it will be possible and advisable to open new ditches useful for irrigating farmland, and to build mills [and a long etcetera].

In accordance with the Enlightenment ideals of good government, rulers. They had to seek public happiness and ignorance of its characteristics would imply poor performance. Hence the requirement, in addition to the realization of jurisdictional maps that proliferated and provided information on the territory, of carrying out an annual visit as "some proposed magistrates to increase agriculture, promote commerce, stimulate the industry of the towns, promote mining and, in short, ensure by whatever means fit within their discretion and powers that are granted to them. days, the happiness of those vassals who are the object of my royal and royal care, attentions", extending the benefits of enlightenment to the towns of Indians at whose head were the subdelegates. All this according to the article 26 of the Royal Ordinance. The mayors then established a close collaboration with these officials, who were responsible for disseminating and apply the provisions that the Royal Ordinance of Mayors established to the Indian towns. The results of that visit were to be delivered promptly. tually to the king through reports (Art. 58) such as those made by the mayor Jacobo Ugarte and Loyola in 1792 and 1793.³¹

³¹ Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, «Relation formed by the general commander, president, governor and mayor of the provinces that comprise this kingdom of Nueva Galicia, of the orders issued since March 14, 1791, when he took possession of these jobs, to this day, with an expression of the results they have produced, and sent to His Majesty by the hand of His Excellency. Mr. D. Pedro de Acuña, in compliance with the resolution of the royal order of May 6, 1792", in *Miscellaneous News of New Galicia* (Guadalajara: Typography of Banda, 1878), pp. 145-163 and "Relation formed by the commander general, president, governor and mayor of the provinces that comprise this kingdom of Nueva Galicia, of the orders issued from December 18, 1792, until this day, with expression of the results that have produced the previous ones, and sends to His Majesty

According to these reports, which constitute a source of exceptional quality for the 18th century researcher due to the rich information they present, the activities carried out aimed at improving the life of the inhabitants should be incorporated through the items provided by the ordinance, in case of education, health, roads and bridges and so on. In fact, during the visit of José Menéndez Valdés to the mayor of Guadalajara (1791-1793) one of the objectives was "to give each person what is theirs and put the entire province in peace and quiet."³²

It is interesting that the mayor Ugarte y Loyola delegated the visit, making use of the powers granted in article 27 of the Royal Ordinance, in the hands of the doctor of laws José Menéndez Valdés, whom he appointed general visitor in 1791 and which toured the mayor's office between 1791 and 1793, lasting 17 months. The visit, as the mayor himself acknowledged, was carried out by Valdés in the "most painful work, walking thousands of leagues through almost impassable passages" and on his journey "he collected all the news that could lead to a complete knowledge of this Kingdom: he arranged the archives of all jurisdictions through accurate inventories; He registered [the] inhabitants of each district with distinction of ages, classes and statuses; determined the information of community funds according to the order of February 11, 1792; he took into account the values of the alcabalas and tobacco; examined the state and management of the towns' property and taxes; "He had the roads repaired and the inns cleaned for the best comfort of the passengers."³³ In addition, he annexed to his work Chorographic News, the first known regional geography, which was completed with the information provided by the residents who offered their knowledge and by the subdelegates themselves, key figures as intermediaries between the authorities of Guadalajara and the inhabitants of the different towns of the municipality.

REFORMISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE GUADALAJARA INTENDENCE

Historians agree in considering that the crystallization of regional identities was manifested with particular intensity during the government.

by the hand of the Exmo. Mr. D. Pedro de Acuña, in compliance with the resolution of the royal order of May 6 of last year", 1792, in *ibid.*, pp. 164-170. ³²

Menéndez Valdés, *Description and general census*, p. 22.

³³ *Ibid.*

not of the mayors of New Galicia.³⁴ The configuration of a regional consciousness has been studied by historiography from a political and economic perspective and the construction of a closed regional consciousness has been proposed in the face of an open regional consciousness thanks in part to the opening of the port of San Blas and the development of roads into the interior of New Spain that significantly expanded Novogalaic commercial exchange.³⁵

In that sense, the models proposed by Van Young, Ibarra, Olveda and Serrera are the basis for understanding the impulse of New Galicia in the 18th century. These historians have highlighted the role played by the traditional oligarchy that subsisted at the beginning of the 19th century. Many of its members simultaneously carried out agricultural, mining, commercial activities, etc., and constituted the oligarchic summit of the city and the region that recognized it as a political, administrative and commercial center. There were 20 families: Sánchez Leñero, Moreno de Texada, Arochi and Portillo, Fernández Barrena, Escobedo and Daza, Sánchez Pareja, Basauri, Vizcarra, Corcuera, Caballero, Murúa, Villalord, García Sancho, Cañedo, García de Quevedo, Batres and Porres Baranda.³⁶

The support of the local oligarchy was key to the establishment of the reforms that came, in institutional form, through the combined efforts of mayors and enlightened ecclesiastics who developed numerous activities framed in the regalism described above.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND INSTITUTIONS AT THE END OF THE 18TH

CENTURY In the economic sphere, growth was sought through proto-industrialization, regional development and commercialized agriculture. Thus, during his government, Mayor Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola in 1791 modified, among other areas, the activities whose pillars were agriculture, "the industry carried out and that supports almost all of its inhabitants", mining and a proto-industry based on the installation of cotton and wool looms, tanneries, sugar mills "and other devices due to the effects of the fertility of this soil in all kinds of production that facilitates excessive profits">> but that "there are few artisans compared to those". These actions were in line with the interest of the reforms promoted from Spain that intended that the

³⁴ Gálvez Ruiz, Regional consciousness in Guadalajara.

³⁵ Antonio Ibarra, «Institution, power and family network. The merchants of Guadalajara and its Consulate, 1791-1821», in *The contracting house and navigation between Spain and the Indies*, coord. by Antonio Acosta Rodríguez, Adolfo González Rodríguez and Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Seville: University of Seville / CSIC / School of Hispanic American Studies, 2003), p. 971.

³⁶ Jaime Olveda, *La oligarquía de Guadalajara* (Mexico: Conaculta, 1991), p. 48.

American colonies were producers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured products, as has already been pointed out before.

To support his statement, Ugarte explained that the granaries were full of seeds, "so much so that today they are forced to take them out to fatten them and be able to lock up the new ones, because despite the exquisite efforts and experiments carried out by the landowners, they cannot. They have been able to find a means that preserves them without corruption for more than one, at most, two years; If it were found, it would be difficult for the calamity of famine to enter this province."³⁷ In fact, the "calamity of famine" was a topic of great concern at the time because between 1785 and 1786 the year of the hunger in New Spain ³⁸, hence the need to emphasize the existence of resources to avoid a new epidemic and food shortage.

Despite this situation, Eric van Young points out that at the end of the Colony, agriculture was being replaced by extensive livestock farming in the primary supply area of Guadalajara. This territory was included in an oval area of approximately 100 × 200 kilometers, limited to the south by Chapala, to the north by S. Cristóbal de la Barranca, to the east by Tepatitlán and Atotonilco el Alto and to the west by Ameca, ³⁹ all of this, within the Lerma River basin. It was an area with the absence of large aquatic currents and little rain, suitable for a single-crop regime and which, despite being a very fertile area, at the end of the 18th century already showed traces of erosion. ⁴⁰

Continuing with agriculture, compliance with article 61 of the Regulation of Intendencies, the introduction of the cultivation of indigo and other fibers was proposed. In this way, Ugarte and Loyola promoted the acclimatization of useful crops, commercial and that intended to become new sources of income for Nueva Galicia. A year later (1793) he indicated that the crops established in Tuxcacuesco and Autlán continued with little progress due to low consumption, the lack of factories to exploit it and the absence of economic resources to increase its production. ⁴¹

Ugarte was not alone. Bishop Cabañas shared several of his points of view. view and, from his privileged position, he supported every initiative presented to him from the civil government or economic institutions and encouraged all members of the clergy to favor "the increase of agriculture, the promotion of the arts and

³⁷ Ugarte and Loyola, "Relationship that forms", p. 152.

³⁸ See the previous chapter.

³⁹ Van Young, *The Town and the Country*, p. 26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴¹ Ugarte and Loyola, "Relationship that forms", p. 165.

all types of industry. He explained to the civil authorities the need to tenaciously promote tree plantations, establish cisterns, dams, water wheels and ponds; He criticized ignorance due to the exclusivity of bean, corn and wheat crops; promoted the introduction of more profitable products with applications in the industrial sector such as cocoa, indigo, grana, dyewood, hemp and flax, offering - also through the Consulate - prizes to innovative farmers. This enlightened prelate did not forget the instruction, pointing out that "it would therefore be very important to publish and freely distribute printed instructions on the cultivation of the species referred to." 42

Although mining was a field of great relevance for the period, to the point of building a Royal Mining Seminar in the capital of New Spain under the control of the renowned Fausto Delhuyar, in the Guadalajara mayor's office productive activity had declined as a result of the split of Zacatecas and the strongest mining center was Bolaños. Although mining production had decreased in importance, the same had not happened with the coined metal that circulated through the municipality.

Regarding industry, the industrial revolution that Northern Europe was experiencing had not taken off widely in Spain, even less so in the municipality of Guadalajara, where there were various attempts to implement workshop systems, driven by two primary objectives inspired by article 60 of the Mayor's Ordinance; on the one hand, the disappearance of the numerous idle people who were in Guadalajara, and on the other, social control. The efforts in this regard were notable, and ecclesiastical, civil and even private authorities intervened in them. By 1776, the Dominican Antonio Alcalde (bishop of Guadalajara from 1771 to 1792) undertook a campaign to combat the lack of work and laziness in Guadalajara; To do so, he asked the government of New Galicia to act and, at the same time, asked the Crown for support so that the Court could establish the industries necessary to remedy begging and laziness. The Court delegated this function to the City Council and the main merchants were summoned to see which industries were most suitable; Cotton, wool and furs were proposed to prevent the importation of manufactured products from the Bajío. Then came a plan to open sources of work through several artisan workshops whose financing would be done with private capital, which failed after six months. The idea was taken up by seven well-known merchants who contributed

42 Serrera, Guadalajara livestock, "Material and formal state of the diocese of Guadalajara in the year 1805. By its bishop Dr. Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas", pp. 403-417.

They took six thousand pesos each, got the support of the Cabildo and the viceregal permission and started the company under the command of one of them:

Joaquín Ibarreta. It was a very successful company that within two years had established one hundred cotton, wool and wool workshops, which is why they

declared the company dissolved. 43 Years later, Bishop Cabañas saw the industrialization of his diocese as an indispensable instrument for the natural and moral happiness of its inhabitants and spared no effort to develop a policy aimed at promoting it. Like the mayor Jacobo Ugarte, he believed that "establishing workshops and fulling mills were a very effective and timely means, to which many individuals would certainly lend themselves," but he considered it backward to continue maintaining the idea that they were corrective centers for criminals and prisoners, opposing the civil government at this point. The practical implementation of all these ideas would be reflected forcefully in the ordinances established for the house of mercy since, as Serrera points out, its different articles included "some extremely novel principles at that time for a charitable institution of a city with a certain provincial air, at that time."

The same year that Cabañas arrived in Guadalajara to exercise his bishopric (1796-1824), the Royal Consulate of Merchants was founded (1796) made up of the main merchants of the mayor's office, a body of the Old Regime that competed with that of Mexico "for the markets of the kingdom, silver from the north as well as American and overseas imports. 45 Since the summer of 1791, the force of the Guadalajara Board of Commerce, made up of about fifty local merchants, had been promoting the erection of the consulate of commerce and a university, the latter encouraged by the same

43 José María Muriá, dir., *History of Jalisco* (Guadalajara: Government of Jalisco / INAH, 1982), volume 3, p. 109.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

45 «The Consulate represents not only the constitution of a body of interests but the acquisition of a fundamental tool for the expansion of local interests in the New Spain market, since it created a limited commercial territoriality, generated an institutional personality that allowed them "The Guadalajara merchants managed tax exemptions, gave them mechanisms to resolve their disputes and provided them with efficient negotiation instruments and a collective identity that was decisive for their future interests." See Antonio Ibarra, «Circulation networks and business networks in the New Spain internal market: the merchants of the Consulate of Guadalajara, 1791-1803», in *Social networks and commercial institutions in the Spanish empire, 17th to 19th centuries*, by Antonio Ibarra and Guillermina del Valle Pavón (Mexico: Instituto Mora / UNAM, 2007), pp.

279-293.

Bishop Mayor, Mayor Ugarte y Loyola, the City Council and the prosecutors of the Royal Court.

The Consulate of Merchants was similar to that of Mexico City, with jurisdiction in matters of commercial justice and the right to collect damages in its territorial area of competence. This involved ending the intermediation of the Mexican Consulate to do business with the different territories of the viceroyalty.

The work was facilitated by the establishment of periodic communication with Mexico City with a stagecoach route by Jacobo Ugarte (1794). In addition, the Guadalajara mayor's office obtained direct connections with Zacatecas, the connection from the capital to the ports of Navidad and Santiago, the construction of a more expeditious route with San Blas or Tepic and the repair of the old road to Colima, which included with the support of Cabañas. To this must be added the generation of a communication line with the port of Veracruz and with "the internal distribution ports, such as the Saltillo and San Juan de los Lagos fairs."

The latter turned out to be a relevant regional commercial exchange center and an element that contributed to the regional articulation and integration of the kingdom of New Galicia during this period; With it, the region was enrolled in a broad commercial circuit of import and interregional distribution. Towards the end of the 18th century, it was already the most important in all of New Spain, replacing Xalapa and Acapulco, which until then were the distribution centers for goods that entered the viceroyalty via the Atlantic and the

Pacific. There were several factors that made the fair's success possible. of San Juan de los Lagos and its conversion into one of the areas with the greatest mule traffic in all of New Spain, as well as the main supply hub for the northern mines. On the one hand, the elimination of the commercial monopoly of the port of Cádiz since 1765, which allowed trade with other Spanish ports; Also in 1778, the suppression of the fleet system by the Free Trade Decree and its replacement with the shipment of isolated vessels, which granted greater commercial freedom by placing the port of Veracruz as the arrival point for goods for free entry. Therefore, there was no longer an obligation to carry out transactions in Xalapa. On the other hand, the establishment of the Royal Company of the Philippines (1785) caused the bankruptcy of the Asian monopoly held by Acapulco, until then the main commercial port of the American Pacific. From that moment on, the ships would head to other ports such as San Blas, from where the merchandise was brought to New Galicia through, for example, the San Juan de los Lagos fair.

To the strategic location of San Juan de los Lagos, located at a crossroads between Guadalajara, Bajío and the mining centers of the north, was added the attraction of pilgrims that led to the narration of a miracle by the Virgin of San Juan in 1623. Devotees and merchants who attended to their consumption needs began to gather in this indigenous town since 1633, the moment in which the Royal Court of Guadalajara authorized the settlement of Spaniards. Of the 1,630 people who initially attended, in 1792 more than 35,000 visited the place, which was favored by the construction of the sanctuary between 1732 and 1769. Merchants from Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, San Juan del Río, Valle de Santiago, Celaya, Guadalajara, Valladolid, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas. In 1792 (others claim that it was in 1794) merchants and residents of San Juan de los Lagos asked Viceroy Revillagigedo for a license to establish a commercial fair, the freedom of excise duties for the effects sent to the fair, the construction of a customs and premises to store the merchandise, which had been entrusted to the military engineer Miguel Constanzó.

On June 28, 1794, Revillagigedo sent this request to monarch Charles IV who, in turn, on November 20, 1797, issued a royal decree granting the population the privilege of a fair that would last 15 days, free of all duty of collection, arbitration and toll. In those years, the Consulate of Merchants of Guadalajara was concerned with improving communications and facilitating the transportation of goods to the different groups that traveled the routes to the fair with regulations and proposals for the construction of bridges like the one in Calderón.

In parallel to the internal ports, an external or maritime port was put into operation, a communication route through which goods with geographically more distant origins and destinations circulated: the port of San Blas. That was another of Gálvez's activities that would have important repercussions on the regional perception of Nueva Galicia. In 1767 he ordered the founding of a port on the coast of New Galicia that would be useful as a supply and communication point for the exploration and colonization of the north of New Spain, particularly for the activity carried out in the Californias.⁴⁶ Furthermore, this establishment would allow the advance of Russians to be stopped and

⁴⁶ In 1765, José de Gálvez was entrusted as general visitor of the courts of New Spain in the California peninsula, provinces of Sonora and New Vizcaya, among other duties, to form "a small marine department in a place named San Blas, in the Gulf of California with a shipyard for the construction of vessels to protect the coast, communication and trade with the provinces; and in turn of these with those of Guatemala, Panama and Guayaquil for the transport of wool and cocoa respectively. Furthermore, as

English on the North Pacific coast and would contribute to the consolidation of Spanish hegemony over the west of New Spain. Activities in the port were constant; Boats were built there, there was commercial exchange with products from Guadalajara and Mexico and it was a supply point for the Californias, which contributed to accelerating the process of colonization and exploration that was being carried out at the time.

Almost thirty years later, in 1796, it was granted by royal decree the opening to trade with South America, with which the triangulation between Guadalajara, Tepic and San Blas increased its strength, although trade with the south was not allowed. did not become effective until 1810, in the midst of the independence process. Its location and function were strategic for strengthening commercial activity in the west of New Spain, as it linked Guadalajara, the capital of New Galicia, with the north of the viceroyalty.⁴⁷ In that period José played a prominent role. María Narváez, a Cadiz native established in New Galicia who participated in the Nootka expedition, in the Californias, and was a cartographer whose works included a map of Chapala and New Galicia itself at the beginning of the 19th century, thus The identity process was strengthened through the graphic representation of the territory according to scientific means, which allowed greater precision.

The appropriation of space and control of commercial activities through the different paths of Nueva Galicia strengthened the search of a certain independence from the dominion of Mexico City and of direct understanding with Spain. Covered the domain of communication routes maritime, the port of San Blas, elements were missing that would facilitate the land activity in which the Consulate of Merchants of Guadalajara was involved through the regulation of commercial traffic with regulations and the construction

unloading port for the China Nao with the possibility of the founding of a cathedral church in those desert provinces, along with the proposal to lower the value of a quarter of the quicksilver to support mining in these areas. Archive of the Royal Court (ARA), Civil branch, box 67, exp. 6, 27 fs.

⁴⁷ See Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas de Nayarit*, vol. 1 (Mexico: Secretary of the Navy, 1968), pp. 19-59; Pedro López González, «San Blas. Emergence and decadence», in *The northwestern ports of Mexico*, by Jaime Olveda and Juan Carlos Reyes (Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco/Universidad de Colima/INAH, 1994), pp. 89-93; and Dení Trejo Barajas, «The port of San Blas, smuggling and beginning of the internationalization of trade in the Pacific Northwest », *Tzintzun. Journal of Historical Studies* 44 (July-December 2006): 11-36.

⁴⁸ It must be remembered that the important Camino Real de Tierra Adentro ran through Nueva Galicia, although it did not pass through the vicinity of Guadalajara.

tion of bridges like the Calderón one. The two main routes to Mexico City were the northern route that passed through Lagos, León, Irapuato, Celaya, Querétaro and San Juan del Río and the one that went through La Barca, Valladolid, Acámbaro and Toluca. In 1794, a stagecoach line was opened that traveled the northern route between Mexico and Guadalajara in 12 days.⁴⁹ Thanks to these routes and actions, the New Galatic consulate could extend its control over the goods that circulated through Guadalajara, its region and numerous towns in the region, northern New Spain.

GUADALAJARA, A CULTURAL CENTER: PRINTING AND EDUCATION

The effects of Bourbon reformism and the Enlightenment that contributed to the aggrandizement of New Galicia were also felt in its capital, where the activities of the Board of Trade in the educational field, added to the efforts of the institutions and some of the enlightened figures mentioned above caused the cultural life of the city to have a great boost in 1792. That year a printing workshop with its own bookstore was installed, the University of Guadalajara and the Colegio de San Juan was reopened.⁵⁰ The usefulness of the communication routes, which were so vital, led Guadalajara to participate "in the formation of a certain culture and in the dissemination of that culture to the west and north of the New Spain";⁵¹ in such a way that the emergence of these and previous institutions was a fundamental pillar to consolidate the independence desire of New Spain, strengthen regionalism and legitimize its autonomy from the capital of New Spain.

Thus, by a decree of February 7, 1792, the Court of Guadalajara, which considered the printing press "one of the best inventions known to humanity," allowed its installation in the city. The request had been made by Mariano Valdés Téllez Girón, son of the printer of the relevant *Gazeta de México* in the capital of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Valdés. 52 August 10

49 Carmen Castañeda, «The roads from Mexico to Guadalajara», in *Routes of New Spain*, coord. by Chantal Cramaussel (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2006), pp. 268-269.

50 Carmen Castañeda, "The mayors in the government of Guadalajara, 1790-1809", *Yearbook of American Studies* 59, no. 1 (2002): 67-80. Among the multiple uses of the printing press, there was also the publication of police orders that contributed to the increase of printed culture in the city.

51 Castañeda, *Education*, p. 19.

52 See Carmen Castañeda, «Printing costs and book prices in Guadalajara, 1807-1822», in *Prints and books in the economic history of Mexico*

In 1793, Carlos III granted an exclusive privilege of 10 years to Valdés in a royal decree, and in 1794 it was already fully established in the city. To start operating, he had brought the machinery from Madrid and from Mexico City a foil and stamp opener, and bookbinder, trained in all types of pastes. He dedicated himself to publishing and selling books. In 1798 he transferred the business to Manuel Domínguez.⁵³

The first document to come out of that printing press was the Funeral Eulogies in honor of the Most Illustrious Bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde,⁵⁴ and its production between 1793 and 1823 has been calculated at about 792 prints.

While cultural life flourished, this situation did not go unnoticed by the always attentive commissioner of the Holy Inquisition in Guadalajara, Mr. Pedro Díaz Escandón, who held the position for 18 years until 1805. Perhaps because of the possible threats that could be presented these newly created spaces, he sought to have influence both in the university and in the printing press. On the one hand, by wanting to vote in the provision of professorships that were given at the university and therefore participate in the definition of teachers, which would allow them to control the content that would be taught; and on the other, by requesting that he be given a copy of each of the texts that were printed in the recently opened establishment.⁵⁵

Certainly, in Guadalajara works of various kinds were read (religious, poetic, literary in general), but at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century the production of the French encyclopedists who would lead the enlightened thought of the time was also being incorporated. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot were in the library of Francisco Severo Maldonado when he was

(16th-19th centuries), coord. by María Pilar Gutiérrez Lorenzo (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 2007), pp. 77-93.

⁵³ In 1808 the printing press passed into the hands of José Fructo Romero, and in that period religious production was mixed with secular production; Romero granted his will in 1813, leaving his wife, Petra Manjarrés, as executor and heir, who inherited it in 1820. See Archive of Public Instruments of the State of Jalisco (AIPEJ), José Tomás de Sandi, vol. 15, fs. 177-179.

⁵⁴ José Toribio Medina, *The printing press in Guadalajara de México, 1793-1831* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1966 [1904]), p. 17. See also other authors who mention this text as the first: Juan B. Iguíniz, «La imprenta en la Nueva Galicia 1793-1821. Bibliographic notes», *Annals of the National Museum of Archaeology, History and Ethnology* 3 (1911): 253-336; Alberto Santoscoy, "The first printing press of the insurgents", in *Complete Works* (Guadalajara: UNED, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 751-753; Alberto Santoscoy, "The introduction of the printing press in Guadalajara", in *Complete Works*, vol. 2, pp. 741-745.

⁵⁵ AGN, Inquisition, vol. 1351, exp. 8, 1793.

tried in 1811 for editing *The American Alarm Clock* (1810-1811); There were institutional libraries such as those of the university and the convent of San Francisco (with about 1,500 copies), those of Jesuits, Carmelites and Augustinians, the seminary and the clerical college. To these would be added those from individuals such as the 400 to 500 volumes that Manuel Porres Baranda de Estrada owned.⁵⁶ The books had different origins, some more legal than others. In Mariano Valdés Téllez Girón's bookstore they came from Mexico or were smuggled in the endless mule trains of the brave muleteers who tirelessly traveled through New Spain carrying goods of all kinds through the previously mentioned routes.

The influence of the Enlightenment was also felt in the educational field, where rationalism sought to extend beyond scholasticism, particularly in higher education, which turned out to be a difficult task once the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico in 1767. During the colonial period, the monopoly of higher education had remained in the hands of the Church with centers such as the Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, the Colegio Seminario de San Juan Bautista and the Colegio de Santo Tomás. From 1792 onwards he concentrated on the Colegio Seminario de Señor San José, founded in 1699; and at the San Juan Bautista Seminary College, closed in 1767 and reestablished that year.⁵⁷

The enlightened Cabañas was responsible for the reform of the Conciliar Seminary - providing it with new Constitutions in line with the new times - and the creation of the clerical seminary that assumed the difficult task of forging at the same time an enlightened and traditionalist clergy.⁵⁸

Both the University and the College of San Juan were considered from the enlightened perspective of "known usefulness and use of the

⁵⁶ See Carmen Castañeda, "The uses of the book in Guadalajara, 1793-1821", in *Fifty Years of History in Mexico*, coord. by Alicia Hernández Chávez and Manuel Miño Grijalva (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 39-68; Carmen Castañeda, *Printing, printers and newspapers in Guadalajara, 1793-1811* (Guadalajara: Agata / Guadalajara City Council / CIESAS / Museum of Journalism and Graphic Arts, 1999); and Celia del Palacio, *The dispute over consciences. The beginnings of the press in Guadalajara. 1809-1835* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 2001), p. 80.

⁵⁷ For more information, see Castañeda, *La Educación*, passim.

⁵⁸ See José Romero Delgado, *Pedagogical contributions since the formation of the clergy. The seminaries reformed by Ruiz de Cabañas* (Huelva: Kronos, 1991); and José Romero Delgado, "Bishop Ruiz de Cabañas and the erection and foundation of the Clerical College of the Divino Salvador: Guadalajara (1802)", *Communio* 23, fascicle 2 (1990): 265-274.

youth", thus inaugurating a "time that is undoubtedly the happiest for these good and faithful vassals of His Majesty".⁵⁹

Created according to the guidelines of the University of Salamanca, ⁶⁰ the Royal and Literary University of Guadalajara was a corporate establishment typical of the Old Regime, where the scholastic method was followed, being characterized as Catholic, royal, scholastic and corporate. It included the faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine. In the case of Medicine, anatomical practices were requested as in Salamanca, and although experimental physics or physiology classes were not included, students were asked to cover these topics when taking the exam. ⁶² Furthermore, the University became a forum where conflicts between different political groups were expressed.

Simultaneously, as a result of the reforms originating from Spain, highly relevant scientific institutions were founded in the capital of New Spain that contributed to the circulation of modern scientific knowledge. Thus arose the Royal Academy of Surgery (1768), the Academy of San Carlos (1781), the Royal Botanical Garden and the Chair of Botany (1788), and the Royal Seminary of Mining (1792).⁶³

⁵⁹ Ugarte and Loyola, "Relationship that forms", p. 167.

⁶⁰ A comparison of the curriculum of the University of Guadalajara and that of Salamanca can be seen in the book by Cristina Cárdenas, *Adventures and misfortunes of higher education in Guadalajara during the 19th century* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1999), pp. 57-103.

⁶¹ Catholic: because it was under the control of the regular or secular clergy, due to its vision providentialist of the universe and clinging to Christian dogmas of Roman orientation. Royal: because when it was founded by the Spanish Crown it was organized in accordance with the political and legal superstructure of the monarchy; hence the prohibition of promoting, teaching or defending issues that went against civil authority or royal royalties, in addition to swearing eternal fidelity to the Crown. Scholasticism: because its teaching principles were those of scholasticism, where scientific problems were formulated through theses and controversies. Corporate: because when it was organized according to the structures of the old Spanish universities (Salamanca), it followed the characteristic rules and rituals of the Middle Ages, with a battlefield and arena similar to the one that served as a scene for the tournaments of the time. Carlos Ramírez Esparza, *Notes for the history of medicine of the Civil Hospital of Guadalajara 1800-1950*, volume 1, *Medicine non-surgical* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 1990), p. 123.

⁶² Cárdenas, *Adventures and misadventures of higher education*, p. 89.

⁶³ The lack of such institutions had already been made evident in 1777 with the preparation of the instructions for the drafting of geographical relations.

The centralism present in the founding of modern scientific institutions and the relevant role given to Mexico City in that sense did not necessarily imply that knowledge followed the same path in Guadalajara. There were extra-institutional alternatives, such as the night academy at the home of Dr. José María Cano, in which medical students and professors met to study anatomy on plates and consult an extensive library that contained modern medical works brought from Mexico and Spain.⁶⁴ In addition, and in relation to what happened at the Royal Academy of Surgery in which courses in anatomy, physiology, operations, surgical clinic and legal medicine were taught, Dr. Pedro Tamés financed the provision of anatomy classes on human cadavers, which, although they were not regular, served to lay the foundations on which the scientific future of medicine, anatomy, physiology and clinical practice began to be built.⁶⁵

Sometimes modern knowledge was introduced directly into innovative training institutions; An example is what happened with botany. The teaching of linear binomial classification, a paradigm of 18th century natural history, was considered institutionalized in New Spain with the founding of the Chair of Botany in Mexico City, a specific establishment for this purpose. In Guadalajara, Linean botany began its official teaching directly at the University, at the same time that the establishment began to operate, in 1792.⁶⁶ However, the teachings taught were theoretical, following the scholastic method, as were the exams, in which there was no specimen of plant or animal on hand in which to physically show the studies carried out. The examination was, then, rote, in the absence of physical specimens from a botanical garden.

⁶⁴ Ortencia Viveros, *History of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Guadalajara, 1792-1826* (bachelor's thesis, University of Guadalajara, 1991), p. 112.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁶⁶ The first notion of the type of studies and authors worked on is found in the news given by *La Gazeta de México* in 1796, when the first public examination for a bachelor's degree in Medicine was held and for the applicant for the title of Bachelor of Medicine Joseph Mariano García-Diego. He was asked, in an exam that lasted more than five hours, among other subjects, the explanation of flowering in the Linnaean system by D. Antonio Palau, expositor of Tournefort botany, which had to be recited by heart. This news appeared in the *Gazeta de México* on Wednesday, August 17, 1796, volume 8, no. 16, and a rectification about the reason for the examination, since Palau was not an exhibitor of Tournefort, on Monday, October 3, 1796, no. 19.

While this was happening in higher education, the first letters were not abandoned and its impulse was not limited to the capital, but extended to the Indian towns where schools were established by teachers whose salaries were covered by the funds of the community boxes. In 1808, the statement of community assets of the town of Tequila recorded the payment of 100 pesos paid in the aforementioned year to the school teacher of that town and "ten pesos spent on Cartillas, Catones and others necessary for the education of poor Indians," in accordance with superior disposition.

During these years, the bishops Fray Antonio Alcalde and Cabañas similarly promoted the education of boys and girls. In relation to girls' schools, they supported the performance of schools established since the beginning of the Colony, such as the one attached to the convent of Santa María de Gracia where the students were taught "women's" trades, the San Diego school and the of girls from the city of Zacatecas, but they also promoted the House of Teachers of Charity and Education, founded in 1783 by the Mayor and supported by Cabañas in the care of their income. The House of Recollections also depended on the bishop, a corrective institution founded in 1748 in which "the bad women" confined there were given the work of grinding and spinning.

As for the primary schools for children, to the so-called Royal School of the Company that since the expulsion of the Jesuits had operated in the building of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, the Bishop Alcalde added in 1783 the School of the Sanctuary, located in this neighborhood.

Now, the most forceful materialization of the ideals of the Enlightenment in educational matters and public instruction would be carried out by Bishop Cabañas in the founding of the House of Mercy, a school of first letters in which children would be instructed in reading, writing and accounting, as well as some principles of geometry and drawing. In a novel way, professional learning was contemplated in a trade chosen by the student, taught by renowned artisans who would come to the institution to train apprentices. Instruction was thus linked to professional practice, giving an early response to the objectives sought in all the educational programs of current governments. The distinctive features of the institution founded by Bishop Cabañas were education and protection.

In the review of its ordinances, it is observed that of the 11 articles that structure the way this charitable institution should be governed, six regulate these concepts. Thus, the first article states about the patronage, protection and name of the house; the third on the class of poor to be admitted; the fourth contemplates spiritual pasture and Christian instruction; the fifth addresses civil instruction and occupations; he

sixth, police, on the courteous or convenient treatment among all the poor who stay in this House"; The seventh, manufactures and clothing, indicates to the administrator his obligation to make "in a timely manner the collection of raw materials, machines, tools, instruments and others that are necessary for the manufactures, arts and crafts that are established in the House, work of the poor and teaching of the young. Thus, the House of Charity and Mercy was born as an establishment of "teaching, charity, correction and beneficence." 67

The educational practice of the House of Charity and Mercy of Guadalajara arises within the trend studied by Dorothy Tanck for Mexico City, where the Enlightenment influence introduced the need to emphasize practical training and technical skills for their application at work. 68 A clear example was the establishment, in 1806, of the Patriotic School attached to the Poor Hospice, 69 with workshops to train inmates in a trade that would enable them to earn a daily wage for when they had to leave the institution. 70

The Valencian Manuel Tolsá was the introducer of the French influence in the architecture of western New Spain, with the building of the House of Charity and Mercy (current Cabañas hospice) being the catalyst symbol of loyalty to the Crown and, at the same time, emblem of the new ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the Enlightenment. Ambivalent meaning with which the building was born that today can be valued as the search for an equanimity considered necessary to progress and assume the symbolic character of that modernity inaugurated by revolutionary ideals. Tolsá's election

67 In 1792, given the need for this type of establishment, it was proposed as a means to increase the number of primary schools "to excite the reverend prelates of the convents of Santo Domingo, San Francisco, El Carmen, San Agustín and San Juan de Dios to establish schools in their respective homes in imitation of what several communities have done in New Spain. See Castañeda, *Education*, p. 197.

68 Dorothy Tanck Estrada, *Illustrated Education, 1786-1836. Primary education in Mexico City* (México: El Colegio de México, 1999), p. 204. 69

The Poor Hospice of Mexico City located on the southwest side of the Alameda was opened in 1771 with funds from the king, the lottery and the archbishop, *Ibid.*, p. 191.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

7 Francisco Almela y Vives and Antonio Igual Ubeda, *The Valencian architect and sculptor Manuel Tolsá (1757-1816)* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1950); Salvador F. Pinnoncelly, *Manuel Tolsá, architect* (Mexico, National Council for Culture and the Arts, 1998; Eloísa Uribe, *Tolsá man of Illustration*, Mexico, Conaculta / National Institute of Fine Arts, 1990).

to carry out his project was a great success for Cabañas, however, the numerous commitments that kept the artist in the capital did not allow him to personally direct the works in Guadalajara. In his place, his disciple José Gutiérrez was in charge of the execution and direction of the project (1805).

The presence of Gutiérrez in Guadalajara came to cover the various needs that the regionalization process demanded in terms of public works and roads, opening the possibility of creating a focus of irradiation of the new neoclassical language independent of that disseminated and monopolized from the capital.
72 Not in vain, there was constant disagreement on the part of the Consulate, having to submit by real disposition to architectural guidelines that came from outside just at a time of desire and search for regional autonomy.

In addition to being in charge of drawing up the plans made by Tolsá for the House of Charity and Mercy and introducing with this project the neoclassical movement in the West, José Gutiérrez was the architect of the roots in Guadalajara of the new architectural forms, by promoting the school of drawing established since 1792 by the Consulate. Upon his arrival in Guadalajara, he transformed it into an academy, where the subjects of arithmetic, geometry and architecture were taught, from which numerous projects and civil works would emerge.⁷³ Although it is true that with José Gutiérrez neoclassicism was concretized in the West, his presence and action would not have been possible without the support of Bishop Cabañas, who appointed him architect of the ecclesiastical chapter, assigning him, among other works, the execution of the tabernacle church attached to the cathedral. But the House of Charity and Mercy is undoubtedly the masterpiece that marks the triumph of neoclassicism in Guadalajara.

The modern educational plan designed by Cabañas was completed with the implementation of a higher education school where classes in arithmetic, geometry, architecture and drawing would be taught under the direction of José Gutiérrez. The school was built with the support of Cabañas, which covered Gutiérrez's salary and the students' utensils.

Previously, the attention of the elites had also focused on the education of marginal groups that until now had lacked institutionalized education, thus reducing their learning process to the empirical method, in the case of workers and midwives.

Prior to the Cabañas academy, in the 1790s the education of workers was expanded to the technical field with the founding of a teaching school.

72 Gálvez Ruiz, *Regional consciousness*, p. 224.

73 On June 20, 1805, the Academy was recognized by the king as an establishment dependent on the Consulate of Merchants.

bujo for artisans sponsored by merchants and the Church. His intention was to influence the "enlightenment of artisans through the learning of drawing, considered then as "the father of practical crafts">.74 The practical usefulness of this institution was also evident to the authorities. In 1798 Juan Blanes, surveyor and director of the academy of arithmetic and algebra, drew up a plan of the aqueduct that was being built in the city to present it to the mayor Loyola.⁷⁵

The training of the workforce was indicative of the economic boom that was being experienced, because in 1781, thanks in part to the intervention of Brother Antonio Alcalde in the economy of Guadalajara, there were <just over 300 workshops in the capital of New Galicia. family-organized textiles, which only lacked the use of machinery and sources of mechanical energy to offer the appearance of a modern factory."⁷⁶

The Consulate school and that of Bishop Cabañas ended up being the same sponsored by the representation of merchants because from June 1, 1808 until October 1810, the Consulate drawing school was directed by José Gutiérrez. Aimed at the education of artisans, in 1809 the Guadalajara City Council issued an order for all guild apprentices to attend the drawing school." The construction builders and painters of the time attended it.

Regarding midwives, the institutionalization of their profession came hand in hand with a chair of obstetrics, founded in 1792 at the San Miguel de Belén hospital, to instruct women in that art. This subject was under the direction of Juan González, senior surgeon at the hospital. The objective of its creation was "to avoid the continuous evils that the lack of educated midwives or comadres produces to humanity, I resolved that by the chief surgeon of the Royal Hospital of this city, D. Juan González, this art be taught by principles to all women who want to dedicate themselves to practicing it, with a regular birth."⁷⁸ From that date until the arrival of independent living, no more initiatives appeared to regulate this profession.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Federico de la Torre, «Between the chimera and reality: scientific-technological culture and industrialization in Jalisco in the 19th century» (doctoral thesis, BUAP, Puebla, 2006), pp. 85-88.

⁷⁵ Various news, p. 10.

⁷⁶ Forget, *The Oligarchy*.

⁷⁷ Municipal Historical Archive of Guadalajara (AHMG), GS/21/1809; Previous Package 23, leg. 47.

⁷⁸ Ugarte and Loyola, "Relationship that forms", p. 162.

⁷⁹ Laura Catalina Díaz Robles and Luciano Oropeza Sandoval, «The midwives of Guada-

In short, Guadalajara was consolidated as an important political, commercial, religious and intellectual capital that strengthened the rivalry with Mexico City and served as a base for the different conflicts that arose at the time with the capital of the viceroyalty.

PUBLIC WORKS, EMBELLISHMENT OF THE CAPITAL AND HEALTH The influence illustrated in the increase in cultural infrastructure was also felt in the modifications of the urban infrastructure of Guadalajara. The changes were drastic thanks to the application of article 68 of the Royal Ordinance of Mayors, referring to the cleaning and paving of the streets. Thus, Jacobo Ugarte, starting in 1791, preserved the division into fourteen barracks and the newly formed authorities, such as the senior judges of the barracks and the minor mayors of the neighborhoods that his predecessor in office had done a year before. Some of the tasks in which he put the most effort were the supply of fresh water and the paving of some streets, supported by the City Council and Bishop Cabañas (incorporated into the project in 1796) and paid for by wealthy citizens.

Although since 1791 the issue of paving and water supply had been a priority, the problem of financing was extremely complicated, and even in 1797 the general plan had not been able to be addressed. Decisive for its implementation was the intervention of Bishop Cabañas, who contributed funds from the cathedral to pay for the paving of the Plaza de la Soledad, and urged collaboration, according to their income, from all members of the clergy and administrators who had houses, or solar. In 1802, some works were completed, the execution of which would have been extremely problematic without the support of Cabañas and the contribution of the amount of 3,246 pesos.⁸⁰ Furthermore, with the numbered houses and the streets with an explicit nomenclature, the project could be carried out. first modern census of the city (1791-1793).

The figure of Cabañas also contributed to consolidating and improving the urban landscape by promoting the rehabilitation and construction of some of its main buildings, elements of reference in the daily speech of the people of Guadalajara. The temple of the parish of Jesús, the church of San Felipe Neri, the Metropolitan Tabernacle, the Clerical College of the Divine Savior and the house of misericordia - which introduced neoclassical architecture in the west of the country - are the record of his noble impulse town.

Guadalajara (Mexico) in the 19th century: the dispossession of its art», *Dynamis* 27 (2007): 237-261. 80 Manuel López Cotilla, *History of the introduction of water in Guadalajara, 1841* (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2002), pp. 135-137.

In the 1790s, several reports were submitted to the viceroys on the city's water supply, such as that of the prosecutor Zagarzurieta (August 30, 1793) and that of the oidor Francisco Camacho (March 28, 1797) who was in charge of carry out a general repair of the Buzeta work, which was useful until 1804, the year in which, according to Mayor Abascal, there had never been such a shortage of water.⁸¹

This circumstance was repeated between 1808 and 1811. That last year, when José de la Cruz was President and General Commander of Nueva Galicia, he implemented an intake in Mexicaltzingo to solve the water problem in the city. Even then, the product from the mezcal wine tobacconist's shop was used for this purpose, the reconstruction of fountains and the palace, until its liberation on September 4, 1811.⁸²

Between 1790 and 1809 the city of Guadalajara, until then organized in the traditional neighborhood structure, was restructured and divided into barracks on three occasions. In 1790 it was divided into fourteen barracks that overlapped the neighborhoods, slightly modifying its configuration; In 1791 Félix María Calleja was in charge of redoing the urban layout into four large barracks whose main axes started from the main square and, finally, in 1809 it was divided into twenty-four barracks.⁸³ These modifications responded to the desire for modernization and urban planning typical of enlightened reformism, to which the cleaning of the streets should be added. The order given to the city had to be both material and social, hence, along with the beautification generated by the cobblestones, the gardens and the fountains, a series of provisions appeared, police forces and good government, aimed at regulating unwanted behavior of the city's ever-growing floating population.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 10-11.

⁸² On September 4, 1811, the sale of mezcal wine was released by a provision of the viceroy of Mexico, being subject to the payment of the alcabala and the right of permission, and consisted of half a real for each peso of the value that it had or that was sold at the factory. Only a part of this right was assigned, by order of the same government, for the expenses for which the product of the tobacconist was destined, the other being entered into the public treasury until it was suppressed by the faction of June 30, 1821, agreed in Querétaro by Don Agustín de Iturbide and later ordered to be observed by the regency of the empire on October 5 of the same year. Ibid., p. 12.

⁸³ A detailed analysis of these divisions is found in Marco Antonio Delgadillo Guerrero, *Festive and leisure activities in the construction of a modern society Guadalajara, 1746-1814* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2009).

In this way, it was intended to prevent the proliferation of vagrants and criminals through elements such as a Police Board, which would monitor the behavior of the inhabitants of Guadalajara; of the publication of regulations aimed at continuing the sanitation of the city and of orders that dictated guidelines for coexistence and use of public places. Among the latter, in 1797, the Bando for the conservation of the general cobblestones of this city, its cleanliness and cleaning of the mayor Ugarte stood out, whose purpose was to obtain "the general good in comfort and public health." To do this, the city's inhabitants were educated to properly use the urban space and preserve the paving and the beautification works carried out so far.

At the same time, while the city was beautified following the hygienic impulse of the time that was concerned with healthy living habits, groups of immigrants belonging to disadvantaged social strata settled in the Sanctuary neighborhood thanks to the construction of the squares, which were ordered erected in 1779 by Brother Antonio Alcalde. There were 16 blocks made up of 158 multiple domestic unit homes that had a double objective, in accordance with interests of the enlightened people of the time. On the one hand, serve as housing for poor people and get them off the streets, avoiding the bad appearance generated by their vision and living in the open air; On the other hand, it served to provide work for the idle arms that were in the city, a product of that same migration, so Bishop Alcalde's wish was also attended to. They were a relevant polarizing element of social groups by concentrating a population with specific conditions in a certain space, which also gave rise to the exercise of a certain social control. An element to highlight is that the *quadritas* have been considered the first social housing in Jalisco.

The rationalism expressed through order and cleanliness was also extended to the Neo-Galician populations in matters of urban planning and public health. In that sense, the efforts of the aforementioned groups were perhaps more significant due to the leading role they acquired in dictating the provisions aimed at obtaining these benefits and generating the happiness of the inhabitants. Sometimes it could be thought that the mayors interfered with the powers of other local organizations, which could lead one to think of disputes between Creoles and Spaniards, but most of the time they coincided in interests, hence there was a certain affinity between them. This is demonstrated by the measurements

84 López Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

taken due to the population increase that implied another series of structural needs in the city. 85

The first was medical coverage. Until the end of the 18th century, doctors in Guadalajara were not precisely characterized by their professional ability to cure the population; Galenic remedies and prayers were still used to eliminate the different epidemics and diseases that the people of Guadalajara suffered. 86 Hippocratic practices coexisted with traditional indigenous medicine, as well as with two hospital care centers run by religious orders: the San Miguel de Belén hospital run by the Betlemites and the San Juan de Dios hospital supported by alms.

The main measures taken by authorities were of an immediate, non-resolving nature, such as quarantine or isolation of the sick on the outskirts of the city. Other measures taken by individuals were the construction of hydraulic works and acts of solidarity between the rich and the poor, such as the donation of meals and the adoption of poor people to feed and house in special houses due to the scarcity of the public treasury. The influx of poor people was such that both private and public charities had to multiply and thus obtain a much more effective organization, especially government ones.

This organizational need led to the formation and transformation of institutions such as the Guadalajara hunger hospital, studied by Sherburne F. Cook, and which was short-lived. 87 According to Lilia Oliver, it did not exist as such, but Cook confused the provisional hospices for the poor or houses of mercy, which the Guadalajara City Council founded to combat poverty and begging with the support of citizens, with a new institution, since between their functions were to serve as hospitals. 88

Given the insufficient space in the hospitals of San Juan de Dios and San Miguel de Belén to care for those affected by the famine of 1786, it was agreed to establish three hospitals: an emergency hospital in the old College of San Juan, former Jesuit possession, hospital that was authorized on April 3, 1786 in order to care for the needy, beggars, lazy, idle

85 Castañeda, *Education in Guadalajara*, pp. 165-196.

86 Ramírez Esparza, *Notes for the history of medicine*, pp. 86-88.

87 Sherburne F. Cook, "The Guadalajara Hunger Hospital: An Experiment of medical assistance", in *Essays on the history of epidemics in Mexico*, by Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido (Mexico: IMSS, 1982), volume 1, pp. 355-366.

88 Lilia Oliver, *The royal hospital of San Miguel de Belén, 1581-1802* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 1992), p. 218.

and strangers; 89 the Mesón de las Ánimas for men and that of San Francisco for women, so that on April 30 the police were ordered to collect all the vagrants and house them in the new hospitals. 90 But there were numerous difficulties, both in administration, since there was not enough staff, and in provisions and expenses (absence of funds to cover the kitchens and the pharmacy); medical assistance, since there was only one doctor, José Rodríguez de Arellano; as well as the behavior of those hospitalized, which together with the end of the epidemic led to its closure on January 4, 1787.⁹¹

The city would not be left for long without an adequate place to withstand these vicissitudes since, in 1787, Brother Antonio Alcalde would sponsor the construction of the new building of the San Miguel de Belén hospital, due to the insufficiency of its facilities to care for the sick of 1786, as well as those of the San Juan de Dios hospital, motivated these changes.⁹²

In 1786, the tradition of carrying out burials in the cathedral and in general in churches continued, which generated, apart from the overcrowding of corpses, an imminent danger of contagion from "pestilential vapors." 93 Then the formation of a new cemetery outside the city was proposed, with easy conduction of water both for its use and for exit, which would not contaminate the clean ones and, especially, something that we must consider in relation to what was previously stated: in a place where "not even the direction of the winds could cause any damage, because "the air from the east", which was what could carry the "miasmas" from the hospital to the city, would "necessarily drag them towards the fields of the west." ", where it was believed that the city could never reach because the ravine prevented it." 94 The Mayor proposed the formation of the new hospital attached to the cemetery, and continuing with the Bourbon ideas of remodeling and occupation of the unemployed, as occurred in other parts of New Spain, he decided that the most useful were the needy and lazy who They had arrived in the city during the famine of 1786 and had been left in the streets after the plague, so that he proposed using them in the construction of the San Miguel de Belén hospital, the city cemetery, a temple, a school and a convent for the Hospitaller friars of Our Lady of Bethlehem. 95 For

89 Cook, "The Guadalajara Hunger Hospital."

90 Oliver, *The Royal Hospital of San Miguel de Belén*, p. 220.

91 *Ibid.*

92 See the preceding chapter.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 227.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

In 1794, the first patients arrived at the new 775-bed hospital, which would be the largest in all of New Spain. 96

With the smallpox epidemic of 1797, the Health Boards were created.⁹⁷ They were an effective remedy in the face of crises, both in 1797, when inoculation against smallpox was introduced in New Spain (in Mexico City there were 7,060 deaths, 2,167 before inoculation and 4,451 after the program), as around 1813, when the second measure was implemented with the organization of the distribution of the smallpox vaccine brought to New Spain in 1804 by Francisco Xavier Balmis, a doctor from Alicante. 98

That year Cabañas contributed to the taking of prophylactic measures, spreading the so-called *Cartilla de Puebla*, a document in which the symptoms and curative methods adopted by the doctors of that capital were collected. Such was his importance that, in February 1814, Mayor José de la Cruz appointed him president (and promoter) of the Superior Board of Health, "privately in charge of ensuring the public health of this entire Kingdom of Nueva Galicia," and which had been established a year earlier with few results. Backed by the civil government and in line with the virulence of typhus, Cabañas took drastic measures that had been postponed for a long time, such as putting an end to burials in temples and the creation of cemeteries outside of towns, the practice of which, according to himself, he exposed, is "more in accordance with the spirit of the Church at all times, because by preserving the Temples from the stench that

96 Ibid., p. 2, 3, 4.

97 They had, among other objectives, to provide help to those in need, to people who had fallen ill, to administer medicines, clothing and blankets; collect donations, give healing instructions and establish preventive measures for the transmission of the disease (disinfection of objects and buildings, take care of the purification of the environment and isolate the sick from the healthy. Martha Eugenia Rodríguez, «The health boards in "New Spain. 18th and 19th Centuries", *Journal of Clinical Research* 53, No. 3 (May-June 2001): 276-290.

98 See Francisco Fernández del Castillo, «Don Francisco Xavier de Balmis and the results of his vaccination expedition to America», and Miguel E. Bustamante, "The expedition of the vaccine and the first nurse in the history of public health, Isabel Cendala y Gómez", in Florescano and Malvido, *Essays on the history of Epidemics in Mexico*, pp. 329-353.

⁹⁹ Provisions given by the bishop of Guadalajara to the priests to prevent the plague that devastated in 1813 (Guadalajara, Imp. by José Fructo Romero), in BPEJ, *Misceláneas*, no. 95.

the corpses exhale, nor do the faithful shy away from entering them, nor are those present exposed to the deadly infection of corrupted and malignant vapors."¹⁰⁰

While the city suffered from the plague and the massive influx of immigrants, made it necessary to improve other services: street cleaning, regulation of water use, establishment of drainage, garbage collection by carts and a long etcetera, which was not particular to Guadalajara, but coincided with the general situation of cities of New Spain such as Puebla and Mexico.

For this, the poor and idle were used, who were fined, in case of not having money, with working in public works, and even, if they exceeded in numbers necessary for these, ran the risk of being assigned to the Mexico City, where Chapultepec Castle was being built.¹⁰¹ In such a way that, at the beginning of the 19th century, along with the development of a regional consciousness led by the elites that manifested itself in urban beautification, administrative autonomy, economic strength, progress in science and culture, one could see that the growth had not been homogeneous for the entire territory of Nueva Galicia and great inequalities were noted between the capital and the rural populations, as well as within society, establishing a great barrier between Indians and mulattoes due to a on the other hand, the Creoles or Spanish Americans.

¹⁰⁰ Circular to all the parish priests of the town cities of the Bishopric of Guadalajara about the establishment of cemeteries outside the towns. Year 1814 (Guadalajara, s.e., 1814), in BPEJ, *Misceláneas*, 311, 774.

¹⁰¹ José Alfonso Gómez Olvera et al., "The public toilet in Guadalajara, 1700-1910", in *History Chapters of the city of Guadalajara*, coord. by Lina Rendón García (Guadalajara, Guadalajara City Council, 1992), volume 1, p. 209.

PART SIX
TOWARDS THE
END OF NEW GALICIA

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FROM KINGDOM TO MINISTRY AND PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

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During the last stretch of the colonial period, the political-administrative jurisdictions and the governmental structure of New Spain were subjected to different changes and adjustments. Starting in 1786, through the promulgation of the Ordinance for the establishment and instruction of army and provincial mayors in the Kingdom of New Spain, the territorial demarcations and government of New Spain were organized into mayoralties; which towards the last decade of Spanish domination formed, in two periods (1812-1814 and 1820-1821), provincial deputations as a consequence of the validity of the Constitution of Cádiz.² Specifically, the extensive neo-Galician kingdom

¹ The Ordinance of Mayors of New Spain was promulgated on December 4, 1786. Marina Mantilla, Rafael Diego-Fernández and Agustín Moreno, *Royal Ordinance for the establishment and Instruction of mayors of the army and province in the kingdom of New Spain. Annotated edition of the Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia, edition and studies* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad de Guadalajara / El Colegio de Sonora, 2008), p. 24.

² «The Constitution of Cádiz was promulgated and sworn in Spain on March 19, 1812 and in Mexico on the following September 30 [...] On May 4, 1814, Ferdinand VII issued a decree in Valencia by which it was repealed the Constitution and all the laws issued by the Cortes and ordered their dissolution. [...] The provision was known in Mexico on August 11, 1815. Viceroy Calleja reinstalled the traditional colonial regime and dissolved the deputations. As a consequence of the triumph in Spain of the liberal revolution of 1820 led by General Rafael del Riego, Fernando VII submitted, on March 7, to the precepts of the Constitution. The news reached New Spain in the first days of April and the first reaction was one of bewilderment. On May 31 of that same year, the viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, against his will but pressured by a uprising in Veracruz - provoked by merchants in favor of the Constitution, he swore the Cádiz text and the derived regime was installed again of the same». José Gamas Torruco, *Mexico and the Constitution of Cádiz* (Mexico:

It was divided into the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zacatecas, which were part of the Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia a couple of times. Throughout this text we will travel the winding journey through which, not without surprises and complications, the New Galician kingdom traveled towards the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zacatecas to finally arrive at the Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia, the final destination of this western province of New Spain, during the closure of the old viceregal regime.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTENDENCY SYSTEM IN NEW SPAIN

The Spanish Crown of the Bourbons resorted to the application of intendencies in its metropolitan territory and in its vast overseas empire with the aim of exercising greater administrative control over its possessions. In Spain they were established by order of Philip V in 1718, "with the purpose of consolidating the territorial government."³ A quarter of a century later, José del Campillo y Cossío, treasury secretary of the aforementioned monarch, proposed in his manuscript *New system of economic government for America* the establishment of municipalities in the American kingdoms. In 1764, under the reign of Carlos III, the mayor of Havana was established; and the following year that of Louisiana.⁴

For the specific case of New Spain, on March 14, 1765, José de Gálvez arrived at this viceroyalty, who carried the reserved instruction to investigate the relevance of establishing the model of mayorships in these parts. The visitor Gálvez and the viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix, marquis of Croix, delegated

³ General Archive of the Nation/National Autonomous University of Mexico-

Coordination of Humanities/Museum of the Constitutions, 2012), pp. LVIII AND LXII.

⁴ María Isabel Monroy Castillo, «A problem of representation. The territory and jurisdiction of the mayor of San Luis Potosí, 1787-1821», in *San Luis Potosí. The invention of a territory. 16th-19th centuries*, coordinated by María Isabel Monroy Castillo and Hira de Gortari Rabiela (Mexico: El Colegio de San Luis / LIX Legislature of the H. Congress of San Luis Potosí / Secretariat of Culture of the Government of the State of San Luis Potosí, 2010), p.

⁵ 36. Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, *Royal Ordinance for the establishment*, p. 23. The third mayoralty established was that of «Caracas in 1776; Buenos Aires settled in 1777; Río de la Plata in 1782; Quito in 1783; Peru, Puerto Rico and Puno in 1784; San Salvador in 1785; between 1784 and 1786 five were established in Philippines, two in Chile; Ciudad Real, León and Comayagua in Guatemala; Basin in New Granada around 1786 [...] Guatemala and Venezuela in 1787 and Cuba in 1791». María Isabel Monroy Castillo, «A problem of representation», op. cit., p. 36.

They gave Pedro de Villavicencio, superintendent of the Royal Mint; and to Fernando José Mangino, general accountant of royal taxes, the preparation of "the list of mayoralties and townships that would make up each mayoralty."⁵ Based on the work carried out by Villavicencio and Mangino, in 1768 Gálvez and Croix wrote the Report and plan of intendencies that should be established in the provinces of this kingdom of New Spain, a document in which they proposed the creation of 11 intendencies, headed by cities. important. This proposal was brought to Spain in 1772 by the visitor Gálvez, who went on to "occupy a place on the Council of the Indies"; from where he assumed a <<"colonialist" stance, in the sense that he unhesitatingly reinforced the trend that had already begun some decades ago of strengthening the control of the metropolitan government over the colonies, especially reserving all the main positions in the Indian administration for peninsular officials. ».⁶

Two years later, the new viceroy, Antonio María de Bucareli, sent a report to Madrid against the application of intendencies in the viceroyalty of New Spain, as he considered that it affected his interests by reducing his power. The Spanish Crown recognized the urgency of making changes in the territorial and governmental organization of New Spain, so despite the resistance and hesitation of some viceroys, after a little more than 20 years, at the end of 1786 it decreed the establishment of twelve mayoralties - the 11 initially proposed, plus the Zacatecas one created in the final stretch - in the New Spain territory, 10 namely: <<Mexico, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Puebla, Veracruz, Mérida, Oaxaca, Valladolid, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Durango and Arizpe."

⁵ Beatriz Rojas, «Construction of the provincial space. New Spain 1786-1824, in History, nation and region, vol. 1, edited by Verónica Oikión (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2007), p. 122.

⁶ Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, Royal Ordinance for the establishment, p. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Luis Navarro García, «The crisis of Bourbon reformism under Charles IV», Topics Americanists, no. 13 (1997): 7.

⁹ Áurea Commons, «The territorial organization of Spain and its possessions in America during the Age of Enlightenment», in The geography of illustration coordinated by José Omar Moncada Maya (Mexico: UNAM-Institute of Geography, 2002), p. 51.

¹⁰ Beatriz Rojas, «Order of government and organization of the territory: New Spain towards a new territoriality, 1786-1825, in The Bourbon Reforms, 1750- 1808, coordinated by Clara García Ayluardo (Mexico: CIDE / FCE / INEHRM; Cultural Foundation of Mexico City, 2010), p. 143.

¹¹ Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, Royal Ordinance for the establishment, p. 135.

IMPACT OF THE MAINTAINERS' ORDINANCE IN THE KINGDOM OF NEW GALICIA

The extensive neo-Galician kingdom, following the application of the new territorial and administrative jurisdictions enacted, was divided into two municipalities: "Guadalajara and Zacatecas, officially materializing the regional separation that already existed before, polarized in its two main capitals." ¹² The ordinance established that the mayor of Guadalajara would be made up of the districts of Guadalajara, Tonalá, Colimilla and Matatán, Cuquío, San Cristóbal de la Barranca, Tala, Tequila, Cajitlán, Tlajomulco, La Barca, Lagos, Hostotipaquillo, Ahuacatlán and Jala, Santa María Tequepexpan, Tepic, Sentispac, Acaponeta, Guachinango and Mascota, San Sebastián and Jolapa, Purificación, Aguascalientes with the addition of Juchipila, Autlán and Puerto de Navidad, Sayula, Amula, Zapotlán el Grande, as well as Ixtlán and Magdalene. ¹³ While the mayor of Zacatecas was made up of Zacatecas, Sierra de Pinos, Fresnillo, Mazapil and Sombrerete. ¹⁴ This territorial redistribution implied that the mayor's office of Charcas, belonging to the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, passed to the mayor's office of "San Luis Potosí as one of its districts, along with Salinas del Peñón Blanco, Venado and la Hedionda." ¹⁵ In the opposite direction, the mayor of Guadalajara benefited from the incorporation of Autlán, Amula, Zapotlán and Etzatlán, jurisdictions from the Kingdom of New Spain. ¹⁶

On the other hand, despite the dictates of the Mayor's Ordinance, several clarifications and territorial readjustments were carried out that ultimately outlined the definitive formation of the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zacatecas. ¹⁷ Among these issues were the relevance of the Zacatecan mayor's office, the omission of the Bolaños district and the government of Colotlán and Nayarit, the incorporation of the Colima district to the Guadalajara mayor's office, and

¹² María Ángeles Gálvez, *Regional consciousness in Guadalajara and the government of the mayors (1786-1800)* (Mexico: Editorial Unit of the Government of Jalisco, 1996), p. 69.

¹³ Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, *Royal Ordinance for the establishment*, pp. 742-743.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 744.

¹⁵ Juan Carlos Sánchez Montiel, «Changes in the political order and territorial organization of the Charcas party, San Luis Potosí, 1812-1826», in *San Luis Potosí. The invention of a territory*, pp. 148-149.

¹⁶ José María Muriá, *The limits of Jalisco* (Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco/Conacyt / Congress of the State of Jalisco: LIV Legislatura, 1997), p. 31.

¹⁷ Gálvez, *Regional consciousness in Guadalajara*, p. 70.

finally, the transfer of the Aguascalientes subdelegation and its Juchipila attaché from Guadalajara to Zacatecas.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ZACATECAS INTENDENCE

As already mentioned above, the last mayor's office approved for its creation was the Zacatecan one, since in the first instance it had been considered pertinent that the territory of Zacatecas be incorporated into the mayor's office of San Luis Potosí. However, the last minute change of decision was due to the role of the city of Zacatecanals as regional capital and the rebound in its regional mining.¹⁹

Felipe Cleere was appointed first mayor of Zacatecas on February 21, 1787;²⁰ however, it was not until April 1, 1789, two years later, that he took office.²¹ During that biennium "the Zacatecas mayor's office only existed on paper."²² Such a situation greatly bothered Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez, who proposed suppressing said intendancy and "annexing it, either to that of Durango or to that of San Luis Potosí",²³ with the purpose of saving administrative costs.²⁴ However, his successor, Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco y Padilla, second count of Revillagigedo, in 1790 indicated that he did not consider it appropriate to abrogate the mayorship of Zacatecas, but would like

¹⁸ Beatriz Rojas, "Territory and identity: Zacatecas 1786-1835", *Sequence*, no. 67 (2007, January-April): 50.

¹⁹ Richard Lyle Garnier, «Bourbon reforms and financial operations -La Real Caja de Zacatecas 1750-1821», *Mexican History* 27, no. 4 (108), April-June, 1978, p. 544.

²⁰ Héctor Sánchez Tagle, "Felipe Cleere and the establishment of the Zacatecas mayor's office", in *Cultura Novohispana. Studies on art, education and history*, edited by María Isabel Terán Elizondo and Marcelino Cuesta Alonso (Mexico: Autonomous University of Zacatecas, 2006), p. 219.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²³ Luis René Guerrero Galván, «The Zacatecan legal profusion in the 19th century. Legislative compilation of Zacatecas 1823-1835", in *Civil Code for the Interior Government of the State of Zacatecas. December 10, 1829*, coordinated by Óscar Cruz Barney, José Enciso Contreras and Luis René Guerrero Galván (Mexico: UNAM, Legal Research Institute, 2012), p. twenty-one.

²⁴ Horst Pietschmann, *The Bourbon reforms and the intendancy system in New Spain. An administrative political study* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), p. 133.

"propose the creation of a new mayor's office and that the ideal would be for all municipalities to have only the territorial extension of the Zacatecas mayor's office." ²⁵ Such defense allowed the Zacatecan administration to remain viable.

TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS:

THE BOLAÑOS-COLOTLÁN-NAYARIT CASE

In the Mayor's Ordinance, the jurisdictions of Bolaños, San Luis Colotlán and Nayarit were omitted, since they were not included in the first instance in either the Guadalajara or Zacatecas municipalities. Such initial exclusion was somewhat surprising because Bolaños had Caja Real and the military border of Colotlán and the government of Nayarit had a special status. ²⁶ The incorporation of the Bolañense district, as a party, to the Guadalajara mayor's office took place a few months later, since in 1787 it already appeared incorporated into the Guadalajara mayor's office. ²⁷

In relation to the jurisdictions of Colotlán and Nayarit, the viceroy of New Spain, second count of Revillagigedo, sent Captain Félix María Calleja on April 21, 1790 to carry out a general inspection of the towns that made up said governments. ²⁸ After his visit, Calleja pointed out that the Colotlán Border

It borders on the north with the jurisdictions of Fresnillo, Sombrerete, and Zacatecas, on the south with Guadalupe, and the subdelegation of Hostotipaquillo, on the east with Juchipila and part of Jerez, and on the west with the Río Grande, which they call from Nayarit, and with this province; By the first three winds, some towns and all the estates formed in border lands have been added to the immediate jurisdictions, so that within it most of the subdelegates of its surroundings have jurisdiction, and in the center The Real de Bolaños is located with the towns of Chimaltitán, Guilacatitán, Pochotitlán, and Cocuasco, which are under the jurisdiction of said real, and nevertheless enjoy the

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁷ Gálvez, Regional consciousness in Guadalajara, p. 71.

²⁸ Óscar Cruz Barney, "The provisional regulations of the second count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain, for the regime, government and subsistence of the militias of the Border of San Luis de Colotlán", Mexican Journal of Legal History 24 (2011, July-December), p. 63.

border privileges, although dependent on the township of Bolaños and Audiencia de Guadalajara. 29

Calleja's report establishes how difficult it was for the authorities to resolve the territoriality of the Colotlán government, since it functioned over the Coloteco peoples, and "its jurisdiction was of an ethnic rather than territorial nature." 30 Therefore, "it seems indisputable that the Government of Colotlán was a spatially discontinuous jurisdiction." 31

While regarding the province of Nayarit or kingdom of Nueva Toledo, Captain Félix Calleja indicated that it was

in the harshest part of the Sierra Madre [and] borders to the north with the municipality of Durango, Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, to the south with the Great River of Santiago that comes down from Guadalajara to empty into the South Sea, on the east with the government of San Luis Colotlán, and to the west with the plans for a hot land on the coasts of the same sea. 32

In his report, Captain Calleja mentioned the advantages of uniting the governments of Bolaños, Colotlán and Nayarit under a single command. For his part, Viceroy Revillagigedo in November 1792 determined that

I find the meeting of the province of Nayarit, and the township of Bolaños to the government of Colotlán, very interesting in the service of God and the king, for the reasons and causes set forth by the aforementioned commissioned captain Don Félix Calleja [...] commanded that of course said union is verified as pertinent to the province of Nayarit, suspending that of the township of Bolaños, until the sovereign approval of the king. 33

29 Diary formed by infantry captain Félix Calleja, General Archive of the Indies (AGI), Guadalajara 393, 1790, pages. 7v-8. Juan Ortiz Escamilla, "Campaign Diary of Captain Félix María Calleja from his departure from Mexico City to the Colotlán border", *Historias*, no. 45 (2000, January-April), p. 124.

30 Robert D. Shadow, "Spanish conquest and government on the northern border of Nueva Galicia: the case of Colotlán," *Relations*, no. 32 (1987), p. 66.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

32 Diary formed by infantry captain Félix Calleja, Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 393, 1790, f. 21v.

33 José Antonio Gutiérrez Gutiérrez, *The border government of San Luis Colotlán and its militias in the colony* (Mexico: Autonomous University of Aguascalientes / Centro Universitario del Norte / University of Guadalajara / Municipality of

Almost seven years had to pass for monarch Charles IV to approve this measure, since in July 1799 he ordered

the incorporation of the parties of Bolaños and Nayarit to the government of San Luis Colotlán, and also the formation of nine companies of dragons to protect its border, declaring at the same time that in terms of military and political command as The aforementioned government must remain subject to the Royal Treasury, subject to the immediate orders of the commanding general and mayor of Nueva Galicia; and in contentious and justice matters to the Royal Court of Guadalajara. 3. 4

This case is still complex, since even today there are researchers who grant the rank of mayor to the union of Nayarit and Colotlán, when there are no elements to support such a proposal. 35

THE INCORPORATION OF COLIMA INTO THE GUADALAJARA INTENDENCE

Despite the strong economic link between Colima and Guadalajara, in the Mayor's Ordinance of 1786, the Colima jurisdiction - which until then belonged to the governorate of New Spain - was incorporated into the mayor's office of Valladolid. However, five years before the end of the century, Colima ended up annexing the municipality of Guadalajara. 36

Colotlán, 2010), pp. 328-329.

34 General Archive of the Nation (AGN), Royal original cédulas, vol. 173, exp. 227, 1799.

* Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, *Illustrated Atlas of Indian Towns. Nueva España, 1800* (Mexico: El Colegio de México / El Colegio Mexiquense / National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples / Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2005), pp. 136-139.

36 Paulina Machuca, "Colima, crossroads of two kingdoms," in *The Government of the justice. Jurisdictional conflicts in New Spain (16th-19th centuries)*, coordinated by Rafael Diego-Fernández Sotelo and Victor Gayol (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán / Historical Archive of the Municipality of Colima, 2012), p. 101. «It should be noted that the dispute between the municipalities of Valladolid and Guadalajara over the subdelegation of Colima transcended the colonial era, since even in the 19th century, within the framework of the establishment of federative entities of Republican Mexico, Colima fought for its consolidation as its own entity, and along the way it faced the then states of Jalisco and Michoacán, who showed their interest in incorporate Colima into their respective demarcations. Finally Colima reached

In 1789, Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez sent a letter to Don Juan Antonio Riaño, mayor of Valladolid, in which he pointed out the benefits that would result to the public and the Royal Treasury from the transfer of the district of Colima from the municipality of Valladolid to that of Guadalajara. At the beginning of 1795, the authorities of the Guadalajara Court pointed out the multiple advantages that moving to the Guadalajara mayoralty would bring to the vassals of the Colima party, since not only would they gain economically, but also spiritually, since coupled with this The change would also be the transfer in the ecclesiastical, since the Colima parishioners would go to the Guadalajara bishopric.³⁷ In this case, in addition to the jurisdictional conflict between the municipalities of Valladolid and Guadalajara, a dispute was added "that also involved the separation of a large part of decimatory region from the bishopric of Michoacán to that of Guadalajara itself. ³⁸

THE MATCH OF AGUASCALIENTES DISPUTED

BY THE INTENDENCE OF ZACATECAS

The Mayor's Ordinance of 1786 was not written with the care or sufficient information that the governmental and administrative reorganization of the New Spain viceroyalty required. ³⁹ An illustrative case was that of the Zacatecan mayor's office, which presented irregularities in the layout and "disarticulation in its territory, since with some subdelegations there was no territorial continuity, since Pinos and the district of Tlaltenango did not border the rest of the territory. thorium of the province; They were isolated when the subdelegations of Aguascalientes and Juchipila belonging to the mayor of Guadalajara intervened. "40

the rank of state thanks to the Constituent Congress of 1857. Ibid., p. 102. ³⁷ "Royal Order that adds Colima to Guadalajara", in *La Nueva Galicia in the decline of the Spanish empire*, vol. 3, edited by Rafael Diego-Fernández and Marina Mantilla Trolle (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad de Guadalajara, 2004).

³⁸ Iván Franco Cáceres, *The mayor's office of Valladolid de Michoacán: 1786-1809. Administrative reform and tax levy in a region of New Spain* (Mexico: Instituto Michoacano de Cultura, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), p. 123.

³⁹ Beatriz Rojas, *Government institutions and the local elite. Aguascalientes from the 17th century to Independence* (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Mora, 1998), p. 217.

⁴⁰ Beatriz Rojas, "Territory and identity: Zacatecas", p. 51.

The integration of the Aguascalientes district into the Zacatecas mayor's office was requested by Mayor Felipe Cleere, who in 1789 asked the viceroy to carry out this transfer. In this context, on July 22 of that year, Cleere ordered Pedro de Herrera y Leyva, subdelegate of Aguascalientes, to disseminate the change of mayor among the Aguascalientes population. However, the resistance of the local authorities "and especially the regent of Guadalajara, made the viceroy reflect, who suspended the order."⁴² Despite the refusal, in 1797 the new mayor of Zacatecas, Francisco Rendón, ordered the preparation of a map of the subdelegation of «Aguascalientes and its addition Juchipila [...] that belong to the mayor of Guadalajara, precisely to show the convenience of the change of affiliation, since its "demarcation is introduced up to a league away from the capital of Zacatecas," and was, after all, much closer to it than to Guadalajara.⁴³

In 1801, Mayor Rendón asked Viceroy Félix Berenguer de Marquina to resolve the transfer of Aguascalientes to his Mayor's Office, but the Viceroy in turn turned the matter over to the Spanish monarch Carlos IV, who in 1804 authorized the aforementioned request. The above allowed the Zacatecas mayor's office to improve its territorial conformation, since the unification of the Zacatecan territory of Sierra de Pinos with the rest of the mayor's office through Aguascalientes became possible. Four. Five

THE MAYORS OF ZACATECAS

In a previous section, mention was made of the difficulties that Felipe Cleere, first mayor of Zacatecas, had to overcome to consolidate the new Zacatecan jurisdiction. This official was a military engineer and had held the position of royal fiscal officer of the Real Caja de San Luis Potosí. Since 1789, year

41 Beatriz Rojas, *Government institutions and the local elite. Aguascalientes from the 17th century to Independence* (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán / Instituto Mora, 1998), p. 272.

42 Ibid., p. 278.

43 José María Muriá, *The limits of Jalisco* (Mexico: El Colegio de Jalisco/Conacyt / Congress of the State of Jalisco: LIV.Legislatura, 1997), pp. 31-32.

44 Beatriz Rojas, «Construction of the provincial space. New Spain, 1786-1824», in *History, nation and region*, vol. 1, edited by Verónica Oikión (Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2007), p. 130; Beatriz Rojas, ed., *The Provincial Council of Zacatecas. Minutes of the sessions, 1822-1823* (Mexico: Instituto Mora / Government of the state of Zacatecas, 2003), p. 17.

45 Gálvez, *Regional consciousness in Guadalajara*, p. 71.

In which he assumed the position of mayor until his death in 1794, Cleere assumed the responsibility of promoting the activity of the Zacatecan towns. 46 After the death of Felipe Cleere, the administration was in charge of the learned lieutenant José Peón Valdés until July 11, 1796, the date on which Francisco Rendón assumed the position of mayor. 48

While Rendón fulfilled his responsibility in the Zacatecan jurisdiction, in December 1797 he received an order from Viceroy Miguel de la Grúa, Marquis of Branciforte, to move to Mexico City, where he was placed in charge of an army of six thousand men to defend Veracruz from a possible attack by England. 49 During Rendón's absence in Zacatecas, Mr. Peón Valdés was in charge of the mayor's office on an interim basis. In March 1799, Rendón returned to the Zacatecas region.

During this new stage, he carried out the general visit of the province, as provided for in the Mayor's Ordinances, he formed the regulations of community property if they did not already exist, he reorganized the branch of property and taxes while at the same time he dedicated himself to modifying the urban layout and architecture of the city of Zacatecas. The delimitation of the Alameda is owed to him; He also ordered the renovation of many public buildings and planned the construction of a new alhóndiga, fifty

Francisco Rendón was in charge of the Zacatecas mayor's office until 1811, when he left the Zacatecas city for Guadalajara, fleeing from the insurgents. 51

THE HEADS OF THE GUADALAJARA MINISTRY The

Guadalajara mayor's office is an interesting case because it was "a province that was home to a Court and whose government, therefore, used to be entrusted to a lawyer who assumed the title of president along with with the government

46 Beatriz Rojas, *The "Free Municipality". A utopia lost in the past. The towns of Zacatecas 1786-1835* (Mexico: Instituto Mora/Instituto Cultural de Aguascalientes / Colegio de Bachilleres del Estado de Zacatecas, 2010), p. 41.

47 *Ibid.*

48 Frédérique Langue, «Francisco Rendón, American mayor: The Zacatecan experience», *Relations. Studies in History and Society*, no. 53 (1993), p. 79.

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

51 Beatriz Rojas, *The "Free Municipality". A lost utopia*, p. 41.

of its jurisdiction.⁵² The first mayor of Guadalajara was the learned official Don Antonio de Villaurrutia y Salcedo, who served as mayor from 1787 to 1791. It is worth mentioning that between 1789 and 1790 Francisco de Saavedra y Carvajal was interim mayor. During his administration Antonio de Villaurrutia

In 1789, he carried out a description of the jurisdictions, towns and neighborhoods of the mayor's office, and in 1790 and 1791, prepared by himself, he sent reports of the province's seasons and harvests. In 1790 he also proceeded to divide the city into barracks, an important step for better control of the population.⁵³

The second mayor was Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, who had just governed the internal provinces; His administration lasted between 1791 and 1798. For his part, Miguel Bachiller y Mena was interim mayor in 1798.⁵⁴ Ugarte y Loyola was

very active in everything related to the urban planning of his capital: he established the Police and Own Excise regulations of the city, as well as the paving and sewerage of streets, the water supply, the prevention of fires, the organization of markets, hospitals and cemetery. In a similar way, he served the province, promoting the repair of roads and the construction of bridges [...] Ugarte did not personally carry out the visit to his province, but he entrusted it to a very trusted collaborator, Dr. José Menéndez Valdés, who spent seventeen months carrying out his task, and as a result of his

⁵² Luis Navarro García, "The mayors of Guadalajara in New Spain", in *Tribute to Alberto de la Hera*, coordinated by José Luis Soberanes Fernández and Rosa María Martínez de Codes (Mexico: UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2008), p. 593. Some historians point out the well-founded "need that exists to study the mayor's office of Guadalajara, always keeping in mind the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, due to the fact that the offices of mayor and president of the Audiencia are inextricably linked, and at some time also that of regent, only through this approach is it possible to weigh the true scope, powers, responsibilities and political power of the Mayor of Guadalajara, which by the way, seen from this perspective, is much more relevant than hitherto assumed. Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, *Royal Ordinance for the establishment*, p. 43.

⁵³ Luis Navarro García, "The mayors of Guadalajara", p. 600.

⁵⁴ Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, *Royal Ordinance for the establishment*, pp. 44-46.

effort are the "Chorographic News" or description of the mayor's office, and the census thereof corresponding to the years 1791-1793.⁵⁵

On June 15, 1799, a royal decree was issued establishing the convenience of combining the positions of mayor of Guadalajara and president of the Court of Nueva Galicia, for which Brigadier José Fernando de Abascal, "knight of the order of Santiago, to whom the title of governor, general commander of Nueva Galicia (subordinated to the viceroy) and mayor of the same province was issued. Mayor Abascal took office on February 10, 1800 and dedicated himself to pursuing the bandits who were devastating the mayor's office. He also worked on improving roads and bridges in his jurisdiction. Likewise, "he put great effort into the modernization and beautification of his capital: he paved streets, fixed drains and landfills, built a mall with gardens and ponds, completed the water supply and established public baths." ⁵⁶ Abascal was in charge of this jurisdiction until September 22, 1804.⁵⁷ While the new mayor arrived, Pedro Catani filled the position.

The military man Roque Abarca assumed the position of mayor on May 2, 1805 and remained in Guadalajara until November 11, 1810, the date on which the Guadalajara city was taken by the insurgent José Antonio Torres. After the defeat of the insurgents on January 17, 1811 in the battle of Calderón, Abarca⁵⁹ was removed from office ten days later by Félix María Calleja - at that time already head of the royalist army, who put Brigadier José at the head of the Guadalajara government. from the cross. ⁶⁰

THE PROVINCIAL DEPUTATION OF NEW GALICIA

On March 19, 1812, the Constitution was sworn in Cádiz, Spain. "La Pepa" - popular name given to the new constitutional charter promulgated on the day of San José - arrived at the port of Veracruz on September 6 and 30 of that month

⁵⁵ Navarro García, "The mayors of Guadalajara", pp. 601-602.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 602.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 596.

⁵⁸ Mantilla, Diego-Fernández y Moreno, Royal Ordinance for the establishment, pp. 44-46.

⁵⁹ When Roque Abarca was dismissed, he "embarked in San Blas, heading to Panama, where he died." Navarro García, "The mayors of Guadalajara", p. 604.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 596.

was solemnly sworn in Mexico City"; while in Guadalajara this was sworn in on May 11, 1813 and in Zacatecas on June 4 of that year. ⁶²

The Cádiz Constitution once again transformed the territorial organization of the New Spain viceroyalty, as it left aside the twelve municipalities established in 1786 and ordered the creation of six provincial councils, namely: New Spain, New Galicia, San Luis Potosí, Yucatán, Provinces Internal Provinces of the West and Internal Provinces of the East. ⁶³

The Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia was established with the territories of the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zacatecas. This new political-administrative division "was formally installed on September 20 [1813], thus becoming the second provincial government erected in the old viceroyalty of New Spain." ⁶⁴ The head of the Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia was established in Guadalajara, since the province of Guadalajara had a larger population than the province of Zacatecas. ⁶⁵

In October 1813, the Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia commissioned Juan Manuel Caballero and Rafael Riestra to prepare a proposal for the division of the parties that made up the provinces of Guadalajara and Zacatecas. These commissioners proposed on March 5, 1814 that the Guadalajara city be the head of the Guadalajara province, which would also have the districts of Tlajomulco, Zacoalco, Sayula, Zapotlán el Grande, Tuxcacuesco, Colima, Cocula, Autlán, Mascota, Ahualulco, Tequila, Ahuacatlán, Compostela, Tepic, Acaponeta, Cuquio, Teocaltiche, Tonalá, Tepatitlán, San Juan de los Lagos, Lagos, Chapala and La Barca. For its part, Zacatecas would be the capital of the province of the same name and would be the head of Jerez, Colotlán, Tlaltenango, Juchipila, Ojocaliente, Aguascalientes, Fresnillo, Sombrerete, Mazapil, Santa María de las Nieves and Sierra de Pinos. ⁶⁶ Although this proposal

⁶¹ Beatriz Rojas, «New Spanish cities in the face of the crisis: between the old and the new Constitution, 1808-1814», *Mexican History* 58, no. 1 (2008): 316.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Jaime E. Rodríguez O., «Two revolutions: politics and insurgency?», in *Mexico in three moments: 1810-1910-2010. Towards the commemoration of the Bicentennial of Independence and the Centennial of the Mexican Revolution. Challenges and perspectives*, vol. 1, coordinated by Alicia Mayer (Mexico: UNAM, 2007), p. 233.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁶⁵ José María Muriá, «De Nueva Galicia a Jalisco», *Sociotam: International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 16, no. 2 (2006, July-December): 42.

⁶⁶ Municipal Historical Archive of Guadalajara (AHMG), file prepared in order to make the distribution of parties, to form the census and statistics of the Province.

The territorial reorganization of the provinces of Zacatecas and Guadalajara was carried out based on the criteria of number of inhabitants and geographical distance from the capitals; it was not put into practice because

When the "desired" King Ferdinand VII returned from his forced exile in France and landed in Valencia, on May 4, 1814, the first thing he did was abolish the Constitution of Cádiz and order that things in his domains return to the state in which they were. They were in the year 1808. This implied, among other things, the annulment of the provincial deputations, which was carried out quickly in Guadalajara and Zacatecas on the following October 17.⁶⁷

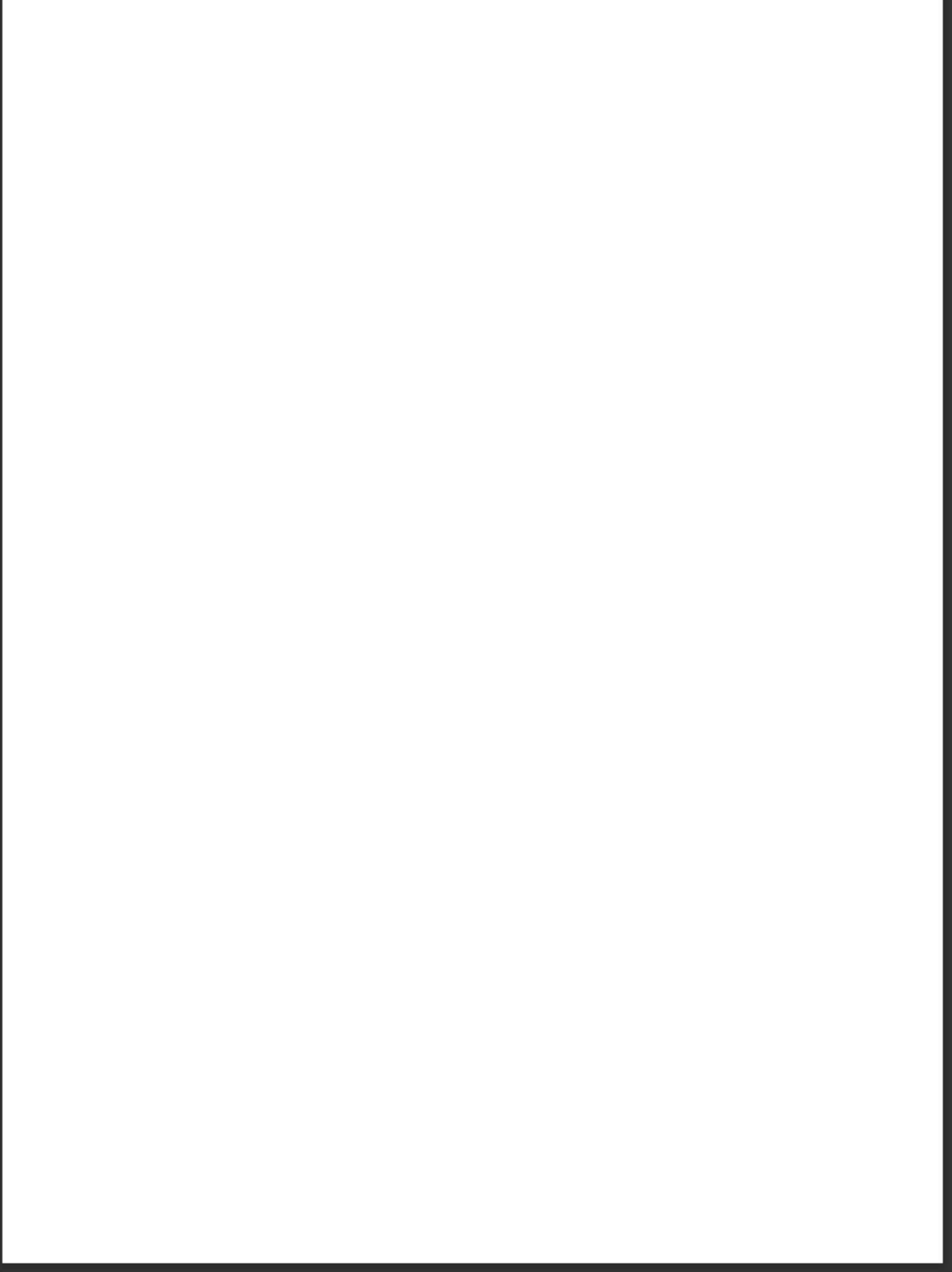
After the abolition of the Cádiz Constitution, Viceroy Félix María Calleja reestablished the mayoralty model and dissolved the provincial councils. However, this situation did not last for many years, since on May 7, 1820, a liberal revolt led by Rafael del Riego triumphed in Spain, which demanded that monarch Ferdinand VII reestablish the Constitution of Cádiz. With the implementation of the Cádiz charter, the provincial deputations were reintroduced in Spain and its American possessions. A few months later, the Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia was reestablished, which was again made up of the provinces of Guadalajara and Zacatecas, until on November 6, 1820, the courts issued the decree that ordered the separation of Zacatecas from Guadalajara to unite it to the newly created Provincial Council of San Luis Potosí.⁶⁸ Although in practice "this change was not made and Zacatecas continued to send its representatives to Guadalajara. When finally, by a decree of the courts of May 8, 1821, ordering the installation of provincial deputations in all overseas municipalities, Zacatecas could have counted on its deputation, the situation in New Spain no longer allowed it.⁶⁹ This was how the territorial and administrative formation of the kingdom of Nueva Galicia concluded, which in 1786 was divided into the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zacatecas, which during the decade of 1810, in two periods, formed the Provincial Council of Nueva Galicia.

ces of this Kingdom of Nueva Galicia and the formation of City Councils, where there are appropriate ones, Guadalajara, 1813-1814, pages. 141-158.

67 José María Muriá, *The limits of Jalisco*, p. 55.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

69 Beatriz Rojas, ed., *The Provincial Council of Zacatecas. Minutes of the sessions, 1822-1823* (Mexico: Instituto Mora / Government of the state of Zacatecas, 2003), pp. 20-21.



THE INSURGENCY IN ZACATECAS,

1809-1821

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THE END OF THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The second half of the 18th century was dawning in New Spain. Timidly, enlightened ideas sneaked in through the loopholes allowed by the monarchical regime. The shelves of some private and conventual bookstores had admitted books by Malebranche, Feijoo, Newton, Copernicus, Leibniz, Galileo and Descartes. Thus, the paradigm of science penetrated slowly, but firmly, into the consciences of New Spain's scholars. The intellectual supremacy of the metropolis was failing due to the emergence of a group of New Spain scholars who were aware of the scientific debates taking place on the other side of the Atlantic and who, in these lands, acquired new directions. These prominent figures of northern America spread their ideas in magazines that increasingly had larger circulations and circulated in larger spaces. In a society resistant to change like New Spain and dominated by the subjugating weight of religion, Enlightenment ideas acquired a Catholic and absolutist bias. In this sense, the Enlightenment progressed thanks to the impetus provided by the Spanish Crown. The Ordinance of Intendants meant for New Spain the realization of an enlightened and reformist policy sustained for several decades.¹

The changes proposed by the monarchy were promoted by enlightened ministers and by the cultural elite of the metropolis, whose resonances reached distant latitudes. The support provided to these ideas was such that, at the end of the century, the Enlightenment underpinned the policy of the Bourbon State. For New Spain, in the administrative and scientific fields, the Enlightenment translated into concrete actions: territorial reorganization, efficiency in collection, opening of more primary schools run by teachers.

¹ See Thomas Calvo, «Science, culture and enlightened politics (New Spain and elsewhere)», in *The Bourbon Reforms, 1750-1808*, coordinated by Clara García Aylluardo (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010), pp. 83-130.

secular, foundation of higher educational centers, preparation of censuses, economic descriptions and topographical charts, restriction of the power of the Church, delimitation of local elites and rise of written culture; factors that had a profound impact on New Spain society. The Enlightenment permeated the ruling group and the lawyers alike, sectors that promoted the new rationality with unusual optimism.

However, from the administrative and scientific fields, the Enlightenment moved to the political sphere. Towards the last decade of the 18th century, texts of various kinds began to be disseminated with special relish whose content advocated a new political order: the monarchy as a government regime was questioned, the republic was exalted, secularization was considered a supreme good, and it was forcefully stated that sovereignty was popular. For

the specific case of Zacatecas, the Enlightenment materialized in the erection of the Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga; the multiplication of elementary schools; the presence of well-equipped bookstores; the development of scientific activities by some scholars, miners and priests; the publication of works written by local intellectuals; the celebration of literary gatherings in the homes of important figures such as those held in the mansion of the Count of San Mateo; as well as the organization of literary competitions, for example the one that was organized on the occasion of the premieres of the sacristy of the convent of San Juan de Dios. As for political ideas, these were disseminated through: *décimas trovadas* that were distributed in loose sheets, books by French authors such as Voltaire and Rousseau that circulated from hand to hand and whose ideas were spread through reading in loud voice, the representation of burlesque comedies, the dissemination of The Creed of the French Revolution, as well as by shouts broken out in public by royal officials who, under the influence of alcohol, shouted until they were heartbroken: Long live the republic! , Death to the tyranny of the king!²

In addition to being a means of entertainment and dissemination of ideas for the wealthy group, written culture also permeated the most unprotected groups; An example of this was the popularity of cheap materials, printed on plain paper, which contained both prayers and love stories. These pamphlets were favored by mine workers, craftsmen, day laborers and the occasional woman eager for news. For example, in Don Manuel Asunsolo y Llantada's haberdashery store, "thirteen hands of printed paper assorted into pages, romances, relationships, and so on were sold for five reales per hand; two

² See Martín Escobedo, «Texts and readings in Zacatecas: a history of transgressed restrictions and restricted freedoms», *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 28 (January-June 2003): 61-75.

dozens of rosary offerings at four reales; eleven dozens of assorted novenas, all at five pesos two reales.»³

Through a still incipient communication circuit, many Zacatecans became aware of various approaches that clashed with the prevailing political order. Thus, the knowledge of the maxims of the French revolution, the excesses of absolutism, the postulates of the Social Contract and a long etcetera were preparing the breeding ground that channeled the discontent of different sectors of society into illegal, dangerous channels, for the monarchical regime. Authors such as Solange Alberro and Alicia Hernández Chávez have stated that, in New Spain, revolutionary ideas with their epicenter in France, far from taking root, were rather rejected on the grounds that they threatened the throne and the altar, supreme values during the epoch. Perhaps this is partly true. However, these ideas, combined with North American independence and the spread of other texts written by vassals of the Spanish monarchy such as the Letter addressed to the Spanish Americans, led to a more open position towards new developments at the dawn of the 19th century. This had an impact on the attitude that some actors in political and social life would later adopt.

OUTBREAKS OF DISCONTENT

At the dawn of the 19th century, Zacatecas had been an mayor for more than a decade. Since 1787 it was integrated with four subdelegations in addition to the mining district of the capital, leaving the districts of Aguascalientes and Juchipila inexplicably outside the jurisdiction.⁵ This caused the nascent jurisdiction several internal problems such as a shortage of grain and work animals, , in addition to the fact that the territory was cut into three parts. After a

³ Historical Archive of the State of Zacatecas (hereinafter AHEZ), Judicial Power fund, Civil series, subseries, Assets of the deceased, year 1790, f. 3rd.

⁴ See Solange Alberro, Alicia Hernández Chávez and Elías Trabulse, coords., *The French Revolution in Mexico* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1993).

⁵ The subdelegations that initially made up the Zacatecas mayor's office were: Mazapil, Sombrerete, Fresnillo, Sierra de Pinos and the mining district of the capital. See the preceding chapter.

⁶ Consult map 4, "Intendancy of Guadalajara (1793-1803)", in Rafael Diego-Fernández, María Pilar Gutiérrez and Luis Alberto Arriola, coords., *Of kingdoms and subdelegations. New scenarios for a new order in Bourbon America* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Michoacán / Universidad de Guadalajara / El Colegio Mexiquense, 2014), p. 40. Cf. Laura Gemma Flores, «Annexation of the

territorial recomposition in which new subdelegations were created and Juchipila and Aguascalientes were incorporated into the municipal territory, around 1804 the Zacatecan province was made up of nine parties, seven under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Guadalajara and two belonging to the miter of Durango.

Recently integrated, the mayor's office faced problems during the first years of the 1800s. The implementation of the Ordinance was not smooth; The regional elites struggled with the authorities embodied in subdelegates and mayors because they felt their interests were affected. In this vein, the rich miners and merchants of the Zacatecan capital maintained a constant struggle with the mayor, while in Sierra de Pinos and Fresnillo the wealthy groups did not miss the opportunity to confront the subdelegates. The panorama became extremely complicated around 1808. The political crisis of the monarchy caused by the royal abdications and the Gallic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula was compounded by a series of events that shook the established order. A harsh confrontation between the political elite arose in the capital. It began in 1808 due to the dispute over the Zacatecas alhóndiga and ended in a prolonged dispute within the Cabildo, where the councilors, grouped into two sides, launched mutual accusations. The outcome was the expulsion of six members of the City Council who were accused of disseminating pamphlets inciting independence; This produced nervousness, rumors and altercations in the city, which soured the atmosphere. It should be noted that the conflict generated in the Zacatecas Council meant that the elite was divided, a serious situation at such a neuralgic moment because, during the period, the City Council of the capital was the head of the province. Thus, what happened in this political body spread quickly throughout the territory of the mayor's office.

parties of Aguascalientes and Juchipila to the mayor of Zacatecas (1789-1804)" and Marcelino Cuesta and Martín Escobedo, "The restructuring of the Zacatecan territory. The case of the Fresnillo subdelegation» (presentation, IV Congress of the RERSAB, November 2014).

After a lengthy legal process filed by Mayor Francisco Rendón, the subdelegations of Aguascalientes and Juchipila were annexed to the Zacatecas mayor's office in 1804, so the province was made up of the parties of Mazapil, Nieves, Sombrerete, Fresnillo, Jerez, Tlaltenango, Sierra de Pinos and the two territories in dispute.

⁸ Mariana Terán, *From province to federal entity. Zacatecas, 1786-1835* (Mexico: Superior Court of Justice of the State of Zacatecas, 2007), pp. 56-60.

⁹ Cuesta y Escobedo, "The restructuring", p. 3.

However, the concern was not exclusive to the urban center. A riot broke out in Sombrerete on October 13, 1808. Enraged, mine workers, artisans, women and other popular people threatened to deprive those responsible for the corn shortage of their lives and attempted to loot businesses and homes of wealthy individuals. The crowd blamed the absent subdelegate for plunging the people into the deepest misery and affliction.¹⁰ Five months later, in the Sierra de Pinos party, it was reported that the principals met quite frequently to conspire with revolutionary proclamations. After a quick investigation, it was learned that in reality the wealthy group did gather, but to agree on a protest for having been excluded as authorities of the subdelegation.¹¹ At the beginning of 1809 in Fresnillo, some pamphlets ranting against the Spaniards were confiscated.¹²

A similar case occurred in the provincial capital. In May 1810, a wave of violent protests broke out. The climate was soured by the appearance of numerous lampoons where it was claimed that the Gachupines were thieves, invaders and the cause of everything bad that happened. Messages were also spread on loose sheets signed by a certain Rosalío Carreras, who condemned the greed of the mine owners and demanded that they fairly remunerate the work carried out in them. According to the priest José María de Cos, the incendiary propaganda had an effect, as it managed to gather a crowd of léperos and barreteros whose intention was to lynch every peninsular who came their way. The clergyman Cos reported that, without suspecting what was happening, a small group of Spaniards were walking along the avenue when, suddenly, a crowd armed with knives, sticks and stones pounced on them. The peninsular people ran to take refuge in the temple in the Chepinque neighborhood, where they were rescued by a priest. The agitation continued. To contain it, the friars of the Apostolic College of Guadalupe were called. The parents celebrated masses and gave sermons in order to quell the riots, however, their participation was counterproductive because days later, on several downtown walls

¹⁰ Historical Archive of the Municipality of Sombrerete (hereinafter AHMS), Town Hall fund, exp. 167, year 1808, snf.

¹¹ AHEZ, Zacatecas Municipality fund, Pinos series, box 1, year 1809, f. 3rd.

¹² AHEZ, Zacatecas Municipality fund, Fresnillo series, box 2, year 1809, f. 1st. Quoted

¹³ by Mariana Terán Fuentes, *For loyalty to the king, the country and the religion. Zacatecas (1808-1814)* (Toluca: Fondo Editorial Estado de México, 2012), p. 155.

buildings, pamphlets appeared in which the work of the friars was discredited and they were ordered to leave the town because of the lies they told. The interpretations about the cause of this event that occurred in the capital assumed that the culprits of the uprising had been Bonaparte's commissioners; In this regard, the Count of Peñasco wrote: «Napoleon's emissaries have managed to triumph over the ignorance and lack of enlightenment of the plebeian people, raising this sedition to destroy the residents of Zacatecas because this is the maxim of the French who want spread throughout the world, as they know very well that divided into parties its inhabitants will not have the strength to resist them. 14

These convulsions were accompanied by crop failure for three consecutive years. In 1808 in Nieves, Sombrerete and Mazapil, districts located in the north of the province, it did not rain enough and the cornfields were ruined. The drought continued the following year. In May the first waters fell, but in the summer clear skies prevailed. Due to such a dire panorama, the authorities of Sierra de Pinos implored the mayor and treasurer of the Caja Real to exempt the residents from paying taxes. In Aguascalientes the charity house assisted a growing number of people who did not have enough to eat. In Burgo de San Cosme, in addition to the drought, diseases attacked the population. In 1810, «in the perennially arid districts of Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Nieves, Mazapil, Tlaltenango, Fresnillo and Juchipila [...] the rains had arrived in May and in the mining center of Sombrerete it had begun to rain in June, only to abruptly cease until the end of August, and by then the clouds had almost completely disappeared. 15 The whole province was hungry. To make the situation worse, merchants and alhondigueros hid the corn to make it more expensive. The people suffered, while the rich miners and merchants flaunted their fortune in the midst of misery.

Towards the middle of 1810, the popular people of the municipality lived in poverty. The drunkenness of patriotic donations and swearing-in had already passed where, with inflamed hearts, the Zacatecans contributed part of their reduced wealth to sustain the war in the peninsula, in addition to showing

¹⁴ Cited in Héctor Sánchez Tagle, *Insurgency and counterinsurgency in Zacatecas, 1810-1813* (Zacatecas: Autonomous University of Zacatecas / LIX Legislature of the State of Zacatecas / Academic Personnel Union of the Autonomous University of Zacatecas, 2009), pp. 298-299.

¹⁵ Eric van Young, *The Other Rebellion. The fight for the independence of Mexico, 1810-1821* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), p. 153.

their loyalty to the king in mass ceremonies. Now the hangover showed a cruel reality. Hunger persisted, discontent continued to manifest itself while local authorities remained insensitive to widespread poverty. In this context where unrest and discontent were rampant, a spark could ignite the prairie.

THE ADVANCE OF THE INSURGENCY

On September 19, 1810, news of the movement led by priest Hidalgo reached Sierra de Pinos. Two days later, there was already knowledge of the insurrection in the capital of the mayor's office. A barrage of rumors was unleashed throughout the province. It was said that the priest of Dolores had sent one of his own to take Zacatecas and that the route through which he would enter the capital was that of the Aguascalientes district. The viceregal authorities sent two companies of dragoons to that Zacatecan subdelegation to prevent the passage of the insurgent host. The first week of October, the wealthy merchants of the town fled because they learned that a commissioner from Hidalgo named Rafael Iriarte had gained followers in Lagos and taken León, and at that time he was marching with a large troop towards the town. On October 8, the Léperos tried to revolt but the picket of stationed soldiers contained them. However, when at the end of the same month the dragoons realized that Colonel Iriarte was in the vicinity of the town, the royalist troops revolted and their leaders hurriedly left the town. Some soldiers, including Vicente Martínez and José Antonio Sandi, joined the insurgency, thus strengthening the position of the rebels.

In the city of Zacatecas the news spread quickly. Since the end of September, mine workers, small merchants, muleteers, artisans, carters, friars and servants openly conspired. They understood that the insurrection could benefit them. Therefore, emboldened, the first days of the following month they took to the streets uttering threats against the potentates of the capital. In this scenario, the councilors deposed the previous year reappeared. It was rumored that they were leading the movement. Alarmed, the authorities took measures to stop the agitation. Mayor Francisco Rendón sent letters to the neighboring municipalities of Durango and San Luis Potosí requesting armed men to protect the province. He also asked his subdelegates for similar help. Most jurisdictions did not provide help precisely because they were organizing their own defense. They only went to the so-called Miguel de Rivera, count of Santiago de la Laguna,

with 200 horsemen; six companies of arrow Indians from Colotlán and a few mounted men from Jerez and the haciendas of Trujillo and Mezquite.¹⁶

Despite the arrival of the contingents, popular agitation continued to rise. Some schemers spread seditious libels and the plebs were instigated in the streets, alleys and squares. News of robberies, murders and looting in increasingly closer towns circulated by word of mouth. In the first days of October the populace shouted slogans against the Spanish. Terrified, several miners and merchants left the capital, taking with them what they could. Faced with such worrying events, the mayor called a meeting between the most prominent men in the city. They analyzed the situation and concluded that, given the proximity of the insurgent army, the mob could no longer contain itself, so they declared the city indefensible. Mayor Rendón declared that the crowd had taken away all authority from him; Furthermore, the soldiers of Colotlán told him that they would not risk their lives in the defense of the peninsular people, so he decided to abandon the mining center on October 8. In his opinion, everything was lost."

With the haste typical of the game, Rendón entrusted the government of the province to his legal lieutenant, the lawyer from Oviedo José Peón Valdés; He chose to save his life by fleeing the next day to the Hacienda de la Encarnación, about thirteen leagues away. In turn, Peón entrusted the mayorship to Francisco Castañeda. At this point, the government in the capital was nonexistent. Protocol was not followed in the transfer of provincial power and the Cabildo was left with a few members because the majority fled due to the threat of losing their lives. The ghost of what happened in Guanajuato was everywhere. The lack of authority represented a feast for the angry crowd who took pleasure in looting different businesses.

This was the scenario in which the councilors deposed in 1809 returned to occupy the City Hall. With the urgency of the circumstances they prepared to restore order. They appointed Miguel de Rivera, count of Santiago de la Laguna, as interim mayor, who enjoyed acceptance among the mob. Coordinated, the Town Council and mayor filled the dangerous power vacuum that was causing anarchy in the city and its surroundings. Governance began to be felt when both bodies organized work in the mines and profit farms, contained riots and looting and protected the lives of the peninsular people who were not able to flee, finding them refuge in the temple of Santo Domingo.

¹⁶ Sánchez Tagle, *Insurgencia*, p. 82.

¹⁷ General Archive of the Nation (AGN, hereinafter), War Operations, vol. 179, 1811, f. 107.

When in Sombrerete they learned that the authorities of the capital of Zacatecas escaped, there was indignation. They described the flight as cowardly and prepared to confront the rebels.¹⁸ Meanwhile, the insurgency was expanding through the southwest of the province. The insurgent captain Daniel Camarena was commissioned by Iriarte to revolt the canyons of Tlaltenango and Juchipila. The leader took over Nochistlán and from there operated that mountainous area with abundant vegetation. Camarena took advantage of the discontent of the region's Indians over the high price of corn. He encouraged them to mutiny and take the belongings of the Spaniards. In mid-October Tabasco, Jalpa and Juchipila were in the hands of the rebels. Tlaltenango fell shortly after. The insurgent leader advanced with a firm step. He took towns, let his armies and the people plunder them, seized the richest loot, added men to his army and issued appointments to officers whom he saw as having courage and recklessness.

With insurgent forces advancing from the south-southwest, the pincer closed. The insurgents knew of the strategic importance of the city of Zacatecas because it represented the gateway to the internal provinces. With the capital of the mayor's office in their power, they would ensure the expansion of the movement. Therefore, they focused their batteries towards this mining center.

With Colonel Iriarte occupying Aguascalientes, it was easy to know that his next objective was the capital of the province. The mayor, count of Santiago de la Laguna, sent Dr. José María Cos, priest of the Burgo de San Cosme, to meet Iriarte to find out his position regarding the war he was waging. The count wanted to know if the insurgency "saves the rights of religion, of our august and legitimate sovereign and of the country."¹⁹ The leader responded that the priest Hidalgo's war was against the Spanish who wanted to hand over North America to the foreigner. He also asserted that the movement was to sustain religion, preserve the throne for Ferdinand VII, end the trade monopoly and save the country.²⁰ After the interview, Dr. Cos headed to San Luis Potosí, but not before sending a letter to the count in which he recommended allowing free passage to the insurgent troops.

Colonel Iriarte, who already called himself Marshal of the American Army, was at the gates of the city on November 2. Right there he lectured

¹⁸ AHMS, City Council fund, exp. 17, 1810, f. go.

¹⁹ Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos, *History of the War of Independence in Mexico*, vol. 2 (Mexico: Institute of Historical Studies of the Revolutions in Mexico, 1985), p. 193.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

with Mr. Ramón Garcés, representative of the City Council. He asked him on behalf of the Cabildo to avoid excesses, the leader ignored him and entered the capital with a troop of almost three thousand troops. Friars, artisans, peasants, laborers, mine workers, leperos and people in general came out to welcome him. The entire Cabildo and the mayor showed him respect; In reciprocity, he recognized them as authorities. In addition, the marshal was the subject of a banquet by the religious of the school of Guadalupe. At the reception, Brother Antonio de la Luz Gálvez pronounced the following verses in honor of the visitor: «Won't you tell me, Zacatecan soil / what is the mutation you have suffered? / Speak, say, I conjure you by heaven / is it today that you were born? / Oh! A veil runs over your history, / if joy has happened to sorrow. twenty-one

The welcome of the Franciscans and the verses recited had a profound effect on the residents of the capital. It was clear that the religious had taken sides with the rebels. This further accentuated the division within local society. Those who sympathized with the newly arrived troops or, outright, saw in the insurrection an opportunity to appropriate other people's property, took to the streets to show their approval and participate in the looting. However, a good part of the population locked themselves in their homes and began to pray that the Almighty would free them from such a terrible scourge. It was very evident how in the last stretch of 1810 the population split in two. On one side were the followers of the insurgency and on the opposite pole were those who opposed violence and abuses. At that time there was no middle ground. As an example that illustrates such bitterness is what was happening inside the Franciscan convent itself: six to eight friars were insurgents and others were royalists. «Some of the brothers had planned to "lay violent hands" on another of their order because they did not agree with their way of thinking; while two other conspirators tried to catch a third religious man who had disapproved of their breaking the vow of silence."²²

The pulse of society did not matter to Iriarte; As soon as he arrived in the city, he and his troops began to loot stores, leaving the spoils to the crowd. This was frowned upon by the Count of Santiago de la Laguna and the Cabildo, since it was notorious that, with the desire to restore order and security, they had stopped such actions by reactivating mining production with difficulties, thus reestablishing salaries, that was so needed to calm the restlessness of the population. With the arrival of the American troops, the people had become insolent

²² AGN, Infidencia, vol. 66, exp. 129, 1812, f. 48r.

²² Van Young, *The Other*, pp. 477-478.

and robberies, looting, riots and disorders were an everyday occurrence. The insurgent colonel encouraged such behavior while the authorities struggled to contain it. It is logical to think that such conflicting positions would have to clash. Upset with the abuses, the Count of Santiago ordered the stores to be closed, keeping the keys to prevent the mob from continuing to do their thing.²³ He also prevented peninsular people from being apprehended, which made Iriarte angry because he promoted the racial war. However, through a secret report sent by a spy to the royalist military chief of Nueva Galicia, José de la Cruz, it is known that the rebels appropriated some mines and small processing farms, making them produce.²⁴

These disagreements did not become a major conflict because Iriarte left for San Luis Potosí on November 14. Hundreds of Zacatecans from the popular sectors had joined his army, but also priests and religious and some members of the secondary elite, among whom were merchants, owners of unproductive mines, prosperous artisans and medium-sized farmers. However, despite this, the insurrection was mostly of the people. In this regard, William Taylor points out that popular insurgency is defined as a set of "violent mobilizations of peoples that challenged the power of the colonial regime and property rights and that persisted for months, or often years."²⁵ In this sense, the Zacatecana was an insurrection of more popular groups.

Iriarte's departure from the capital allowed the authorities to resume a more energetic attitude. In fact, in the weeks that followed the colonel's departure, measures were implemented to impose order. In December, a riot broke out in front of a store. A wave of people gathered to take out merchandise. The clerk Antonio Camacho, along with other parishioners, pushed the crowd, but did not prevent some people from entering the store. However, the authorities intervened, arresting some of those involved in the events, thus preventing the robbery.²⁶

²³ AHEZ, Judiciary Power fund, colonial Criminal series, box 21, exp. 23, 1812, f. 28.

²⁴ Eric van Young, *The Other*, p. 170.

²⁵ William Taylor, "Broken sovereignty, popular insurgencies, and the independence of Mexico: the War of Independence, 1808-1821," *Mexican History* 59, no. 1 (2009, July-September): 15.

²⁶ See Rosalina Ríos, «The awakening of the Hydra. Looks at the popular insurgency in Zacatecas, 1810-1813», in *From monarchy to republic. Keys to the political transition in Zacatecas, 1787-1832*, coordinated by Martín Escobedo (Mexico: Taberna Libraria Editores / Autonomous University of Zacatecas / LX Legislature of the State of Zacatecas, 2013), pp. 21-49.

While this was happening in the city of Zacatecas, something similar was happening in the rest of the municipality, not counting a region located in the north, which will be reviewed later. Since the end of September, Daniel Camarena entered the southwest of the province and, taking his native Nochistlán as a bastion, he advanced towards the capital. In his passage he expanded the movement through the canyons of Tlaltenango and Juchipila. Lines ago it was mentioned that Camarena knew how to channel the unrest of the Indians to raise them up in arms. In addition to the poverty that prevailed in rural areas, the dispossession of land and other grievances influenced those who had previously sworn loyalty to the king to launch themselves against the established authorities. The control that Camarena had over this vast area was such that an insurgent corridor was opened between Guadalajara and the capital of the municipality where, without problem, the rebels

were busy. By the end of 1810 the geography of the war indicated that most of the province was controlled by the insurgency. The canyons of Juchipila and Tlaltenango, who occupied the entire southwest of the municipal territory, had fallen into the hands of the American armies. In addition to Daniel Camarena, in other leaders operated in the area, such as the priest Juan Pablo Calvillo, who he commanded a large group characterized by their courage. His adventures included a more or less wide radius that included Totatiche, Colotlán and Huejúcar. Likewise, other lower-ranking insurgent leaders toured the region, such as Antonio Haro and Joaquín Cárdenas.

When Iriarte was heading to San Luis Potosí, he commissioned Martín Herrera to take Sierra de Pinos. He fulfilled his mission by freeing the prisoners in that town and adding several residents of the camp to the troops. With this action, the southeast of the municipality was also co-opted by the insurgents. If we add the Aguascalientes district, which was the first subdelegation to be dominated, then the result is that the entire south was subjugated by the American armies.

Something similar was happening in the northeast of Zacatecas. Colonel Iriarte appointed his captain Baltasar Musiño to raise the Fresnillo region. He arrived in the town on November 4, finding a favorable climate for the movement. For a month, the residents of the town had been insubordinate after the rich miners and merchants of the capital passed through it fleeing the rebels. The people rioted against the subdelegate, who asked the priest for help, who in the company of a councilor calmed the agitation a little. However, some sympathizers of priest Hidalgo's movement continued to harass, such as the case of Apolonio Piña, who "went out at night to disturb the masses [...], he wanted to be a leader. The night that Musiño entered with his Sheaf, Piña shouted at the top of her voice! Long live Commander Musiño and let the soldiers die!

gachupines! Musiño arrested the councilor's father, the Spaniard Juan Ledesma, and he pleaded for him before the insurgent leader, while Piña continued shouting in the middle of the crowd, "Death to the Gachupines!"²⁷

Once Fresnillo was dominated, Captain Musiño could follow the plan to advance through the north and thus comply with Colonel Iriarte's instructions. However, until that moment the insurgency was advancing through the provincial territory without a political flag. Beyond Iriarte's position, when the Count of Santiago, through the priest José María Cos, asked him for his opinion on the war he was leading, there was no clear statement about the justification of the movement or the goals it pursued. For this reason, Captain Musiño wrote a document titled Proclamation to the Americans. Due to its ideological importance, some of its most relevant passages are noted:

Americans: Do not be seduced by the false impostures that the perfidy of our fierce oppressors, the Europeans, impose on our healthy behavior as our enemies. Do not believe that the purposes of our expedition are the impious ones of committing sacrilege, executing homicides, verifying robberies and unrestrainedly indulging in the clumsy vice of lust. Do not imagine that the serious plans of our religious Generalissimo are founded on selfishness and tyranny. No, simple compatriots: the iniquity of the ultramarines is revealed in studying lies with which to delight you, so that you present yourself to their defense, summoning you, with a Machiavellian halo, to take up arms against ourselves, without there being any the just cause required for such a great action. But, tell me or ask yourselves, is it possible that after almost three centuries of oppression you seal your misfortune by becoming bloody victims of their whim? [...] The object of our enterprise is none other than the expulsion of the Europeans, an action that consists of the security of our Catholic religion, the safeguarding of these precious domains for our august sovereign Mr. Don Fernando Séptimo, and political freedom of our nation, in which lies the enjoyment of our gold usurped by them. These foreigners have always looked insolently at our causes [and now they intend to hand over] our country to the greatest monster that the abysses have aborted, our enemy Napoleon [...]. The conquests we have made are many compared to the short time we started and in all of them we have been happy; but the Almighty does protect us and sponsor us his Blessed Mother of Guadalupe [...] Long live

²⁷ Héctor Sánchez Tagle, *Insurgencia*, p. 104.

the loyal and noble American Nation! And death to vice and bad government!
 Commissioned Captain Baltasar Musiño. Fresnillo Barracks, November 13, 1810.²⁸

As can be seen with this exception, in Zacatecan lands the insurgency lacked political postulates that supported its fight. Rather, the leaders, mostly coming from the lower sectors of society, were content to join the movement to improve their social position and take advantage of the chaos, so their language did not exceed the limits of informality, materializing in rumors, gossip and murmurings. As far as has been consulted, only Captain Musiño created an articulated speech about the insurrection, which he spread throughout the northeast of the municipality.

The person in charge of insurrection in the northeastern towns was Vital Medrano. His captain Musiño ordered him in Fresnillo to disseminate the Proclamation to the Americans and gather more troops in Nieves and Río Grande. Iriarte told him that Nieves' subdelegate embraced the cause, so he would have an ally in his favor. However, Medrano could not execute what was arranged, because in Río Grande he encountered resistance; From there he went to Nieves where the subdelegate Juan Aguilar collaborated little and the town showed apathy in his presence. As Nieves was a parish belonging to the diocese of Durango, perhaps the local priest carried out what was ordered by his bishop, who addressed a pastoral letter to his ministers. The prelate asked them to prevent the parishioner from being lost in the "voracious flames thrown by the wind of irreligion, disobedience to legitimate powers and the division of men."²⁹ Given the circumstances, it was imperative that the priests "make their flock see that war brings nothing but desolation to kingdoms, provinces and cities."³⁰ Perhaps convinced by their parish priest, the residents of the town ignored Medrano's incitement and paid little attention to the Proclamation. Dissatisfied, Medrano advanced to the Cruces Grandes hacienda, where he received support from his administrator; Then he went to Sain Alto, where several of his men deserted. Determined to carry out Musiño's order, he went to the San Agustín de Melilla estate where, aware of his seditious activities, they were waiting to arrest him. Tied up and under extreme surveillance, he was taken to Sombrerete.

In the Mazapil party the fire of the insurrection did not ignite as expected. Rafael Reza toured the region with an appointment issued by Hidalgo. Their job was to recruit combatants and confiscate weapons, at the same time

²⁸ AGN, Infidencias, vol. 5, exp. 9, 1810, pages. 222-230.

²⁹ AHMS, City Council fund, exp. 105, year 1811, f. IV.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

because he announced that "the priest Hidalgo was coming and that he would eliminate them all."³¹ The proclamation spread by Medrano reached that northern jurisdiction. Its main promoter was the priest Joaquín de Velasco. In the middle of the rosary he launched the insurgent postulates into the air and the stunned parishioner, far from heeding his call, denounced him to the authorities. In his defense he asserted that in a solemn rosary, after praying, he went up to the pulpit and exhorted his listeners to close their ears to those who taught doctrines contrary to the mutual love that we should profess to one another. "That the Europeans had been our parents temporally because we came from them and spiritually because they had brought the lights of the gospel to our hemisphere." ³² Despite his arguments, the priest was arrested at the Coahuila border and taken to Sombrerete, a subdelegation where the counterinsurgency had established its headquarters.

THE COUNTERINSURGENT REACTION

The gale that swept through the municipality of Zacatecas towards the end of 1810 and beginning of 1811 was gradually mitigated from the subdelegation of Sombrerete. This town is located 42 leagues northwest of the city of Zacatecas. It belonged to the diocese of Durango and its economic and political importance was only behind the provincial capital, as it was a highly productive mining center that housed a Mining Council, a Royal Bank and a vigorous City Council. When the political crisis of the Spanish monarchy broke out, the mines of Pabellón, Veta Negra and San Martín were booming.

Sombrerete always repelled those who attacked the king and religion. So it was demonstrated in 1808 when news of the royal resignations and the subsequent French invasion of Spanish territory reached the town. «In the real de Minas [...] there were several events that confirmed loyalty to the monarch such as masses and novenas. The prison inmates paid for a mass performed by the Franciscan Pablo Rivera, in which judges, councilors and mayors were present. The Indians of the town of La Candelaria also gathered in the chapel [to pray for the magnet of hearts]."³³ The loyalty of the Sombreretenses was expressed in various ways, such as the important patriotic donation that was collected in

³¹ Cited by Héctor Sánchez Tagle, "Felipe Cleere and the establishment of the Intendancy in Zacatecas", in *Cultura Novohispana. Studies on art, education and history*, coordinated by María Isabel Terán and Marcelino Cuesta (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2006), p. 220.

³² AHEZ, Judiciary Power fund, Criminal series, exp. 15, years 1811-1813, pages. 14r-19v.

³³ Mariana Terán Fuentes, *By loyalty*, p. 89.

the subdelegation, or the oath that was organized on August 15, 1808 with the purpose of endorsing vassalage to the beloved king.

The adherence of Sombrerete's party to the monarchical cause was reinforced with a wave of political propaganda disseminated by the authorities. In the voice of the crier the sacrifices of the heroic Spanish people in the metropolis and the advance of the patriot armies were made known; Likewise, the priests touched on the topic in their sermons and in all masses they prayed for the return of the legitimate sovereign; Likewise, the circulation of small-format magazines and books with ideas favorable to the monarchy was encouraged.

It was for this reason that, when on September 22, 1810, information about the fight started by Hidalgo reached the town, the news did not cause a great shock, since the residents of the party were not attracted by the insurgent postulates. In this vein, the subdelegate of Sombrerete, Félix Antonio de Bustamante, summoned the City Council to stop any insurrection. He also instructed priests and religious to preach against the enemies of the throne and the altar.

In the Sombrerete camp it was learned that the war was spreading and that it had given to the mayor's office with the taking of its capital. Subdelegate and City Council They condemned the abandonment that the city suffered by the authorities. They ignored the authority of the interim mayor Miguel de Rivera and They prepared to resist. Félix Antonio Bustamante instructed his lieutenants of Sain Alto, Chalchihuites and San Andrés del Teúl to monitor their respective territories and apprehend any insurgents they located. He also promoted the creation of a Safety Board, enlisted volunteers to form a corps of patriots and communicated with the officers of the royalist army to prepare the defense of the subdelegation.

These measures were welcomed by the authorities of the internal provinces, who established communication with the royalist general Félix María Calleja, who was marching triumphantly in the shoal after clearing Guanajuato and León of rebels. General Calleja devised a plan that he proposed to the viceroy to interrupt the advance of the insurrection through the north of New Spain. Knowing that the counterinsurgency was strong in Sombrerete and that Colonel Iriarte had left the capital to go to San Luis Potosí, leaving only a picket of men to defend the mining center, he proposed that the royalist forces advance south from Sombrerete to recover Zacatecas. With the speed that the case warranted, the commander of the internal provinces, José Manuel Ochoa, was instructed to make preparations to march towards the capital of the mayor's office.

Aware of the plan hatched by Calleja, Colonel Iriarte, who was on campaign in Potosí lands, quickly returned to Zacatecas. Convinced that the best defense is attack, he conceived the idea of assaulting Sombrerete with blood and fire and leaving clear passage to the internal provinces.

Meanwhile, the royalist commander Ochoa managed to gather a detachment of 300 cavalry soldiers and 200 Indian arrows in Sombrerete. On December 14, he sent an advance party to the city of Zacatecas in order to find out the position of the authorities of that capital towards the royalist army. The representative of the City Council pointed out that in the city they did not want any army to disturb the peace and that they did not recognize the authority of the internal provinces.

Towards the end of December 1810, it was noticeable that the counterinsurgency troops, recovered from the surprise, adopted a different attitude: from the defensive they went on the offensive. Thus, Calleja ordered José Manuel Ochoa to march towards the south, while he did the same to the west. Aware of the plans and eager to engage in combat, both Iriarte and Ochoa advanced towards each other. They met on December 25 at the Santiaguillo farm, belonging to the Fresnillo district. There there was a close battle where the insurgent colonel was defeated. It was a bitter Christmas for Iriarte. Later the royalist leader took Fresnillo without resistance, which meant an increase in counterinsurgency pressure on the capital of the mayor's office.

In January 1811 the situation was reversed. Calleja defeated Hidalgo's troops at the Calderón bridge and occupied Guadalajara on the 21st. Some Zacatecan troops from the canyons of Tlaltenango and Juchipila had participated in that combat under the command of the priest Calvillo. Defeated, they painfully returned to their places of origin. Also defeated, the leaders of the insurgency headed north. It is said that Hidalgo's plan was to reach the United States to reorganize in those lands and return with new vigor to continue the fight. On his march to the north he met Colonel Iriarte's militia in Aguascalientes and together they advanced towards the city of Zacatecas. Hidalgo and his men arrived at the Franciscan College of Guadalupe on January 28. The priest was cordially received by the religious. The time he remained in the capital was spent granting appointments, holding meetings and preparing for departure. Given the proximity of the royalist army, the insurgent troops abandoned the city on February 4, leaving a small detachment guarding it. With a few insurgents in charge of the city, anarchy once again returned. The plebs rioted and appropriated what they could.

Shortly before, the royalist commander Ochoa had defeated the rebels on January 20 in Aguanueva. With this he had the road open to the capital. Following Calleja's instructions, he waited a while to assault her. When

Located on the Maguey hacienda, about 3 leagues from Zacatecas, the restructured City Council sent the friars Antonio de la Luz Gálvez and Rafael Miñón to negotiate the entry of the troops from the internal provinces to the capital. Commander Ochoa rejected what was proposed by the Cabildo and arrested the religious. On February 16, at the gates of the capital, Ochoa announced that he would enter without signing any agreement. The morning of the next day he entered with energy, dispersing the rebels who resisted him. Father José Francisco Gandarilla describes this action: «since the 21st of last nothing had happened in this army that deserved attention [...], but the glorious reconquest of Zacatecas, verified yesterday, is undoubtedly an object worthy of consideration [...], both for the imponderable bizarreness with which it was done, and for the incalculable advantages it brings to the internal provinces in their complete security, and to the entire kingdom in its total pacification.»³⁴

With Commander Ochoa occupying the plaza of Zacatecas, the city slowly recovered order. The soldier ordered the Franciscans to appease the restlessness of the populace and ordered his troops to redouble their vigilance in order to guarantee order and security. The viceroy appointed Ochoa mayor, so he acted with greater rigor to contain the unrest that was beginning to subside. He also ordered that corn be purchased to appease the hunger of the impoverished residents and thus reduce the tension that had been hanging over the city for months.

The royalist forces were gaining ground, however, the region of the canyons remained in the power of the insurgents. Father Calvillo and other leaders devastated Atolinga, Juchipila, El Teúl, Tlaltenango and other areas located in the southwest of the province. The famous royalist commander José Francisco Álvarez went to that area to combat them. This clergyman began as commander of a small royalist force; Later, thanks to his poise, bravery and cruelty, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, then he was promoted as provincial captain of the regular militia of Zacatecas. Félix María Calleja wrote about the priest Álvarez: "he imposes contributions, seizes livestock, plunders to please his troops, and without entrusting himself to God or the devil, he puts to death those he should forgive and forgives those who do not deserve it." »³⁵

On the other hand, Commander Ochoa decided to join General Calleja in the pursuit of Hidalgo. Error in strategy, because with the main bosses

³⁴ Cited by Elías Amador, *Historical Sketch of Zacatecas*, from the year 1810 to 1857, volume 2 (facsimile of the first reprint of 1943, México: Partido Revolucionario Institucional, 1982), p. 42.

³⁵ Van Young, *The Other*, p. 438.

of the royalist army outside the capital, the town was exposed to a new incursion by the insurgent hosts.

Hidalgo's decimated army advanced divided towards the north. On March 21, 1811, the contingent that included the former priest of Dolores was caught in an ambush in Acatita de Baján, where the main leaders were captured. Ignacio López Rayón was trailing behind, so he was not taken prisoner. In Saltillo he decided to return to the south with his militia made up of several notable lieutenants, among whom the Zacatecan Víctor Rosales stood out.

With the troops of royalist commander Ochoa hot on his heels, López Rayón marched at a rapid pace. After evading several counterinsurgency skirmishes, the insurgent leader found it necessary to face the enemy in a place known as Puerto de Piñones. Elías Amador records that in this battle the insurgent army emerged victorious, where Víctor Rosales fought gallantly. However, Ochoa's report is more eloquent, who relates that in the place known as El Piñón, Durango, "the honest residents of Sombrerete" had an outstanding participation, since in the battle that occurred in that place, Captain José stood out. María Rivero with 62 men from Sombrerete and Zacatecas to attack the rebels from the side who were better positioned on several hills; The bravery and skill of the Sombreretenses in combat was so great that the counterinsurgency chief expressed: "I would fail in my obligation and duties if I did not give, although short due to the lack of my talent and eloquence, a praise due and worthy of value, perseverance and suffering in the fatigue of all the worthy sergeants, corporals, carabineros, soldiers, neighbors and Indians, and of the cadets D. Manuel Rodríguez, D. Crescencio Vargas and D. José María Elías González, with all the other individuals of the Sombrerete Company. 36 The performance of this battalion - continues Commander Ochoa - was fundamental in the royalist triumph.

In the warlike circumstance that the province was going through, the reports from both sides for obvious reasons are exaggerated, therefore, neither offers much reliability. The truth is that in this confrontation no one emerged victorious. López Rayón's forces continued on their way south and the corps under Ochoa continued in pursuit.

The insurgent hosts arrived at the Pozo Hondo hacienda and from there Captain Mariano Sotomayor took Fresnillo. López Rayón prepared the attack on Zacatecas. At the Bañón estate he commissioned Víctor Rosales to raid Pánuco and Vetagrande, mining estates very close to the city. With a

³⁶ "Colonel Ochoa's war report", *Gazeta del Gobierno de México*, Saturday, December 21, 1811, pp. 1 and 2.

A handful of royalist soldiers, Colonel Juan Zambrano, in charge of guarding the capital, did not resist the attacks of López Rayón's army. At dawn on February 15, he left hastily, leaving the path free for the rebels.

In the bizarre capital, López Rayón worked on establishing a provisional government, at the same time that he published a programmatic document where he raised several points, such as the formation of a Congress or National Board, the restitution of Fernando VII, the stop to looting and forgiveness to the peninsulars who were imprisoned.³⁷ However, what was planned by the insurgent leader did not prosper on local soil because he only stayed for 15 days. Warned that the royalist forces were very close to the capital, he left with his men on May 1, leaving Víctor Rosales in charge of the plaza.

On May 3, Calleja commissioned Captain Miguel Emparán to hunt down López Rayón. Emparán caught up with the rebels at the Maguey hacienda, where a battle was fought in which the latter were defeated, although Rayón managed to flee with a good part of his troops, leaving behind numerous prisoners, wounded and dead. On the same day as the Battle of Maguey, General Calleja entered Zacatecas. Víctor Rosales surrendered his position and requested a pardon.

With this military action, the insurgency in Zacatecas suffered an important dent. It makes a dent because, in addition to being expelled from the capital, General Calleja punished a good number of those captured in an exemplary way, even with the capital punishment. There were still several confrontations between insurgents and royalists, such as the battles that occurred at the Garabatos ranch on August 4, 1811, the one carried out at the San Francisco hacienda on September 2 of the same year, the insurgent attack on Nochistlán on September 21. June 1812, the skirmishes of Víctor Rosales over Aguascalientes between March 16 and 20, 1813, the fleeting capture of Zacatecas by the same rebel and the battle of Palogacho in the vicinity of Sierra de Pinos in May 1814.

However, the measures taken by Calleja increasingly reduced the strength of the American armies. On May 7, 1811, he instructed that the Provincial Mixed Battalion be formed in Zacatecas. He also welcomed the creation of the Security and Requisition Board of the capital city 10 days later. According to the plan devised by Calleja, urban battalions were to be organized in all the towns of the province in order to repel the insurgents. Thus, these bodies were created in Fresnillo, Jerez, Villanueva, Nieves, Juchipila and Aguascalientes. These militias, in coordination with the Security Boards of Zacatecas and Sombrerete, provided institutional

³⁷ Virginia Guedea, *Textos insurgentes (1808-1821)* (Mexico: National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1998), pp. 68-69.

to counterinsurgency. If we add to this the coherent discourse that circulated from 1811 onwards, then it is possible to appreciate the disparity that existed between the contending sides: while the insurgency that operated in Zacatecas lacked defined political postulates and an organization that would unite it, The opposing party responded to the same command, formulated principles consistent with the reality that was being experienced and carried out concerted actions, such as the one coordinated by Calleja in the Juchipila canyon, the last stronghold of the insurgency in the province.

After wandering around the area, some supporters of the Hidalgo movement took Tlaltenango and Tepechitlán in May 1811. In June the rebels concentrated in Teocaltiche. Everything seemed to indicate that they were reorganizing to begin a campaign against Zacatecas. In August an insurgent troop took Aguascalientes. It was when José de la Cruz y Calleja sent their commanders Manuel Emparán, José López and Father Álvarez to reduce the rebels who dominated the canyons. The latter defeated the insurgents in Villanueva and, ignoring orders, rushed like lightning to Aguascalientes, where he was defeated. Despite this, the siege on the soldiers of Father Calvillo and other leaders was closing due to the effectiveness of the urban battalions and the royalist forces that not only protected the city and towns, but also carried out patrols in more places, separated fighting the enemies. The policy to be followed by the counterinsurgents was clear: "To forgive the one who perjured himself and the rebel who turns against his country and gives aid to the dissidents, is to cooperate with our ruin."³⁸ Consequently, forgiveness was granted to the weak and foolish.

HEADING TO INDEPENDENCE

Around 1813 the insurgency in Zacatecas territory declined. The local militias closed the areas of the province so much that the insurgents had no choice but to continue the fight in other municipalities, such as Guanajuato and Michoacán. From then on, the rebel incursions into the municipal geography were few and weak, such as the one that occurred in 1816 when a group of insurgents who were described as assailants took Juchipila, or the skirmish that Francisco Javier Mina led in 1817 in Sierra de Pinos.

More than war concerns, from 1812 there was an interest in the political factor. Two years earlier, Zacatecas organized the election of its deputy, Dr. José Miguel Gordoá, who brilliantly represented the province.

³⁸ Cited by Terán Fuentes, *By loyalty*, p. 193.

Thanks to the fact that the Constituent Congress based in Cádiz did its thing, on March 19, 1812, the Political Constitution of the Spanish monarchy was promulgated.

With a new system of government in force, the mayor of Zacatecas was integrated into the Provincial Council of Guadalajara; Likewise, constitutional City Councils were created and liberal ideology began to spread through government channels. However, with the return of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in May 1814, the Constitution ceased to have effect, returning to the system in force in 1808.

Around 1814 the recomposed Zacatecan elite adapted to the new circumstances. The mines continued to produce silver metal of good quality and the city tried to rise after being the target of riots, looting, riots and seizures. In the countryside, the situation was extremely difficult. The Count of Pérez Gálvez wrote in 1816 that, during the last four years, the peons had been reduced to hunger and nakedness. He asserts that the landowners owned land of great value, but that they lacked the cash to make it produce. When in the remote case a harvest was achieved, says the count, there were no roads to take it out and sell it. All of the above has been brought about, according to Pérez Gálvez's saying, "by the bad seed that the rebellion has sown."³⁹

The insurgency that Morelos and his lieutenants supported in the south of New Spain had little effect on the administration of Zacatecas. Political propaganda reached this northern province showing the advantages of the Chilpancingo Congress, giving an account of the postulates of the Sentiments of the Nation and spreading the principles of the Constitutional Decree for the Freedom of Spanish America; However, these precepts did not resonate deeply among the Zacatecans.

To prevent any outbreak of rebellion, the Provincial Mixed Battalion almost doubled its strength in 1817. This military body would play a crucial role from then on, as it became the armed arm of the capital's City Council. The same year, mining production rebounded because several farms registered a very favorable trend, an unmistakable symbol of prosperity. In 1818 the harvests were good, so it seemed that prosperity was finally coming to the province.

In the political-administrative field, Mayor José de Gayangos maintained a cordial relationship with the City Council, an element that favored the consolidation of the local elite. Paradoxically, while the insurgency languished in the province, independence gained strength. In 1820, when Ferdinand VII swore the Constitution, the wealthy group of the capital supported the restoration

³⁹ Cited by Van Young, *The Other*, pp. 166-167.

of the Cadiz Charter because the powers that emanated from it strengthened the long-awaited local autonomy. Thus, when the Statute of Cádiz was reinstated in 1820, those nostalgic for liberalism reestablished, with the urgency of the circumstances, the constitutional order: on June 11, the Constitution was solemnly sworn in the capital city, 17 constitutional Town Councils were founded, the members of the provincial council were elected, and the parish councils of Sombrerete, Colotlán, Fresnillo, Sierra de Pinos, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas appointed their deputy to the courts. The Zacatecans wanted the province to be the seat of a provincial council independent of that of Guadalajara, and that a bishopric would also be installed whose capital would be the city of Zacatecas. Already in office, the constitutional City Councils of Zacatecas, Sombrerete and Sierra de Pinos protested, with all their rights, against the tax exactions in favor of the Crown and to the detriment of the local population.

However, constitutional culture suffered an upheaval with the advent of independence. Mayor Gayangos denounced in March 1821 that a clique composed of soldiers and officers of the Mixed Battalion, clerics, royal officials, miners and other people met secretly at night to conspire. Although the authorities disapproved of these assemblies and demonstrated against the Iguala Plan when it was stated within the Cabildo that this body "was overcome with pain upon learning of Iturbide's conspiracy and anti-constitutional project," they later concluded that it was what was best to the province and its interests. In this sense, the wealthy sectors joined the movement of Agustín de Iturbide, proclaiming independence through an oath that took place in the house of the miner Manuel de Rétegui. The residents of Aguascalientes had done it before and later the rest of the city councils of the province would do it.

CONCLUSIONS

The Ordinance of Intendants that began to operate in New Spain in 1787 resulted, among other things, in the installation of a new government regime that dismantled the kingdom of New Galicia. From now on, Zacatecas constituted a municipality different from that of Guadalajara, with its own autonomy and with different interests. It is true that second-order judicial proceedings

40 AHEZ, Zacatecas City Council collection, Cabildo Minutes series, box 2, 1821, pages. Go-IV.

" AHEZ, Zacatecas City Council fund, Cabildo Acts series, subseries Agreements and dispatches, box 3, exp. 3, year 1820, f. 1r.

They continued to be attracted to Guadalajara, however, the Zacatecan mayor's office established itself as a separate jurisdictional body from the capital of Guadalajara.

Although the insurgency in Zacatecas was at first an exogenous movement, the protest and racial war very soon acquired popular roots. Most of the inhabitants of the province felt identified with the tide of fire that could end the existing system of things. Beyond the vague postulates that the leaders uttered, the people warned that with the arrival of the rebels they could take out part of their anger against those they had always seen with respect, but also with fear, envy and contained fury. Therefore, at the initial triumphant and overwhelming step of the insurgent army, many Zacatecans joined it. Any argument was good to swell the ranks of the rebel side: that the French would take over New Spain, that the holy religion was threatened by Bonaparte, that the priest Hidalgo had abolished tribute, that the rebels killed those who did not join them, that they paid well, that the properties of the peninsulars would be confiscated and distributed among the troops... Without formally participating in the insurgent hosts, others actively collaborated in the anarchy that took place. It was generated when Hidalgo's supporters took over a square.

Although favored to some extent by priests and the middle sector of intellectuals and landowners who felt displaced and attacked by the monarchy's policies, in Zacatecas the insurgency was eminently popular. The Indians and the populace threw themselves into the fight without thinking about politics in terms of building a nation, that is, they had no sense of State; At most, they conceived their participation as an instrument to benefit who, like them, suffered from poverty and exclusion.

The war took local authorities by surprise. Without a protocol to contain the impetuous rebel troops, they managed to negotiate the entry of the American army into the towns through which they passed. The Zacatecan province was almost entirely taken over by the insurgent forces. However, responding to the shock, the authorities reacted. The first place in the municipality where a counterinsurgency organization was forged was Sombrerete. Those fleeing the rebels gathered there, as well as the militia from the internal provinces. With solid cohesion, the Sombrerete counterinsurgency began a campaign towards the south whose objective was the recovery of the capital and the expulsion of the insurgents from the province. The Zacatecan territory was under insurgent rule for only five months.

The royalist reaction reduced the insurrection in Zacatecas. Beginning in the second half of 1811, the rebels took refuge in the canyons of Tlaltenango and Juchipila, a wild and dense region of vegetation to hide and

escape easily. The counterinsurgency captains went there in pursuit.

In 1814 the insurrection in the Zacatecas mayor's office was almost completely extinguished. For that year and later dates, small sheaves still appeared sporadically that operated furtively, but which did not represent a danger to the monarchical regime.

In the period from 1814 to 1820, the elite reformed and located itself in the traditional economic sectors: mining exploitation and agricultural production. However, these groups allied to the regime sought greater autonomy. This was the reason why Aguascalientes viewed the Iguala Plan with enthusiasm; Later the capital city adhered to independence and shortly after the entire province. The change in position of the elite has not been sufficiently explained, however, perhaps the political skill of Celestino Negrete - at that time lieutenant general of the imperial army in San Luis Potosí, Jalisco and Zacatecas - was the true balance. He held constant negotiations with Franciscan religious, with some members of the Mixed Battalion and with several rich miners and merchants, among whom was Manuel de Rétegui. Everything seems to indicate that the talks were successful, since finally the favored groups adhered to the Iguala Plan, supporting the independence of Mexico.

During 1809 and 1821, three interesting processes are distinguished in Zacatecas territory: insurgency, counterinsurgency and independence. It is clear how the last process subsumed the previous ones. However, around 1821, the year in which Mexico achieved emancipation, where was the local insurgency? Exterminated. The insurgent remnants joined the independence dynamic with a low profile, merging with the triumphant group. In reality, it was the counterinsurgency that forged independence because those who took sides for the royalist cause were the ones who promoted, a decade later, the birth of a new nation.

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THE INSURGENCY IN GUADALAJARA AND THE END OF THE KINGDOM

Jaime Olveda, The College of Jalisco

THE CRISIS OF 1808

When Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain at the beginning of 1808, the municipalities that were part of New Spain were going through different situations. Guadalajara was going through a good time, since in the previous decade the authorities and the elite had managed to get Charles IV to authorize the founding of a university and a consulate, as well as the establishment of the first printing press, which strengthened regional awareness, and the union between peninsulars and criollos, unlike other parts, where both groups maintained tense relations. With these institutions and as a result of a long process, Guadalajara reinforced its functions as a political, ecclesiastical, educational, commercial and consumer center, which is why it had become an attractive pole for migrants from other parts of the viceroyalty and Spain.

Thanks to this economic rebound, both the Royal Treasury and the bishopric of Guadalajara received considerable income annually that allowed them to cover local needs. Ecclesiastical institutions, as is known, had been providing loans to owners for very long terms, which demonstrated confidence in times and people.

As happened in other American regions, the benefits that Guadalajara businessmen were obtaining from the Bourbon reforms were interrupted as soon as the first news arrived regarding the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808, which plunged the Spanish monarchy into a crisis, severe crisis that brought serious repercussions, among them, the illegitimate abdications of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII in favor of Joseph Bonaparte, considered by the Spaniards as violent and involuntary. These resignations were interpreted

¹ Although the studies that address the period of the Napoleonic invasion maintain

like the breaking of the pact that united the American subjects with the king. The alarming reports that arrived about the presence of the French army in the peninsula convulsed, confused and frightened all the subjects of the Spanish Crown. The consequent monarchical crisis was devastating because it unleashed a period of ungovernability in America, since the authorities could not govern with the support and legitimacy of before, which led to the disintegration of the Spanish empire and the beginning of a process of political modernization, which included claims, demands, and an intense debate of political concepts and principles. The responses that the municipalities gave to the invasion were not exactly the same, they depended on the problems that each one faced and the situation in which the elites found themselves.

In Spain, a part of these minorities, upon recognizing that sovereignty had been vacant, claimed the autonomy of their respective municipalities or cities and the right they had to form a board in charge of governing while the legitimate king was absent, relying on a principle of ancient law and also of modern political culture emanating from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that maintained that, in the absence or impediment of the monarch, sovereignty fell to the people or to the corporations that carry the public voice. In New Spain, the City Council of Mexico City took over the representation of the kingdom and, with the agreement of Viceroy José de Iturrigaray, proposed the installation of a Board independent of those that were being formed in Spain for the same purpose, a project that was opposed by the Audiencia, the consulate and the Spanish, considering that this could alter the established order and cause a rearrangement of classes that would have serious consequences. Another fear was that with the establishment of the Junta the possibility of "reaching the dangerous extreme of popular sovereignty" would open. To prevent this, the Court denied that in New Spain there was a main town with the right to meet in courts; What there was, according to his assessment, was a people subordinated by the colony status that New Spain maintained.²

The purpose of the Board that planned to create the City Council of Mexico City was to "fill as soon as possible the immense gap that exists between the ruling authorities and sovereignty," because none of them represented the

Although the crisis of the monarchy began with this invasion, in reality it began earlier, at least in October of the previous year, with the attempt by Fernando's supporters and Manuel Godoy's enemies to depose Charles IV.

² The Court considered that the meetings were dangerous because it was precisely the call for one of them in France that had unleashed the French revolution in 1789. Carlos Garriga, "Legal order and political power in the Old Regime", *Istor. Journal of International History* 4, no. 16 (Spring 2004): 66 and 71.

itself to New Spain nor was it empowered to exercise power.³ For the Audiencia, the dangerous thing about that Junta was that it was going to be headed by Creoles, who had been refusing to recognize any peninsular Junta as a depositary of sovereignty. The response to this project was not the same everywhere. In Guadalajara, for example, because the Spaniards and the Creoles were related and because they shared the positions of the Audiencia, the City Council and the Ecclesiastical Council, they opposed the project of the capital City Council considering that it was a form of rebellion, so they decided recognize the Junta of Seville as the depositary of sovereignty and remain faithful to Fernando VII, agreements that were communicated to Viceroy Iturrigaray and the Cabildo itself at the end of July 1808. The position of the government and the elite of this city responded to the desire not to alter the established order so as not to interrupt the economic rebound that the region had been experiencing since the end of the previous century. This also explains why the Audiencia or the City Council, given the autonomist tradition, did not propose establishing their own Board independent not only of those of Spain but of that of Mexico, because it must be remembered that all the American cities that hosted an Audiencia They installed it.

Between July and December 1808 there were many events in Guadalajara to ratify loyalty to Fernando VII; In addition, several remittances of money were sent to Spain to help the Peninsulars expel the French. One of those who contributed the most was Bishop Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas, who on September 6 informed the president of the Supreme Board of Spain and the Indies that the ecclesiastical authorities of Guadalajara offered, in addition to deep respect, submission and obedience, cooperate in the defense of the peninsula invaded by "the perfidious Napoleon." This same day, the ecclesiastical chapter sent a lengthy letter to the Junta of Seville in which it considered the abdications null and void, ratified its fidelity to the king and communicated the sending of 60,000 pesos to help expel the Napoleonic army. Those responsible for the convents of Guadalajara and the parishes of the bishopric also informed Bishop Cabañas of their willingness to contribute financially to the defense of Spain and the monarch. The displays of solidarity to which they bore witness were a

³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁴ Jaime Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence: the war in the region of Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2011), p. 72.

⁵ Jaime Olveda, "Guadalajara in 1808. Ferdinandism, union, religion and fidelity." *Historical signs* 1, no. 20 (2008): pp. 22-23.

⁶ Jaime Olveda, *Documents on the insurgency insurgency. Diocese of Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Ministry of Culture / Government of Jalisco / Archdiocese of Guadalajara, 2009), pp. 23-69.

response to the fear they felt that unity would be broken, that Napoleon would invade New Spain, that religion would be attacked and that the economic growth that Guadalajara had been experiencing would be interrupted. Starting in August, the Court received minutes from different towns in the mayor's office in which they ratified their adherence to the captive monarch. Even in many places, military detachments were formed under the name of Volunteers of Ferdinand VII to defend him from "the evil of the French." Van Young explains that throughout New Spain there was a messianic veneration for Ferdinand VII because the rural masses had a protective and patriarchal tradition of government that influenced support for the king.⁸

The fidelity to Fernando VII and the interest in not altering the order in the mayor's office was evident, once again, as there was no person involved in the conspiracies of Querétaro and del Bajío between 1809 and 1810, which they attended. the Creoles who insisted on forming the Board after the dismissal of José de Iturrigaray. By opposing its creation, the Spanish did not provide a solution to the monarchical crisis, which caused the outbreak of the insurrection and the weakening of the bond with the Spanish monarchy.

The constant displays of loyalty shown by the inhabitants of the municipality, especially those of Guadalajara, indicate that the cities, being the seat of power and the elites, were not centers of insurrection that would have endangered the established order. unlike in the countryside, where the displeasure of a large sector of the population was expressed.

CRY OF PAIN AND THE SEIZURE OF GUADALAJARA

Traditional historiography has continued to maintain that the insurrection that Miguel Hidalgo began in the town of Dolores in the early morning of September 16, 1810, from the beginning incited the people of New Spain to join it to achieve the independence of the nation, as we now understand. both concepts; In other words, from the beginning the priest proposed, like the people who followed him, to separate northern America from Spain in order to see it free from oppression, for which they were willing to sacrifice their lives. Viewed this way, it implies recognizing the existence of a political modernity that opened the doors to a new order. This thesis raises several doubts, among them, whether it is real-

⁷ Olveda, "Guadalajara in 1808", p. 26.

⁸ See Timothy Anna, *El imperio de Iturbide* (Mexico: Conaculta/Alianza, 1991), p. 30.

There was clearly a common homeland shared by all the inhabitants of the kingdom that would have pushed the entire population to achieve this purpose. In this regard, it is worth asking: would the homeland of the Creole be the same as that of the Indian, that of the black or that of the mestizo? Of course not. The latest studies have shown that the Hidalgo insurrection was rather a continuation of the plan that the Creoles of 1808 set out to achieve, that is, the creation of a Junta independent of those of Spain, but without breaking away from the monarchy. Now no one can deny that the rebellion was promoted by the Creoles to achieve power, in whose beginnings they showed loyalty to the motherland and little concern for the problems that afflicted other groups.⁹

Several authors, including Van Young, have argued that within this rebellion two simultaneous movements can be distinguished: that of the Creoles, who initially sought a political space with the formation of a self-government, which later led to the independence; and that of the popular or subaltern groups, which defended the tradition altered by Bourbon reformism and the political practices of the Indian republics. The first eventually tended to the construction of a nation State; the second, to the protection of the uses and customs of indigenous communities. Both, this author clarifies, came together ideologically.¹⁰

The Hidalgo uprising convulsed the entire viceroyalty because from the beginning it overflowed into a popular revolution that attacked the private property and lives of the Spaniards, who were considered the greatest enemies of the Creoles, who had to be exterminate; That is why the war began accompanied by hatred towards them and the collapse of the monarchy. The impact of the war was not the same in all regions. There were municipalities that were more damaged than others, as well as within them, due to several factors, among others, the distribution of the population. A census or register close to 1810 that allows us to know the number of inhabitants of the Guadalajara mayor's office is the one prepared by José Menéndez Valdés between 1789 and 1793, which gives the figure of 331,986 inhabitants.¹¹ In the case of this

⁹ For Severo Martínez Peláez, the insurgency was the seizure of power by the Creoles who constituted a half-dominant class in a situation of subordination.

The homeland of the criollo (Mexico: FCE, 2012), p. 36.

¹⁰ Eric van Young, «The antimodern moment. Localism and insurgency in Mexico, 1810-1821», in *The New Spanish Revolution, 1808-1821*, ed. by Antonio Annino (Mexico: Center for Economic Research and Teaching/National Institute), p. 233.

¹¹ Description and General Census of the Municipality of Guadalajara, 1789-1793 (Guadalajara: UNED, 1980).

jurisdiction it can be observed that the areas where the war reached greater intensity were those with the highest population density and where commercial agriculture was developed, which was reflected in the pressure on the land and in other social conflicts. Of the 26 parties, those that stood out demographically were those located in the south and in what we now identify as the Altos region. Sayula, for example, registered 47,360 inhabitants, more than Guadalajara (24,249) or Aguascalientes (25,757). The population of Lagos district amounted to 37,048 inhabitants.

The most convulsive parties in the municipality were Sayula, Lagos, La Barca, Aguascalientes, Guadalajara, Juchipila and Zapotlán el Grande. On the other hand, the districts with fewer inhabitants such as Santa María del Oro, San Cristóbal, Tala, Ahuacatlán, San Sebastián and Sentispac suffered less from the ravages of the war (see table 1).

In general terms, when the insurrection broke out in the municipality of Guadalajara, social tensions had not become more dangerous, except in the districts that had the largest population, where the boost that commercial agriculture had achieved had generated certain agrarian problems and changes in the lifestyle of peasants. Although, on the other hand, it must be recognized that starting in 1808 the price of corn had been increasing, which affected a good part of the population. In this year, the administrator of the Guadalajara warehouse bought 8,000 bushels from the Zapotlán el Grande *dezmatorio* to ensure urban consumption in this capital, and the corn was sold in this warehouse in small quantities to avoid speculation; its extraction outside the limits of the municipality for more than one bushel was also prohibited.¹² As the mixed groups (Indians, mestizos, mulattoes and castes) that were formed and joined the uprising for different reasons were the most affected, they raised some social demands within the rebellion that tended in some cases to return to the order destroyed by the Bourbon reforms.

The outbreak of violence broke order and unleashed a collective fear that especially put the government and the elites on edge. This is how the news of the uprising in Guadalajara was received on September 19. Mayor Roque Abarca immediately communicated the event to the subdelegates, ordered that a small military detachment monitor the limits of the mayor's office with that of Guanajuato and that the owners of the estates near Guadalajara arm their workers to prevent this capital from falling into hands of the rebels, who from the beginning were considered supporters of

¹² Municipal Historical Archive of Guadalajara (AHMG), package 22, files 68 and 83.

TABLE 1. GENERAL STATE OF THE POPULATION
OF THE PROVINCE OF GUADALAJARA 1789-1793

MATCHES	POPULATION
1. Sayula	47 360
2. Lagos	37 048
3. The Boat	33 037
4. Aguascalientes	25 757
5. Guadalajara	24 249
6. Juchipila	21 767
7. Zapotlán the Great	21 092
8. Aulán de la Grana	16 774
9. Ahualulco	10 714
10. San Felipe de Cuquío	10 650
11. Tepatlán	10 478
12. Cuachinango	10 443
13. Amula	7 618
14. Santiago de Tlajomulco	5 938
15. Bolaños	5 676
16. Hostotipaquillo	5 505
17. Tancitaro	5 447
18. Tepic	5 015
19. Tequila	4 417
20. Tonalá	4 198
21. Santa María del Oro	3 868
22. San Cristóbal	3 500
23. Pelling	3 497
24. Ahuacatlán	3 233
25. San Sebastián	2 914
26. Sentispac	1 791
Total	331 986

Source: Menéndez Valdés, *Description and General Census*. For more detail on the various groups, see table 8 of the chapter "Population evolution in the 18th century."

Napoleon.¹³ At the request of the Court, the Superior Auxiliary Board of Government, Security and Defense was formed, in charge of coordinating precautionary measures and reinforcing loyalty to Fernando VII. One of his first actions was to collect weapons, horses and saddles to equip the battalions in charge of repelling any invasion by the insurgents. The members of the elite, for their part, also frightened by the popular tone of the rebellion, formed nine patrols in charge of monitoring the city at night to prevent robberies and other criminal acts.

¹³ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, pp. 121-122.

In reality, all corporations took their own precautions. The City Council, for example, ordered on October 3 that the warehouse buy corn in advance in order to ensure supply for the urban market the following year and prevent the rebels from taking over the crops; Likewise, he ordered that the landowners in the supplying area send the corn to the warehouse.¹⁴

The government's actions were reinforced by those undertaken by Bishop Juan Cruz Ruiz de Cabañas, who immediately condemned the rebellion for attacking the two fundamental values: the altar and the throne, that is, God and the king. In the same month of September he instructed all the parish priests of his diocese to keep an eye on their parishioners. In addition, he formed the La Cruzada battalion with members of the regular and secular clergy to reinforce the protection of the city.¹⁵ In a letter he sent to the members of the ecclesiastical council on October 6, he urged them to collaborate financially to stop the advances of the insurrection. .¹⁶

When the news was received in the ranches, haciendas, towns and villages of the mayor's office, many men certainly armed themselves and began to tour their respective regions, but they did not do so with the purpose of fighting for independence, nor were they under orders from Hidalgo. Each one did it for different reasons, seeking different goals and acting on their own behalf. They were rustic individuals who were dissatisfied with the way of governing in recent times or who had outstanding debts with justice, and who in the previous two years had been hit by agricultural crises. I agree with Van Young in the sense that the behavior, aspirations and political discourse of these groups, generally of rural origin, were traditional or, if you prefer, premodern." More than insurgents with clear ideals, they were guerrillas who, from From the beginning of the insurrection they began to fight against any sign of exploitation to justify their actions and make their way in a war that they soon turned into a way of life. It was a popular insurgency subscribed to a small local sphere, more than independence or

nationalist, as This type of risky, intuitive guerrillas appeared everywhere in the municipality, willing to take advantage of the convulsive times in

¹⁴ AHMG, package 24, files 53 and 95.

¹⁵ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁶ Historical Archive of the Ecclesiastical Council of Guadalajara (AHCEG), section Government, Secretariat series, file 335.

¹⁷ «The antimodern moment», p. 235.

those who, due to the weakening of the principle of authority, could not be controlled. Here it is worth mentioning Gordiano Guzmán, the Indian Candelario, and others who operated in the southern region and in other areas of the municipality.

The outbreak of the Hidalgo insurrection gave rise to a period of violence and insecurity in which the entire population went through experiences never before experienced, such as persecutions, unfounded accusations, robberies, forced conscriptions and imprisonments without prior trials. Shortly after Dolores' cry, for example, Juan José Contreras, a soldier of the Nueva Galicia provincial regiment, was arrested in Lagos for having found among his things several jewelry that he had stolen in the company of other individuals. In his statement he maintained that they belonged to his mother and that he had always been a man of good conduct.¹⁸ The number of cases of women detained unjustifiably was very high. Many of them were imprisoned for the simple fact of being the sister, wife or mother of a rebel.¹⁹

As Guadalajara was a very important political center, it appeared on the list of cities that the insurgents planned to take over. After Hidalgo took control of Guanajuato, he authorized José Antonio Torres, the Master, to take the capital of ancient Nueva Galicia. Torres entered through Zacoalco, where many dissatisfied Indians joined him due to the consequences that the agrarian problems derived from the development of commercial agriculture were generating. With a large contingent, on November 4, he defeated 1,200 soldiers who left Guadalajara under the command of Tomás Ignacio Villaseñor.²⁰ In this confrontation, as in many others in the initial part of the insurrection, stones were the weapons that the rebels used the most in combat, which confirms that it was a rustic war for the way of fighting and the weapons used.

The defeat of Villaseñor and that also suffered by the judge of the Court, Juan José Recacho, due to the direction of La Barca, made the inhabitants of Guadalajara nervous, especially the Spaniards, who had already received news of the massacre, and the seizure of the assets of peninsular residents living in Guanajuato and Valladolid. The fear consisted in the fact that these same events were

¹⁸ General Archive of the Nation (AGN), Infidences, vol. 22, exp. 12.

¹⁹ Olveda, «Between persecution and death. Insurgent Women», in *Insurgent Women*, ed. by Diego Bugeda and Juan Manuel Ramáirez Vâelez (Mexico: Senate of the Republic, 2010).

²⁰ After the triumph he obtained in Zacoalco, Torres seized the goods of several Spanish merchants who resided in the southern towns, especially those of Sayula. Many of them lost their lives, among them, Francisco Antonio Feleche, cashier of Felipe Pérez Vega, a merchant in this town. AGI, Guadalajara, 422.

would be repeated in Guadalajara if the rebels took over the square. The panic was such that around 200 Spanish merchants decided to leave the city so as not to risk losing their lives, among them, Bishop Cabañas. They hurriedly headed in a caravan to the port of San Blas with the purpose of embarking for Acapulco and then moving to Mexico City.²¹ Other rich peninsulars who lived in the party headquarters did the same. Mayor Roque Abarca was no less distressed, and to prevent the looting, he asked Canon Pedro Díaz Escandón to transfer to the Royal Treasury the funds belonging to the king that were deposited in the cathedral's keystone. The amount was not insignificant: 55,966 pesos that until then had been collected from the two ninths of the tithe that corresponded to the monarch, 19,752 pesos in favor of the royal hospital and 20,000 that the bishop and the canons had contributed to cover the expenses of war. As this transfer was within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical chapter and the circumstances did not allow the canons to reach an agreement, they were not transferred.²²

As the seizure of Guadalajara was imminent, the City Council sent José Ignacio Cañedo and Rafael Villaseñor to negotiate with Master Torres the surrender of the city peacefully. Once the negotiations were done, this ringleader entered Guadalajara on November 11 "with the greatest order and respect," but not Miguel Gómez Portugal, who entered through the Zapopan checkpoint, committing many arbitrary acts. In the following days the same thing happened when the contingents of Ignacio Navarro, Ildefonso Blancas and Mariano Suárez arrived.²³ The concentration of several leaders with their respective groups caused serious disagreements between them regarding who should exercise supreme command. Tensions worsened because both Torres and Gómez Portugal commissioned different individuals to insurrection in the same region of the mayor's office. The first of them, for example, commissioned José María Mercado to take over Tepic and the port of San Blas, while the second appointed José María González Hermosillo, but with the task of extending the insurrection to the internal western provinces. It is worth remembering that the vast majority of armed groups that emerged in other parts of the municipality, such as in the mountains of Nayarit, did not follow Hidalgo's instructions.

Starting on November 11, the rhythm and daily life in Guadalajara became unhinged due to the concentration of numerous groups of rebels who

²¹ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, pp. 132-133.

²² AHCEG, Government section, Secretariat series, file 335.

²³ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, p. 135.

They caused serious problems related to accommodation, food, health and public safety. The supply of meat, for example, was interrupted because the person in charge of supplying it, Pedro Gutiérrez de la Higuera, fled to San Blas and the cattle he had purchased from the owners of the El Cabezón hacienda were seized by Amo Torres.²⁴ In order not to do it by force, but following Hidalgo's instructions, Torres ordered the City Council to form a commission in charge of confiscating the property of the Spanish;²⁵ also ordered that all the places in the courts and offices occupied by peninsulars be filled by notable and trustworthy Creoles to be in line with the purposes of the insurrection.

Although Ignacio Allende - located in Guanajuato - opposed Hidalgo stationed in Valladolid moving to Guadalajara because he was left defenseless and at the mercy of Calleja's army, the priest of Dolores decided to go to this city not so much to resolve the problem of command that kept the leaders who had gathered here divided, but for other more powerful reasons: the importance that this capital had for being the seat of a Court, for the money that circulated, for the taxes that were concentrated here, because there were a printing press and, finally, because it was the door to spread the insurrection throughout the northwest of New Spain.

He arrived in Guadalajara on November 26, when a part of the wealthy Spaniards had abandoned the city to avoid the risk of losing their lives. The peninsular people who stayed and the corporations, including the ecclesiastical council, the consulate and the faculty of the University of Guadalajara, welcomed him, but not because they sympathized with the insurrection, but to flatter him and prevent him from repeating the same thing that he had done in Guanajuato and in Valladolid. Since the beginning of the insurrection, Hidalgo was always under pressure to get the money to pay the salaries of the people who accompanied him. That is why as soon as he arrived in this city he ordered the remission of all the funds that were in the mining estates near this capital, apart from demanding forced contributions from the large landowners and ordering the seizure of the assets of the Spanish.²⁶

From November 26 to mid-January 1811, the insurrection was concentrated in Guadalajara and Calleja's repression was directed towards this city.

²⁴ AHMG, package 24, file 42.

²⁵ From the beginning of the insurrection, Hidalgo announced that it was going to be supported by the assets of the Spanish, whom he considered to be staunch enemies of the Creoles.

²⁶ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, pp. 138-142.

The presence of the Hidalgo army and other groups of armed men who continued to arrive intensified the problems related to food supply, lodging, health and public safety. According to some estimates, nearly one hundred thousand men were concentrated here. Such agglomeration required the owners of the surrounding haciendas and ranches to send a greater quantity of corn and livestock, which caused other populations to resent the shortage and the increase in prices of these products. As there were few public buildings, the rebels settled in the streets, on the sidewalks, in the squares, in the atriums and on the outskirts of the city; which caused, apart from the saturation, serious health problems to arise due to the accumulation of human and animal feces. Furthermore, the inhabitants could no longer leave their homes simply because they could not walk and to avoid any incident that put personal safety at risk. 27 As might be expected, the rhythm of daily life was interrupted when all public and private businesses were suspended.

Greater disruption was caused by the confiscation of the Spanish assets due to all the irregularities that this embargo generated and the ruin it meant for the majority of the merchants, as well as the imprisonment and then the murder of between 500 and 700 peninsulars ordered by Gentleman. 28 Among the prisoners were even some clerics such as Canon Francisco Cerpa, who was defended by the ecclesiastical chapter in a letter he sent to the priest of Dolores on December 15, in which they asked for his release. 29 Both things, that is, the seizure and the murder, caused the elite to feel aggrieved and insecure, and longed for Calleja's arrival to rescue the plaza.

Among the many anomalies that were recorded during the days in which the merchandise of large merchants was confiscated were the alteration of inventories, the loss of many products and clandestine sales. Other individuals took advantage of the death of some businessmen to affirm

27 Jaime Olveda, «The presence of the insurgents in Guadalajara, 1810-1811», *Mexican History* 59, no. 1 (2009): 365-369.

28 Several Spaniards who lived in other parts of the municipality lost part of his heritage and life. For example, Pedro Montón, a miner from the Cuale area, was murdered by the rebels from that area. Santiago González, a resident of Atotonilco, was beheaded by the rebels. AGI, Guadalajara, 422.

29 The response that Hidalgo gave to this request gives an idea of the firmness of his resolutions: «I have never considered myself under an obligation to participate in V.S.I. the reasons for my procedures, and much less did I expect the liberty that has been taken in asking me for satisfaction in matters peculiar to my company. AHCEG, Government section, Secretariat series, file 335.

Well, they had paid the deceased a certain amount of the debt they owed him. All of these irregularities were committed due to the suspension of the rules that governed the business world.

As Guadalajara was the city where Hidalgo stayed the longest, he had the opportunity to reorganize the rebellion and dictate some measures that he had not been able to apply before due to the pressure of circumstances. That is why your stay in this capital is important. Among the most outstanding agreements are the publication of the first insurgent newspaper, *El Despertador Americano*, whose influence has been exaggerated by traditional historiography;³⁰ the sides that abolished the tributes paid by the Indians and slavery, equally weighted, because at least captivity remained in force until well into the independent stage;³¹ the formation of a national government, that is, an alternate one, as the autonomist Creoles had been insisting since 1808; and, finally, the sending of a plenipotentiary minister to the United States to obtain moral and economic support.

The previous affairs and the procedures that he undertook daily to raise as much money as possible, monopolized the attention and energy of Hidalgo, so he dedicated little time to disciplining and exercising the troops concentrated in Guadalajara that would face Calleja, who had been advancing from Guanajuato towards this city. On the other hand, the training of the troops was not possible because the majority of the groups that composed it resisted carrying out any type of exercises. On November 28, he ordered that the funds belonging to the king that were deposited in the cathedral keystone be transferred to the royal coffers. On January 3, its commissioner, the war auditor and judge of the Court, Pedro Alcántara Avendaño, had a meeting with the ecclesiastical council to specify the details of the delivery of all the money that was in the key store as a loan, patriotic, but that did not have a planned investment, an amount that would later be covered by the National Fund. Two days later, the key makers Toribio González, Alejo de la Cueva and José María Villaseñor reported that the funds from the key shop were 61,230 pesos and two reales from the gross and tithes, 57,552 pesos and seven reales from the factory fund, 2,750. of anniversary capitals and 34,000 pesos of bills that are difficult to collect; Furthermore, they notified

³⁰ See Jaime Olveda, *The insurgent and counterinsurgent press, 1810-1813: El Despertador Americano and El Telégrafo de Guadalupe* (Guadalajara: Instituto Cultural Ignacio Dávila Garibí, 2010).

³¹ Presidents Guadalupe Victoria and Vicente Guerrero promulgated a decree abolishing slavery in Mexico again, indicating that Hidalgo's side was not fulfilled by the slaveholders.

that on the afternoon of the 3rd, 56,587 pesos and six and a half reales had already been stolen from the fund for chaplaincies and pious works, along with 77,000 in capital and revenues that were in charge of the vacancy collector. Not all of the amounts indicated were delivered to the rebels because the Cabildo demonstrated that some had a prompt investment, that is, that they were already destined to cover the immediate needs of institutions that had a social function such as hospitals, schools and convents. On January 13, shortly before moving to Puente de Calderón to face Calleja, Hidalgo received from the ecclesiastical council a donation of 20,000 pesos to cover the nation's emergencies, belonging to the heavy industry, an amount collected by its commissioner, Pedro Alcantara.³²

Hidalgo always believed that the large number of men was decisive in obtaining victory, more than military discipline; This is contrary to the opinion of Ignacio Allende, who from the beginning opposed the indiscriminate incorporation of individuals without any military experience because this led to indiscipline. To wait for Calleja in Puente de Calderón, nearly one hundred thousand men divided into different groups, each with their respective leader and flag or standard, left Guadalajara on January 14 at noon. The heterogeneity of the troops, poor equipment and lack of unity of command were the main weaknesses. According to the statements of some neighbors, when the insurgents left, the image projected by the city was bleak because the public buildings, streets and squares were semi-destroyed due to overcrowding; Even the cobblestones of the streets had suffered great deterioration due to the constant traffic of men, horses and carts.³³

The battle of Puente de Calderón was the most important of those that Hidalgo fought between September 1810 and March 1811, when he was captured in the waterwheels of Acatita de Baján, province of Coahuila. Firstly, because of the large contingent that was concentrated there, because of the artillery that was used and, most importantly, because it meant the end of the Hidalgo rebellion. In other words: what began in the town of Dolores ended in the vicinity of Guadalajara. What happened in Puente de Calderón on January 17 was disastrous for the rebels. After just over five hours of combat, Calleja achieved not exactly a formal victory, but rather the flight or dispersion of the insurgents when a homemade grenade exploded in a rebel gunpowder cart.³⁴ The royalist brigadier hid this incident in the military report that

³² AHCEG, Government section, Secretariat series, file 335.

³³ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, p. 167.

³⁴ See Jaime Olveda, *The Battle of Puente de Calderón* (Zapopan: El Colegio de Jalisco / Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo-Instituto de

He directed Viceroy Venegas and reported having achieved an absolute victory with the purpose of increasing his prestige and so that the news would have a psychological impact on the population, implying that the insurrection was over.

THE RECOVERY OF GUADALAJARA

After the battle of Puente de Calderón, Félix María Calleja arrived in Guadalajara on January 21. The same corporations and the fraction of the elite that welcomed Hidalgo received the royalist brigadier, but with greater enthusiasm, because they saw in him their savior. From now on, Guadalajara would no longer fall into the hands of the insurgents. Calleja's work consisted of restoring the previous order, that is, he reestablished the authorities that Master Torres and the insurgent priest had deposed. Many individuals who had received commissions from the rebels came before him to ask for clemency, arguing that they had been forced to accept such responsibilities; among them, Francisco Severo Maldonado, who offered to publish a new newspaper that defended the royalist cause: *El Telégrafo de Guadaluajara*...

Calleja dismissed Roque Abarca for being negligent and lacking in character and, in his Instead, he appointed José de la Cruz, in charge of rescuing the port of San Blas. He also instructed the Security Board to undertake rigorous trials against all those accused of the crime of infidelity. Due to the drastic orders of the royalist brigadier, many men who attended the battle of Puente de Calderón took advantage of the pardon offered by the government on April 6. The Audience drew up the lists of those who accepted the pardon in exchange for laying down their arms and ratifying their fidelity to the king and the courts before the aforementioned board. The majority of those pardoned were married men from the towns of Tlaltenango, San Pedro Ocotlán, Teocaltiche, Zapotiltic, Zapotlán el Grande and Tuxpan.³⁵

On Calleja's instructions, a board was also formed in charge of recovering the assets seized by the rebels, whose long and cumbersome procedures reveal the multiple irregularities committed by those who carried out this task, as well as the depositaries. Usually no one recovered them in full; Some widows spent their lives demanding their return without being able to obtain good results due to the same circumstances of the war.³⁶

Historical Investigations, 2008).

³⁵ ARA, Criminal branch, box 33, exp. 1.

³⁶ For example, Francisca Sánchez, wife of Francisco Vicente Partearroyo, together with her husband's partners, granted a power of attorney to Juan Bautista de Ugarte, factor of the Durango Tobacco Revenue, to process the return of several

Although the plaza was handed over to the rebels to avoid the havoc that occurred in Guanajuato and Valladolid, in the end Guadalajara was more damaged than the previous two, as has been seen, due to the seizure of the assets of the Spanish and for the murder of at least half a thousand of them.

The mayor of Guadalajara was not pacified after the battle of Puente de Calderón and the rescue of its capital by Calleja. Once this brigadier attacked and recovered Zacatecas on April 14,³⁷ several groups of insurgents fled from that mining city to the region of the Juchipila canyon, which caused serious headaches for the mayor and military commander José de la Cruz, who could not control them due to lack of soldiers, since he had sent a detachment to La Barca and another to Colima to pursue other rebels.³⁸ Above all, Teocaltiche and Juchipila required special attention from the government to protect Colotlán.³⁹ Another very dangerous focus was the south, whose populations were constantly besieged by groups of guerrillas, among whom those led by the brothers Francisco and Gordiano Guzmán stood out. Colonel Manuel del Río reported almost daily to De la Cruz about the attacks suffered by the inhabitants of this area and those of Colima. He also reported that those who were captured received more or less considerable loot with which he rewarded the royalist soldiers.⁴⁰

One of the first impressions that José de la Cruz had when he took charge of the mayor's government was that the Spaniards living in Guadalajara were not collaborating either economically or militarily to quell the insurrection, de-leaving all responsibility to the royalist army. As the human and economic resources were not enough to stop the revolutionary advance, one of his initial measures was to offer a pardon to the rebels through the February

23 faction, in exchange for them handing over their weapons within a period of eight days, but the results were not what was expected. The mayor's pacifist work was reinforced by the publications that were published in Guadalajara to highlight the havoc that the rebels had caused when they were in the city with the purpose of discrediting the insurrection, which they presented as a popular riot. The Guadalajara newspaper *El Telégrafo* also had

silver bars confiscated by the rebels, which had been recovered by the royalists and were deposited in the treasury of Saltillo. AHJ, Books of Notaries, protocol of José Antonio Mallén, volume 12, February 1, 1812.

³⁷ On the events in Zacatecas, see the previous chapter.

³⁸ AGN, War Operations, vol. 145, fs. 79-80.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, fs. 134-136.

⁴⁰ *La Gazeta de México*, March 5, 1812.

⁴¹ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, p. 217.

this purpose. When these papers were circulating, news was received of the arrest of Hidalgo and the other leaders of the rebellion, which was used to imply that everything was over and that peace would be restored immediately.

Since after Hidalgo's death the royalist army did not know how to take advantage of its technical advantage, its access to weapons and ammunition, or its tactical knowledge, it could not prevent the appearance of new armed groups.⁴² The guerrilla war that was presented to him was new for him, and its great extension over the territory made it difficult for a regular army to respond. Furthermore, some royalist officers were confident that the rebellion would disintegrate without the leadership of the clergy.⁴³

Another resource used by royalist commanders to stop the advance of the insurrection was to promptly communicate to the public the defeats that the rebels had suffered. In these reports, the data were inflated to convince the population that the king's weapons were invincible. This is what De la Cruz did, through *El Telégrafo de Guadalajara* or loose sheets; In one of them, Notice to the Public, of February 13, 1813, he communicated with joy and "to the satisfaction of the public" the defeat that the groups of José Sixto Verduzco, Muñiz, Suárez and other leaders had suffered at the end of the previous month, from whom twenty cannons were collected. As can be seen in this case, it is difficult to believe that these groups have brought such a large number of cannons, even of small caliber.

De la Cruz did everything possible to maintain order in the mayor's office and To do this, he sent his best men to pursue the armed groups that were everywhere, to whom he ordered: "we are going to spread terror and death everywhere, and ensure that no wicked person remains on earth."⁴⁵ But, above all, he made special efforts to ensure that the route from San Blas to Guadalajara was kept clean of rebels so as not to interrupt the supply of imported goods that were unloaded at that port. It is necessary not to lose sight of the fact that De la Cruz and his subordinates did not confront leaders with well-defined programs or with

⁴² Christon Archer, «Soldiers on the continental scene: the Spanish expeditionaries and the war of New Spain, 1810-1825», in *Military forces in Ibero-America, 18th and 19th centuries*, coord. by Juan Ortiz Escamilla (Mexico: The Colegio de México/El Colegio de Michoacán/Universidad Veracruzana, 2005), pp. 141-142.

⁴³ Nancy M. Farris, *The Crown and the clergy in colonial Mexico, 1579-1821. The crisis of ecclesiastical privilege* (Mexico: FCE, 1995), p. 195.

⁴⁴ AGN, War Operations, vol. 149, exp. 3. 4.

⁴⁵ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, p. 220.

clear and precise political ideas like López Rayón, Liceaga or Verduzco, but rather groups composed of rustic men who had armed themselves under pressure from the same circumstances, who may well fall into Eric Hobsbawm's category of primitive rebels. As has already been said, the majority acted on their own account, within a restricted scope and, at the time, outside the provisions of Hidalgo, the Junta of Zitácuaro or Morelos. According to some reports from royalist officers, these groups were only dedicated to the theft of cattle and horses. When they were attacked, in addition to weapons, horses, cattle and saddles were confiscated in considerable quantities. For example, the groups led by Sanromán, Rafael Muñoz, Gordiano Guzmán and Luévano were accused of this crime.⁴⁶

The theft of cattle collapsed the supply of meat to Guadalajara, and that of horses posed serious problems to the authorities and the royalist army. Years later, at the beginning of January 1814, De la Cruz reported to the viceroy that due to the shortage of horses he could not fight all the armed groups of the mayor's office.⁴⁷ The following year, the City Council was forced to order the embargo of 20 mules to drive 19 and a half loads of sealed paper, bulls and medicines to the port of San Blas.⁴⁸

Since José de la Cruz rescued the port of San Blas at the beginning of 1811, a very active trade began to be recorded with Panama and the Philippines, and even more so when Morelos blockaded Acapulco.⁴⁹ Thanks to this commercial movement, the majority of Guadalajara businessmen were able to recover from the losses they suffered with the embargo ordered by Hidalgo when he was in Guadalajara; Starting in 1812, the merchants of this city supplied many merchandise to various regions of New Spain. Since this year, and while other areas of New Spain were devastated by the war, merchant companies formed by several investors excited by the benefits that this port was generating multiplied in this city.⁵⁰ Per

⁴⁶ La Gazeta de México, January 23, 1816.

⁴⁷ AGN, War Operations, vol. 140, f. 109.

⁴⁸ AHMG, package 30, leg. 14.

⁴⁹ The deputies of Guadalajara before the Spanish courts also sought benefits for this area. In May 1811, José Simón de Uría proposed that Tepic and San Blas had the same rights as Córdoba and Orizaba. Manuel Chust, "The Constitution of Cádiz", in Doceañosmos, constitutions and independences. The Constitution of 1812 and America, coord. by Manuel Chust (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 2006), p. 106.

⁵⁰ For example, in early 1812, Manuel Capetillo and Joseph Francisco renewed a company that they had dissolved in 1810, in which they invested almost 28,000

For example, Diego Cándano and Toribio Alonso Suárez bought a genre report from Buenaventura Bonfill that amounted to more than 31,000 pesos to be paid in monthly installments of 5,000 pesos. In addition, customs revenues were used to cover war expenses elsewhere. As the commandery in charge of De la Cruz included the provinces of Zacatecas and Valladolid, he was forced to send money, weapons and merchandise to the royalists of Acapulco and the mayor of Michoacán.⁵² On February 18, 1814, for example, De la Cruz informed the viceroy that Pedro Celestino Negrete had gone to Valladolid to confer with Ciriaco del Llano and that he took with him 40,000 pesos to cover part of the expenses of the war in that municipality.⁵³

Thanks to the discretionary management of the taxes collected in San Blas, De la Cruz created his power base. In several military reports sent to the viceroy he was accused of amassing a great fortune, a version that he naturally denied. The force that he was concentrating and the use of these resources put him at odds with Calleja when he was already viceroy, but he could do nothing against him due to the support that the elite gave him, which was pleased to maintain order in the San mercantile circuit. Blas-Guadalajara. On repeated occasions, the merchants of Veracruz asked and pressured Calleja to order the closure of the business in San Blas. Although the viceroy ordered it, De la Cruz refused to comply with the order, arguing that if it was suppressed, the payment of the salaries of the royalist army could not be covered.

De la Cruz took refuge in the interruption of communication imposed by the rebels to proceed independently. At first this disconnection disconcerted him because he could not receive weapons or gunpowder from Mexico, but later he understood that this was in his favor. In a letter he sent to Venegas on July 2, 1812, he told him that he had not received any communication from him for 95 days, and that since he had learned that a convoy heading to Guadalajara was in Querétaro, he would send an escort to León to guard it so that it could reach its destination with the correspondence that was necessary to act together.⁵⁴

pesos. AHJ, Books of notaries, Protocol of José Antonio Mallén, volume 12, January 4, 1812.

⁵¹ Ibid., volume 13, September 2, 1814.

⁵² Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, p. 296.

⁵³ AGN, War Operations, vol. 150, fs. 78-80. The authorities of this city They had spent between February 6, 1811 and December 1813 the sum of 29,623 pesos and three reales on defense works. Casa de Morelos Historical Archive, doc. 300.

⁵⁴ AGN, War Operations, vol. 140, f. 90.

He sent his best officers to the two most convulsive points: the Comanja mountain range (between Lagos and León), dominated by Pedro Moreno, and the southern region, where many sheaves operated. In the first region he had the valuable help of Hermenegildo Revuelta, and in the second with Rosendo Porlier, Ángel Linares and Luis Quintanar, among others.⁵⁵ These officers with resources from each locality and with the help of patriotic neighbors persecuted any group who stole cattle or anything from ranches, haciendas and towns.

The image that De la Cruz projected was that of a strong man, tireless and determined to exterminate any outbreak of rebellion that altered order in the administration he governed. The prolonged fight against the rebels irritated the commander, and exhausted sources of financing and other resources such as weapons, horses and gunpowder. As time passed, forced loans and extraordinary contributions imposed on individuals and the clergy became more frequent and burdensome,⁵⁶ which tired those who met these demands. Desperate due to the spread of so many groups of rebels, he sent for Bishop Cabañas, who, as has been seen, had abandoned his diocese before the arrival of the rebels in Guadalajara. The prelate arrived in this city on March 12, 1812; A few days later, on April 4, he published a pastoral in which he recognized and thanked the patriotism of the faithful who were fighting the insurrectionists.⁵⁷ Four months later Upon his arrival, the Constitution of Cádiz began to be

distributed. Almost at the same time that Cabañas returned to the seat of his bishopric, the insurrection of the towns on the Chapala shore began, provoked by different reasons. Since it broke out in the middle of the insurgent war, it has been identified as part of it because, as has been stated, it was aimed at obtaining independence. The reasons rather responded to agrarian problems and the administration of justice. José Santana, Encarnación Rosas and Marcos Castellanos were the leaders of this rebellion. The last of them proposed to build a fort on the island of Mezcala, which was besieged by José de la Cruz's officers, but with adverse results for the royalists. The islanders were able to resist for a long time because at night, circumventing the

55 Jaime Olveda, «José de la Cruz and the war in the mayor's office of Guadalajara, 1811-1821. Between extermination and pardon», in *The commanders and the war of independence* (Mexico: Colegio de Jalisco, 2011), p. 76.

56 Through the decree of February 24, 1812, for example, a ten percent pension was established on the proceeds of the rental of houses for a period of one year to cover the expenses of the war, but after the period expired, continuous. BMM, Mexico, laws, decrees, Miscellany, single volume, doc. 30.

57 Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, p. 252.

surveillance of the besiegers, they went out to bring food and because other groups from the south of the municipality supported them when attacking the detachments in charge of the siege. The desperation, nervousness and concerns of the governor and commander of Guadalajara caused not only by this insurrection, but also by the constant reports he received from other parts of the administration in which they informed him how difficult it was to capture the groups of men, armed, seemed to diminish when the news of the return of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne on May 10, 1814 reached their hands. With more joy than the authorities showed when swearing the Constitution of Cádiz, they ordered its suppression once he ordered it, the monarch.

José de la Cruz took advantage of the return of Fernando VII and the reestablishment of the previous order to ask the king that the old kingdom of New Galicia become a viceroyalty, which would give him greater power and independence. Bishop Cabañas, for his part, requested that his bishopric be elevated to the category of archbishopric, according to a memorial he sent to the king on November 9, 1814.⁵⁸ This request was backed by the constant financial aid that both the bishop and the bishop had provided, like the ecclesiastical Chapter since the beginning of the Napoleonic invasion in support of the monarch. Ferdinand VII did not agree, but he ordered through the decree of November 30 of this year that all the canons and dignities of the Cathedral of Guadalajara were treated as lordly in attention to the constant fidelity, services and large donations that they were contributing to the good cause.⁵⁹

It was not until the end of November 1816, after four years of useless efforts, when José de la Cruz signed a peace treaty with Marcos Castellanos, in which he undertook to rebuild the riverside towns and free their inhabitants from paying taxes, tributes and parish subsidies, apart from giving them animals and seeds in exchange for handing over their weapons.⁶⁰

Once the problem of the island of Mezcala was resolved, José de la Cruz had to dedicate himself body and soul to fighting Francisco Xavier Mina, who had arrived on June 24, 1817 at the El Sombrero fort, located between Lagos and León, in the mountains, of Comanja, a region that Pedro Moreno had been controlling for years. By then, this leader had already been accused of controlling the trade route from Aguascalientes to León and of enriching himself from the sale of livestock, activities that the active Hermenegildo Revuelta could not prevent. With a part of the profits obtained from the sale of corn and cattle, he was able to build the fort.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 317.

⁵⁹ *Gazeta of the Government of Mexico*, September 3, 1816.

⁶⁰ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, pp. 271-278.

mentioned. Mina's arrival was important because it injected new energy into the insurrection, which had declined due to demoralization, lack of financial resources, and lack of leadership.

The arrival of Mina and his expeditionaries worried the merchants of Guadalajara because it could interrupt the great deals they had been doing since the recovery of the city, and because it ran the risk of being occupied again by the rebels. De la Cruz instructed Hermenegildo Revuelta to relentlessly pursue Moreno, Mina and the priest José Antonio Torres, who had also entrenched himself in the fort of San Gregorio, not far from El Sombrero. On July 31, the fortress was besieged by the royalists Pascual Liñán and Pedro Celestino Negrete until August 19, the date on which the besieged, lacking water and food, abandoned the fort. Subsequently, the three leaders fell into the hands of the royalists.⁶¹

THE CRY OF EQUALA

The arrest and death of Mina banished the possibility of the insurrection regaining its previous strength. Starting in 1818, it declined so much that many insurgents became demoralized and took advantage of the pardon offered by Viceroy Apodaca. Furthermore, at this point the war, which had become a way of life for years, had engendered many vices in which both parties were involved.

Some civilians even tried to take advantage. For example, the professor of surgery, José Miguel Muñoz, designed artificial legs for the crippled and asked the government for the exclusive privilege of manufacturing and selling them for a period of ten years, at a price of 20 pesos if they were from the knee down, and 46 pesos if they were complete.⁶² Another case is that of the weapons manufacturer, the North American Daniel Boone, who asked the viceregal government between 1813 and 1814 for a letter of naturalization in order to reside in New Spain and cover the demand for weapons from both the royalists and the insurgents.⁶³ In

1818, there was already fatigue and discouragement both in the ranks of the rebels and in those of the royalists and in society in general, because at this point it was becoming more difficult to obtain resources every day and because the war seemed to have no end. According to most of the military reports provided by royalist officers, the insurrection was practically extinguished because what existed in all the municipalities were a few scattered sheaves dedicated to stealing.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-363.

⁶² *Gazeta of the Government of Mexico*, June 6, 1816.

⁶³ AGN, History, vol. 431, exp. 13.

cattle. In Guadalajara, the only area that was still convulsive was still the south, where Gordiano Guzmán continued to impose local authorities and control trade. In the capital everything was in favor of the royalist cause; At the beginning of this year, members of the elite founded the Battalion of Urban Loyalists of Fernando VII in order to continue preserving the square. 54 Confident that there was no threatening danger, they dedicated themselves body and soul to attending to their personal affairs. For example, Juan Fontecha Izedo, captain of the grenadiers of this battalion, granted power to Francisco Ranero or Manuel Quevedo y Bustamante, both residents of Madrid, to appear before the king and his royal councils and courts to process any royalty that he received. would benefit. 65 As the conditions for capital investment remained safe due to the control that the royalists had, big businesses continued in the heat of the war. For example, the previous year, Miguel González Maxemín, one of the Panamanians living in the city, and his brother Domingo invested 54,000 pesos on a trip to Jamaica to buy English goods. 66

Little by little the idea spread among the royalist ranks that independence was something inevitable and a right of the people; This idea was reinforced because the return of Ferdinand VII did not solve the problem of America or straighten out the painful situation that Spain was going through. The royalist Agustín de Iturbide was the one who headed a part of the army that shared this opinion; By then he was a soldier who had a lot of prestige within the troops and the regional elites had a good opinion of him.⁶⁷

What drove this new movement, aimed at obtaining independence, was the reestablishment of the Constitution of Cádiz in 1820 and the promulgation of some liberal decrees from the courts. This year was very hectic and confusing for the people of New Spain due to the opposing ideas that were expressed through print, taking advantage of the freedom of the press. Some opposed independence, considering that New Spain was not mature enough, so it was not time to get rid of the mother country; others, on the contrary, promoted it by maintaining the opposite; another fraction,

⁶⁴ AHJ, Books of Notaries, Protocol of Manuel Francisco de Ortea, volume 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Protocolo de José Antonio Mallén, volume 17, January 27, 1818.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Protocol of Tomás de Sandi, volume 12, September 16, 1818. ⁶⁷

Since 1813 it had a good reputation. At the beginning of this year, José de la Cruz recommended him to lead the frontier corps due to the death of Diego de Oroz. He informed Viceroy Venegas that Iturbide had more than 60 distinguished war actions and that he was talented, patriotic, generous and, above all, had the gift of command. AGN, Warfare Operations, Vol. 149, exp. 10.

Instead, he defended the idea that the pure reestablishment of the Cádiz Constitution was enough for the inhabitants of the kingdom to be happy.⁶⁸

The return to constitutionalism was not applauded by all sectors of the population. The high officials, as occurred in the first period (1812-1814), were not very convinced because it reduced their powers and because with the freedom of the press and other rights granted to citizens, the monarchical system received very hard blows. The high clergy, although like the other corporations they swore the Constitution of Cádiz as a sign of obedience to the central government, did not welcome the reestablishment of constitutional order either. For the Creole elites, on the other hand, it meant the opening of new political spaces with the establishment of constitutional town councils and provincial councils. In 1820 the application of the Constitution divided the people of New Spain even more.

On September 12, 1820, the provincial council of Guadalajara had its first session. This new institution promoting regional development dedicated all its time to resolving lagging problems that could not be resolved due to the state of war in which people were living, such as the expenses of the towns; He also attended to the requests of many of them who did not have the thousand inhabitants to install a Town Hall, the issues related to trade through the port of San Blas and others raised by the Indians. One of their important agreements was to prepare statistics for the province that would serve as a basis for the government.⁶⁹

The radicalism of the courts and the opposition of some groups to the Constitution led to fears that another revolution would break out, which gave rise to a group of Spaniards meeting in the temple of San Felipe Neri to discuss the latest events, while Agustín de Iturbide, with the advice of several of his friends and supporters, refined a plan to achieve independence. In all the cities of New Spain, the division between constitutionalists, servile or absolutists and independentists was perceived and, as in 1808, everyone invoked union. In a letter that José de la Cruz sent to Viceroy Apodaca on October 20, 1820, when referring to the dangerous situation that was being experienced, he warned him: "we are on a volcano."⁷⁰

After fine-tuning the plan and negotiating with army officers who supported him, Agustín de Iturbide gave his own shout in Iguala on February 24, 1821 by proclaiming this document declaring the independence of the New

⁶⁸ See Jaime Olveda, *The opposing discourses on the independence of the New Spain* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 2006).

⁶⁹ The Constitution of Cádiz called the municipalities provinces.

⁷⁰ Olveda, *From the insurrection to independence*, pp. 405-406.

Spain, backed by the Trigarante Army, made up of soldiers who had deserted from the royalist ranks. Between this date and the month of September, Iturbide promoted and sought the alliance of regional elites. He sent emissaries to all the provinces with copies of the Iguala Plan to promote it. With this purpose Antonio Terán arrived in Guadalajara, who met with Bishop Cabañas, De la Cruz, members of the royal consulate and some army officers, who, with the exception of the governor, gave him their support. On March 17, De la Cruz published a statement in which he exhorted the inhabitants of the province not to listen to the voice of the trigarantes and to remain faithful to Fernando VII, a publication that did not have a good effect since the elite and corporations continued to show his adhesion to Iturbide."

Little by little José de la Cruz was left alone because his officers-Luis Quintanar and Pedro Celestino Negrete, among others, also adhered to the Iguala Plan. Cabañas, a personal friend of Iturbide, ordered all the parish priests of his diocese to spread and support the independence proposed by the leader of Iguala. The prelate and some rich men from Guadalajara sent him horses, weapons and money to support the aforementioned plan.⁷² On May 7, the trigarante chief made the last effort to convince De la Cruz to adhere to the new cause in an interview that both held at the San Antonio hacienda, near La Barca.

José de la Cruz remained loyal to the Spanish Crown until the last moment by rejecting Iturbide's proposals. Practically alone, he left Guadalajara to head to Durango. Having control of New Spain, the officers of the Trigarante Army declared independence in the provinces in accordance with the Plan of Iguala. Pedro Celestino Negrete proclaimed that of Guadalajara in the town of San Pedro on June 13, 1821 and in the afternoon he entered Guadalajara. In the following days the towns that were from the old Nueva Galicia swore independence.⁷³

Unlike other cities affected by the war, Guadalajara entered the independent stage less damaged and with a population in slight progression compared to 1810. From the approximately 35,000 inhabitants it had at the beginning of the insurrection, it went on to have nearly 40,000 in 1821⁷⁴ and, as has been seen, thanks to the trade of San Blas, businessmen entered the new period stronger.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 414.

⁷² Ibid., p. 415.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 426-427.

⁷⁴ See table 2 of the chapter "Population evolution in the 18th century".

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the cultural context of the research. It highlights the need for researchers to be sensitive to the values and beliefs of the communities they are studying. This is particularly important in the field of education, where cultural differences can significantly impact learning outcomes.

The second part of the paper focuses on the methodology used in the study. It describes the process of selecting participants, collecting data, and analyzing the results. The authors emphasize the importance of using a mixed-methods approach to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

The third part of the paper presents the findings of the study. It discusses the results of the quantitative data analysis and the insights gained from the qualitative interviews. The authors conclude that there are significant differences in learning outcomes between the two groups, and these differences can be attributed to cultural factors.

The final part of the paper offers recommendations for future research and practice. It suggests that educators should be aware of the cultural context of their students and tailor their teaching methods accordingly. Additionally, it calls for further research to explore the underlying mechanisms of the cultural differences observed in the study.

GLOSSARY

Mayor Mayor. Judge who exercised ordinary jurisdiction in a town or district.

Ordinary mayor. Or *cadañero mayor*. Neighbor of a town that was elected by the members of the *Cabildo* and exercised jurisdiction for a specific year ordinary in an Indian town, town or city.

Indigo. Leguminous shrub from which a blue dye is produced.

Atlatl. Term in the Nahuatl language that refers to a device that is held in the hand and is used to throw a dart in hunting or war activities. **Audience.** Collegiate court that hears lawsuits or cases in a certain territory; and the district of jurisdiction of this court.

Aztatlan. Early phase of the postclassic in much of western Mexico, characterized by its hegemony in cultural aspects, such as the pattern of ceremonial centers, ceramic decoration, metallurgy, and iconography emphasizing gods and Mesoamerican symbology.

Bajareque. Construction of sticks commonly interwoven with reeds, and all finished with a thick smear of mud.

Bezote. Jewelry ornament that indigenous people generally wore on the lower lip.

Chivalry. Agricultural measure equivalent to 42.79 hectares.

Blackjack. Local term in parts of western Mexico that refers to a type of stone mallet that has a groove engraved in the center for tying it to a stick.

Lost wax. A method of making metal objects by forming the object in wax and putting it in clay, which when baked and the wax comes out, forms a mold to introduce molten metal.

Chachalaca. A brown bird (*Ortalis poliocephala*), the size of a small chicken, that is native or endemic to the coast of western Mexico. His

ability to fly is limited, and that is why it spends much of its time on the ground.

Chalchihuites. An archaeological culture that developed in the southwest of Zacatecas mainly during the classic period (200-750 AD).

Shaman. A type of religious leader in not very complex native societies who exercises his office by communicating with spirits or gods through supplication or healing rites, commonly under the influence of a stimulant or hallucinating substance.

Mayor. Justice that exercised royal jurisdiction in its territory and heard contentious and administrative cases. In New Spain he ended up being of a lower rank than the mayor, except in some relevant cases, such as the mayor of Zacatecas, or of Mexico.

Tithe. Tenth of what must be given to the Church - and partially to the Crown, the two real ninths - on the harvest, particularly the fruits of Castile, as retribution for their work.

Large livestock ranch. Agricultural measure equivalent to 1,756 hectares.

Small livestock ranch. Agricultural measure equivalent to 780 hectares.

Florida War. A certain type of ritual battle carried out by the Aztecs and some other groups in Mesoamerica with the purpose of capturing brave warriors from the opposing group to sacrifice them in ceremonies.

Guilance. Local term in parts of western Mexico that refers to a large metate shaped like a trough and without legs.

Inheritance. Portion of cultivated land belonging to the same owner; either country estate, real estate or possessions.

Ingenuity. Machinery of a mine or processing farm, or sugar mill.

Work. Tillage, especially that of the lands that are planted. By extension, a rural property dedicated precisely to cultivation.

Masterly. Mixture of ferric oxide and cupric sulfate resulting from roasting copper pyrite, and which is used in the American amalgamation process to benefit silver minerals. Winch.

Conical or biconical object with a hole in the center that was used used on a stick to support centrifugal force in the production of threads, usually made of cotton but sometimes of other

fibers. Mayorazgo. Ancient institution of Castilian civil law that had object to bind in the family the ownership of certain assets in accordance with the conditions that were dictated when establishing

it. Mercy. Grace or favor that kings or lords give to their vassals in terms of jobs or dignities, income, etc.

Mound. Common term in archeology for an artificial hill or platform made of earth and stones.

Obraje. Manufacturing where cloths are made.

Hearer. Robed minister who heard and sentenced cases and lawsuits in the hearings of a kingdom.

Mayor mayor judge. Hearing of one audience subordinate to another.

Pathole. A game similar to "snakes and ladders" that was played in many parts of Mesoamerica since the classical period on patterns commonly of small squares engraved on a flat stone, incised in floor lime or painted on mats. The name comes from the word *patol* in Nahuatl because the Aztecs used painted beans for dice in this game. **Flint.** Flint type stone, generally cream or white in color and It produces sparks when struck with an iron instrument.

Petroglyph. A design engraved on a stone, usually a local rock. zated in a place of rural nature.

Pictograph. A design painted on a stone, usually on a rock shelter located in a rural location.

Pochteca. A special class among the Aztecs that was very important for the maintenance and expansion of the Aztec empire due to their dual role as merchants and spies.

Pulleys. Rolls made of flour cooked with water and salt.

Postclassical. Period of pre-Hispanic times in Mesoamerica that is generally divided into two phases: early (900-1300 AD) and late (1300-1600 AD).

Presidio. Fortification with origins in Roman military architecture for quartering troops. It mainly has a border function.

Fifth. In the mining field, what the miners themselves had to give to the Royal Treasury from silver production. In certain cases the fifth was temporarily reduced to half (tithe) or a quarter (twenty).

Reduction. Compact town of forcibly settled Indians, especially in low areas.

Sal Tierra. Lake evaporation salt.

Solar. The oldest and noblest house of a family; or area measure equal to 0.1756 hectares.

Teponaxtle. Term in the Nahuatl language that refers to a type of drum made from a section of hollowed tree trunk with a slit in the center that was used by the Aztecs, among other indigenous groups.

Shot tomb and vault. Funerary complex in western Mexico, mainly between 1,200 B.C. and 400 AD, which emphasized the burial of the deceased in a boot-shaped tomb.

Ulama. The name of a variety of ball game that emphasizes hitting the ball from the hip and played by some natives of Sinaloa until modern times.

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SIGLAS DE LOS ARCHIVOS Y BIBLIOTECAS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, España.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, México.
AHAG	Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara, México.
AHCEG	Archivo Histórico del Cabildo Eclesiástico de Guadalajara, México.
AHEZ	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas, México.
AHU	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Jalisco, Guadalajara, México.
AHMG	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Guadalajara, México.
AHMS	Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Sombrerete, Zacatecas, México.
AHN-M	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, España.
AHPM-M	Acervo Histórico del Palacio de Minería de México, México.
AIPEJ	Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Jalisco, Guadalajara, México.
AJAG	Archivo Judicial-Civil de la Audiencia de Guadalajara, Zapopan, México.
APM	Archivo de la Parroquia de Mexicaltzingo, Guadalajara, México.
APETITO	Archivo particular de Pedro Escobedo Torres, Zacatecas, México.
APSG	Archivo de la Parroquia del Santuario de Guadalupe, Guadalajara, México.
APSJA	Archivo Parroquial de San José de Analco, Guadalajara, México.
APSM	Archivo de la Parroquia del Sagrario Metropolitano, Guadalajara, México.
ARA	Archivo de la Real Audiencia, Zapopan, México.
ASTJEZ	Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia del Estado de Zacatecas, México.
BPEJ	Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco, Zapopan, México.
BRAHM	Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia de Madrid, España.
ITESM-ACR	Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Guadalupe, Zacatecas, México.

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Este libro es el lejano heredero de esa *Historia del reino de la Nueva Galicia en la América septentrional*, que escribió por 1742 el licenciado Matías de la Mota Padilla, hasta le debe su título. Pero si la escritura de la primera obra fue un acto solitario, aquí participaron dieciocho académicos, procedentes de los principales centros universitarios regionales.

Desde por lo menos la mitad del siglo xx se han cosechado muchos frutos, muchas tesis dedicadas a la historia de este amplio territorio que hoy cubre esencialmente cuatro estados de la república: aquí se encuentran exprimidos, sintetizados. Si se debe definir en una frase la intención del libro, se dirá que se han querido exponer tres siglos de tiempo vivido —medidos con carne y sangre— de los moradores de la Nueva Galicia, de Tepic a Zacatecas, y de Culiacán a Aguascalientes, sin olvidar el centro: Guadalajara.



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